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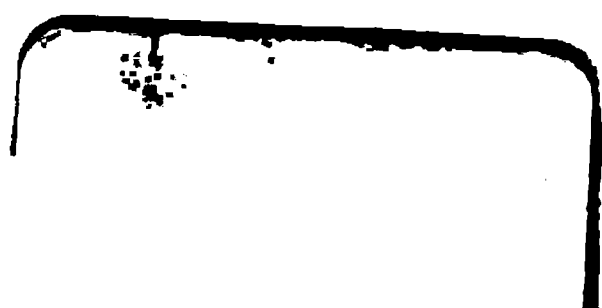
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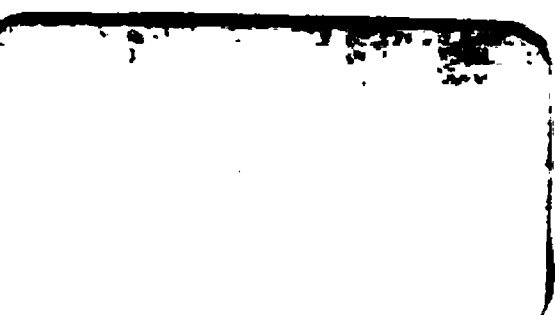
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VOL. III.

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CORNELIUS'S TOUR IN VIRGINIA.
MOLLIEN'S TRAVELS IN AFRICA.
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THE BRAZILS.

GRAHAM'S TRAVELS THROUGH POR-
TUGAL AND SPAIN.
CASTELLAN'S TRAVELS IN ITALY.
BRACKENRIDGE'S VOYAGE TO BUENOS
AYRES.

WITH INDEX, AND THIRTY-ONE ENGRAVINGS.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. III. .



I. Travels in Lower Canada, with the Author's Recollections of the Soil and Aspect; the Morals, Habits, and Religious Institutions, of that Country. By JOSEPH SANSON, Esq.

II. Tour in Virginia, Tennessee, &c. By the Rev. ELIAS CORNELIUS.

III. Travels in Africa, to the Sources of the Senegal and Gambia, in 1818. By G. MOLLIER.

IV. Travels through Portugal and Spain, during the Peninsular War. By WILLIAM GRAHAM, Esq.

V. Observations on the State of Religion and Literature in Spain, made during a Journey through the Peninsula in 1819. By J. BOWRING, Esq.

VI. Travels in Brazil in 1815, 1816, and 1817. By Prince MAXIMILIAN NIEWIED.

VII. Letters on Italy. By A. L. CASTELLAN, Honorary Member of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, at Paris.

VIII. Voyage to Buenos Ayres, in 1817 and 1818. By H. M. BRACKENRIDGE, Esq.

ENGRAVINGS IN THIS VOLUME.

Santon's Travels in Canada.

View of Quebec from the Plains of Abraham	-	Page 40
---	---	------------

Mollien's Travels in Africa.

Chart of the Travels of G. Mollien to the Sources of the Senegal and the Gambia	-	to face Title
Diai-Boukari	-	8
The Army of Foutatoura on a March	-	44
View of the Sources of the Rio Grande, and Gambia	-	94
View of Timbo	-	98

Prince Maximilian's Travels in Brazil:

Captain Lourenzo and his Party of Miners	-	to face Title
Brazilian Country-house	-	40
A Puris Family in their Hut	-	56
Puris Indians marching in their Woods	-	60
Brazilian Hunters with their Game	-	72
Soldiers at Linhares in their Coats of Mail	-	80
Hunters robbing the Nest of a Turtle	-	84
Temporary Huts at Morro d'Arara	-	96
The Botocudo Chief and his Family	-	100

Graham's Travels in Spain, &c.

Map of Spain	-	to face Title
Trancoso and its Roman Walls	-	12
Scene on the Tagus near Thomar	-	16
A Day's March in the Mountains Sierra di Estrella	-	24
Ruins of a Moorish Castle near Moreira	-	28
Natural Rocks near Trancoso	-	ibid.
The Pyrenees near Lizaca	-	60
The Passage of the Bidassoa	-	76
Shepherds of the Landes	-	82

Castellan's Travels in Italy.

Tomb of Virgil	-	20
Pompeii	-	24
Cottage of the Shepherds of Puglia	-	32
Temples of Vesta and of the Sibyl	-	ibid.
Cascatelles	-	36
Scite of Horace's House	-	40
Chypto-Porticus	-	100

TRAVELS
IN
LOWER CANADA,

WITH THE AUTHOR'S RECOLLECTIONS OF
THE SOIL, AND ASPECT; THE MORALS, HABITS,
AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS,
OF
THAT COUNTRY.

BY JOSEPH SANSOM, Esq.

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, AUTHOR OF
LETTERS FROM EUROPE, &c.

Most National Habitudes are the Result of unobserved Causes and Necessities.
GRAY.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS AND Co.
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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

WE have hitherto had no accounts of Canada written by American travellers. We have only seen our next neighbours, through the magnifying glasses of superficial observers; who inverted the telescope, when they contemplated Independent America; and we have accordingly no information, upon which we can rely, of the sentiments of the people, or the comparative situation and future prospects of that country. We know not whether the French, in Canada, are to be dreaded as enemies, or be conciliated as friends.

The Author of the following work, when it was *put to press* (after having been hastily written, from penciled memorandums, during a fortnight's stay at Ballstown and Saratoga) had no idea of any thing more than a simple narrative of a journey, during which some interesting circumstances had unexpectedly occurred; and the title, printed on the first page, is accordingly "A Trip to Canada." But the composition insensibly assuming a more historical and scientific form, in going through the press, amidst the libraries of New York, it was decided in a literary circle, at Dr. Hosack's, that the scope of the work demanded a more elaborate designation: and the title has been accordingly varied to that of "Travels in Lower Canada, historical and descriptive;" the discrepancy of which, with the *style* and *matter* of a Book of Travels, may possibly be ex-

cused by the learned, in favour of the obvious occasion for more general views of society on the American continent, than have hitherto obtained, either at home or abroad.

NEW YORK, Sept. 20.

* * *THE Editor of this London Journal has preferred to allow Mr. Sansom to speak for himself in his own words, conceiving that this would be more just towards him; and that, as a specimen of Americanisms, used by a man of good education, the work would thus be a greater curiosity to those English Readers, who are not aware of the deterioration which the language is suffering in the United States. For analogous reasons, many opinions of the Republican Author are retained, because they will add to the interest of the work, though they may sometimes offend by their coarseness, and evident want of discrimination. If, however, an individual, or a people, would correct errors, the exposition of them must be borne, from whatever quarter or country it proceeds.*

These observations apply chiefly, however, to the work of Mr. Sansom; for the "Virginian Sketches" are obviously the product of a mind disciplined, by accurate researches, in those sciences which bear with obvious advantage on the subjects of observation.

LONDON, March 1820.

TRAVELS

IN

LOWER CANADA.

UNDER the impressions hinted at in my prefatory remarks, at three o'clock P. M. on the 30th day of June, 1817, I stepped on-board of the Bristol steam-boat, at Market-street wharf, with a portmanteau, containing nothing more than was absolutely necessary, a cane in my hand, and Thomson's Seasons in my pocket; but no other companions excepting such as I might meet with in the public conveyances, who may be not inaptly considered the tourist's family, as the inn is said to be the traveller's home.

We reached Bristol in due time and in perfect safety, from moving accidents by fire or flood, notwithstanding the really terrifying explosions that have lately happened on-board of these accommodatory conveyances; I having purposely avoided the superior expedition which, promised by the steam-boat Etna, for the sake of ease and safety, under the graduated force of what is called the lower pressure, for whose secure operation we are indebted to the late ingenious ROBERT FULTON, of New York.

We started immediately from Bristol in the York stage, one of the six or seven passengers being a creole from New Orleans, who had already travelled in similar conveyances fifteen hundred miles an end.

We lodged at Princeton that night, entered the steam-boat Sea-Horse at Elizabethtown Point, and landed at New York time enough to dine at the City Hotel, a place of entertainment little, if at all, inferior to the London Tavern, or the Red House at Frankfort, so much and so justly celebrated by European travellers.*

* Before entering Brunswick, or between that ancient town which preserves so much of the neatness and formality of its primitive inhabitants, and the delightful village of Newark, which has been so often selected as the temporary residence of involuntary refugees of quality, from different parts of Europe; as the driver lingered along the sands of Jersey, we passed by

NEW YORK.

I shall not stop to describe the Bay of New York, nor to make comparisons which might lead me to Naples or Constantinople, though neither of those places unite the various advantages of sea and river communication; and they must therefore yield, in point of convenience, to the American emporium—whatever superiority they may possess in expanse of water, or diversity of objects—the rich inheritance of a hundred ages.

The islands in the Bay of New York having been stripped of wood, are not very ornamental, and one of them, which has been fortified, obstructs, by a massy tower, the view which was formerly enjoyed of the entrance called the Narrows, through which whole fleets could be seen on their first entering the bay, and before they approached the basin; where alone they are now visible to a spectator on the battery—a promenade of health and pleasure, always crowded of an evening with the familiar intercourse of youth and beauty amid the retiring sons of business and care. The shores of Staten Island, and even those of the North River, are too distant to admit the charm of distinct variety, but those of Long Island, as they stretch along toward the Sound, are beautifully variegated with hills and valleys, woods and cultivated fields, near enough to gratify the eye with ideas of rural tranquillity, even from the busy quays of a sea-port town.

But, as an admirer of architecture, I cannot pass without notice the City-hall, for the costly magnificence of which we are probably indebted to that national taste for the substantial, which induced the Dutch ancestors of our New York burghers to erect, at Amsterdam, a fabric, upon piles, which is justly ranked among the first public edifices in Europe.

The principal front and two sides are of white marble; the back front and the basement story of freestone, of a red-

one tavern, the sign of the Union, and stopped to water at another under the same patronage. These people are great admirers of union, it would seem, said one of our company. Yea, replied I, they are so fond of union that they di-vide it. We had come on so very slowly, for the last few miles, that one had proposed to put a *snapper* upon the driver's whip, as we waited for him without quitting our seats; and, he staid so long at the bar while the people of the house were sitting down to meat, that another suspected he was going to breakfast there, and we should have to wait till he was done. That would be an unlucky *map* for us, said I. He, however, presently came out again, and we drove off at an accelerated pace; but, it was not long before we *snapped* one of our jack-springs, and we were fain to crack our jokes with less merriment the rest of the way.

dish cast ; both of which are found in quarries within a hundred miles of the spot.

This noble structure is two stories high, and it is ornamented with a portico of eight columns, each hewn out of a single block, fifteen feet in length ; and pilasters of the Ionic and Corinthian orders are carried round the building, with their appropriate entablatures—all executed in marble.

The second story shows nineteen windows in a row—the number of individual states at the time it was finished. Thus tacitly marking the date of its erection. The five intercolumniations in the entrance correspond to as many arcades, which open upon the portico for egress and regress—like the arched doors, of equal number, belonging to its prototype in Holland.

One of the fronts of that building (I cannot remember which) has a figure of Atlas supporting the Globe—Admire this happy emblem of Dutch patience and perseverance.

The New York City-hall is two hundred feet long—eighty deep, in the projecting wings, which enclose a flight of twenty steps, sixty or eighty feet in length, for they are returned at the sides. It is sixty feet to the eaves, and the roof is surmounted by a cupola, ornamented with coupled columns, and a statue of Justice, with her suspended scales, at a height of ninety feet from the ground.

In this cupola a light is kept every night, by a watchman who cries the hour, from this elevated situation ; and gives the alarm in case of fire.

I shall not describe the interior of this superb edifice, with its circular hall, and double staircase, with its columns, its balustrades, and its dome. The picture-gallery, or hall of audience, hung with portraits of the governors of New York, and the presidents of the union. Or the council chamber ; glittering with gold and scarlet : as I am not quite satisfied that so much splendour is consistent with practical republicanism ; and we know that the Town-hall of Amsterdam has been already converted into the palace of a sovereign.

In short, I am sufficiently superstitious in political omens, to dread the inference (however unlikely it may be thought—every where—but at Washington) that where there are palaces there will be princes.

But I can take a view of Broadway, without turning aside, as it is my road to the hotel I put up at.

This beautiful avenue comes in straight for a mile, lined on both sides with every variety of public and private buildings—churches, halls, houses, many of which are ornamented with taste ; shops, in which every necessary, and every luxury of

life are displayed with elegance and splendour. After it has passed the Stadt House above-mentioned, which by the way is now sadly obscured by ragged trees, which entirely prevent a front view—they might be readily exchanged for a neat clump or two, at distant intervals, leaving from the street an uninterrupted view of the structure in different directions.

The street now winds to the left, and gradually widens until it opens upon the water, after forming a triangular plot, which is railed in with an iron balustrade, and once exhibited a statue of king George. This was removed at the revolution—but the pedestal remains, and it is hoped that it will not be long before the liberal and patriotic citizens of New York shall replace the historical monument with—another GEORGE—far better entitled than the former to the veneration of posterity.*

THE NORTH RIVER.

Next day I took my passage for Albany, in the Paragon, or the Car of Neptune, I forget which—but any of the steam-boats of the North River are justly entitled to either of these proud appellations. Since they proceed—not, *wind and weather permitting*, like all anterior navigators; but *against* wind and tide, at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour. And they are not exceeded in one of their dimensions—that of length, by a ship of the line.

* Of the extent and accommodations of the superb inn before mentioned, some idea may be formed by the sum which has been just laid out upon furnishing, and fitting it up, for the use of the present tenant. It was not less than thirty thousand dollars, and he pays for it the liberal rent of ten thousand dollars a-year.

Family parties are provided for in a distinct part of the establishment, with the use of elegant drawing-rooms; and public entertainments were given, occasionally, in apartments of magnificent dimensions, on the principal floor: but at the *Table d'Hôte* the fare is excellent, and a hundred persons sit down there every day, in the summer season, when New York becomes the grand thoroughfare between the south and the north, during the stated migration of the gentry of the southern states, toward the more salutary regions of New England and the Canadian provinces, where the heat of summer is comparatively temperate, and to a southern constitution highly invigorating.

Here the Scotchman of Detroit, and the Frenchman of New Orleans, from the borders of Lake Huron and the Banks of the Mississippi—when at home not less than two thousand miles apart, meet each other half-way, upon common ground, as American citizens, professing allegiance to the constituted authorities of the same republic.

And the occupant of central woods and waters here shakes hands and interchanges sentiment and information, with brother *sailors*; who seek a livelihood upon the eastern coasts of the Atlantic, penetrate every nook and corner in the Baltic, or the Mediterranean, or doubling either Cape, ransack the Antipodes for objects of commercial enterprise.

We left the dock about five in the evening, and the next day, about noon, as I was leaning over the prow, and contemplating alternately the moving landscape on either hand, and the water over which we were imperceptibly gliding, I perceived something forward that looked like slender spires, at the head and foot of a distant hill. It was Albany, and by three o'clock we stepped ashore again, one hundred and sixty miles north of the capital, which we had quitted but twenty-two hours before.

The distance, I am told, has been run down the stream in seventeen hours; formerly an uncertain voyage of three or four days, or a week or two, according to the state of the winds and tides.

A few miles before we reached Albany, we met the Chancellor Livingston, said to be the finest boat on the river. She looked, indeed, very gay upon the water. We passed each other with the most animating rapidity, and the adverse motion of two such vessels, breasting the surge, in a narrow part of the river, made a sensible concussion of the waves from shore to shore.*

The influx of multitudes on-board these boats, arriving in crowds, on foot, and in carriages; their punctuality of departure, which often leaves lingerers upon the wharf, to follow, as they can, in boats, which are always ready to put off after them; together with the unvarying steadiness of their progress, admitting of the most entire independence, and the most unobstructed observation—whether of moving life, perpetually flitting before your eyes; or of the face of Nature, ever calm and majestic, yet alternately rising and receding in perpetual variation, keep the mind in a state of animating excitement.

* On my return, a month afterward, this same vessel, the Chancellor Livingston, which had just brought up two hundred passengers, in nineteen hours, was in course to go down the stream. There had been a freshet in the river, which is here about three hundred yards over: yet this fine ship (one hundred and fifty-seven feet long) seemed to require the whole space to turn in, as she swung round from the wharf, in majestic evolution, and when she began to descend the stream, which was now unusually rapid, her motion seemed to sway the river, and command the current. The wake of a ship measuring five hundred tons, and proceeding at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour (for we reached Hudson, which is thirty miles, in two hours and three-quarters) soon spread itself from side to side, and produced a visible agitation upon both shores of the river.—The sea-boats which ply in Long-Island Sound sometimes make thirteen knots an hour; but one is accustomed to flying at Sea, and the receding shores of a river give a stronger sensation of rapidity, by the comparisons which they afford with the apparent motion of stationary objects. She cost one hundred and ten thousand dollars, and sometimes makes for her owners fifteen hundred dollars a trip.

A constant change of company is perpetually going on, in this little world. Some getting out at every great town, or noted landing-place, and others coming in; but all this is managed with little or no delay of the moving Ark, by merely slackening her course, and lowering a boat, which discharges her burthen with astonishing dexterity, and—to me, terrifying speed.

There is another circumstance of communication with the adjacent shores, which takes place occasionally—Nothing is wanted but an exchange of papers, for instance—A boat puts off from the shore, and at the same instant, another boat quits the vessel. They meet, as it were on the wing, for the speed of the steam-boat is not now at all impeded to favour the operation, and it takes place between the passing watermen in the twinkling of an eye.

The animating bugle gives notice of approach, and the bell rings for departure. Every thing concurs to create bustle and interest. People of the first consequence are often among the passengers; amidst whom they can lay claim to no peculiar privilege, or accommodation. The only exception is in favour of the ladies; who have a cabin to themselves, where gentlemen are not permitted to intrude.

Bye-laws are enacted for the preservation of order, and the forfeitures incurred are scrupulously exacted.

There were no persons of particular note on this voyage, nor any of those amusing characters styled great talkers—one or more of whom is generally to be found in all companies, who voluntarily, and *ex mero motu*, take upon themselves the task of entertaining the silent part of their species.

On a former occasion, I had been highly diverted by a son of Chief-Justice Jay—himself a limb of the law, to enforce the laws and usages of the steam-boat, with all the affected formalities of legal process. Under his humorous arrangement, the offender was put to the bar. Witnesses appeared, and counsel, on both sides, pleaded the merits of the case—not to be sure with all the gravity and decorum which are laudably observed in cases of high crimes and misdemeanors; but with sufficient acuteness and pertinacity. What was wanting in solemnity was made up in laughter, and I remember young Jay kept the quarter-deck in a continual roar.

I have ever since regretted that I did not preserve a sketch of his opening speech, which was introduced with all the precision of serious argument.—Several persons of note were then present. I recollect particularly Governor Lewis; some of the Morrises from Morrisania, and the lady of a former governor of South Carolina.

Ferry-boats, propelled by steam, and so constructed that carriages drive in and out, at pleasure, may be observed at every large town on the north river. These convenient vehicles are likely to supersede the use of bridges, or navigable waters. They are, in fact, a sort of flying-bridge, with this advantage even over the numerous and costly structures of that kind, which now span the broad surface of the Susquehannah, in the interior of Pennsylvania. They do not require such expensive repairs, and they may be secured from the effects of sudden floods: but what is of far more importance, they present no obstruction to the stream, and are no hindrance to navigation.

The shores of the north river, sublime as they are, where the Allegheny mountains must have crossed from west to east, before the lofty chain was broken through, to admit the passage of the river (the sight of which is unfortunately lost to travellers by the steam-boats running through the Narrows in the night) owe much of their interest and beauty to the superb seats of the Livingstons and the Clintons, some of which overhang the water, at an imposing elevation. Spectators from these mostly line the bluffs, at the passage of the steam-boats, which seem to electrify every thing within their sphere. And the antiquated mansions of the Schuylers and Van Rensselaers, in the vicinity of Albany, are beheld with historic recollections, as the places where General Burgoyne and his principal officers were quartered, until they could be exchanged, after the memorable defeat at Saratoga.

FROM ALBANY TO LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

The next day after our arrival at Albany was the 4th of July; and the good citizens of Albany were preparing to celebrate the declaration of independence—not as Weld ridiculously represents, from the information of his host, as if they rejoiced against the grain, regretting in their hearts the protection of Great Britain; but with all the zeal and fervour of heart-felt exultation, for the incalculable advantage of national independence, and emancipation from a foreign yoke.

But I was now become earnest to reach Canada.

I had intended to take Ballston on my way, for the benefit of the mineral waters, for which that place and its vicinity have become so celebrated, since Sir William Johnson was conducted hither by Indians in 1767, to drink the water of the rock spring for the removal of the gout, to which he was subject. But my mind I found was now too much engaged in the ultimate objects of pursuit, to admit of turning aside at this period of the journey.

So, finding myself in time for the steam-boat on Lake Champlain, at ten o'clock, instead of going to hear a historical oration from some patriotic burgher of Platt Deutch, descent, I took my seat in another stage-coach; lodged, I forget where; and reached White-hall about noon, an hour or two before the putting off of the steam-boat for St. John's, the first town, or rather village, in Canada.

By the way this White-hall is not a royal palace, nor even a gentleman's seat; but a small post-town at the mouth of Wood Creek. It is the same that was called Skeensborough (Query, why change the name?) when Weld wrote his ingenious comparisons between Canada and the United States, and fearlessly quoted General Washington as his authority, for the palpable falsehood that the musquitoes of this place would bite through the thickest boot—The musquitoes have since utterly vanished—stings and all; and they would have been quietly forgotten, together with the fire-flies, and bull-frogs, and supposed rattle-snakes of other transatlantic peregrinators, in American wilds, if it had not been for this contemptible story—preserved, like bugs in amber, by their unaccountable conjunction with the pellucid name of Washington.—Rattle-snakes are already so rare in America, that I, who have travelled thousands of miles in our back country, never met with but one of them; and no doubt they will become, in another century, as scarce as snakes are said to be in Ireland, through the interference of St. Patrick; though the fact may very well have happened without a miracle, since Ireland has been peopled for thousands of years, and every peasant has a hog or two, to whom snakes are a favourite repast.

But before I take boat, let me recall the village of Schaghticoke, which was passed on the road, somewhere about midway—the never-enough celebrated berg or dorff from which the cervantic genius Knickerbocker, in his incomparable history of New-York, derives his pretended pedigree. The scattered houses of which it consists are built in nooks and crannies round the yawning gulf of a roaring cataract, which descends between jutting rocks and craggy pines, with as many twists and turns, and as much of spray and splutter, as the never to be forgotten work itself proceeds under its characteristic motto:

Die wahrheit die in dunster lag,
Da kommt mit klahrheit an den tag.

The truth which late in darkness lay
Now breaks with clearness into day.

Or perhaps better :

Truths which lay hid in darkest night
My pen shall bring again to light.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

To return to the steam-boat, on Lake Champlain, though it is greatly inferior in size and accommodation to those on the North River, (at least so was the boat which conveyed me ; but a new one has just commenced running, which is said to excel them in elegance and speed) yet it will bear a comparison even with the English post-chaise, or other mode of easy and rapid conveyance ; in despite of Dr. Johnson's *ipse dixit*, that life had few things better to boast than riding in a post-chaise—because, if I remember right, ‘ there was motion or change of place without fatigue ;’ since to these agreeable circumstances the steam-boat adds the conveniences of a tavern, of which Johnson was so fond, and the advantage of a bed at night, without loss of time.

The creek, as we call such waters, or to use the English phrase, the river, winds round broken crags, shagged with fir-trees, for many miles, before it becomes more than just wide enough for the steam-boats to veer round in. Yet in a gloomy cove, near the harbour, sufficient space has been found to moor the five or six sloops of war that were taken from Commodore Downie upon this lake.

Toward evening we entered Champlain Proper. The lake gradually widened to an expanse of fifteen or twenty miles, and the sun set, gloriously, behind golden clouds, and mountains of azure blue, whose waving outline, at an elevated height, was finely contrasted by the dark stripe of pines and firs, that here lines the unvarying level of the western shore.

The solemnity of the scene was heightened with indistinct ideas of Burgoyne's disastrous descent in 1777—of the melancholy fate of the first Lord Howe in the year 1759, and of anterior scenes of massacre and horror which rendered the sonorous name of Ticonderoga terrific to our peaceful ancestors—after passing the ruins grey of this dilapidated fortress (the French called it elegantly Carillon, from the hub-bub usually kept up there in time of war) and those of Crown Point (called by them Fort la Chevelure, or the scalping place) a barbarous denomination which the English melted down into Crown Point, still indicative of the same savage practice.

I awoke in the night under these solemn recollections ; and the morning-star was shining in, with perceptible reflection, at the little window of my birth. It is now peculiarly bril-

liant, and I was forcibly impressed with a sense of God's providence, for the benefit of his creature man, especially when travelling upon the waters, when his journeys must be pursued by night as well as by day.

And here let me observe, that, during travel, the spirits are renewed, as well as the body invigorated. The energies of the mind, so often latent, through inactivity, are called into action, by dangers and difficulties, which it requires unremitting watchfulness to steer through or to shun; and the habitual inattention under which, safe within the walls of cities, an accustomed face is beheld without notice, and a next-door neighbour passes by unknown, is necessarily exchanged for the active exercise of observation and inquiry.

In another point of view too, occasional journey, especially into foreign countries, creating a total change of scene and habits, may be said to lengthen the sense of existence, if they do not actually prolong life. So many changes of habit occur, and such a variety of unusual circumstances takes place, that the recollection of a few months, passed abroad, seems equal, in the memory, to the lapse of years spent in the unvarying monotony of home.

The sublime operations of nature, which are rarely attended to amidst the incessant occupations of domestic care, force themselves upon a traveller's observation, disengaged as he is from the daily concerns of common life.—He now feels his dependance upon the varying atmosphere, and remarks, perhaps for the first time, the subservience of the celestial luminaries to the occasions of life.

When the moon rises to illuminate his path, as the sun sets in the west, which it does with such evident co-operation, whenever the moon is at full, he can hardly fail to be touched with admiration and gratitude at the splendid provision of which he stands so much in need.—He can but feel, with conscious elevation, the dignity of his being, as a creature of God, when

Seas roll to waft him, suns to light him rise;
His footstool earth, his canopy the skies.

Yet is there ample occasion, on the face of nature, for humbling considerations of the littleness of man, and all his works, in comparison of the wide spread surface of the planet we inhabit. Inadequate must needs be the ideas of a man who, confined for life within the streets of cities, has never seen an extensive horizon, or beheld those majestic features of the earth, a mountain, or a lake—no man that has not travelled a day's journey on foot, nor ever lost his way in track-

less wilds, when spent with hunger and fatigue, can have a competent idea of the spaces that intervene between town and town, sometimes between one human habitation and another.

We must have seen a good deal of the globe we inhabit to form a just notion of the overwhelming extent of its surface, in proportion to the pigmy race, to whom animal nature has been subjected, by the Creator of all things. And, after all, the imagination is unavoidably confounded, amidst the boundless sands which occupy the internal parts of Africa and Asia. It has often revived my own humility to span their extent upon the maps in my study. And when I compare the desert of Zaarah, for instance, with the island of Great Britain, and perceive that in its vacant spaces there would be room for ten such islands, with all its millions of civilized inhabitants, I am ready to exclaim, with Job—

Lord! what is man, that thou shouldest set thine heart upon him?
And that thou shouldest visit him every morning,
And try him every moment?

Having passed Burlington, the capital of Vermont, in the night, next morning, after breakfast, we were called up to see the British flag flying at Illinois (Isle aux Noix as the French call it) and his majesty's crown over the gate-way, at the stairs leading to the officers' house, a handsome building, with rather a fantastic air, from being built of squared logs painted in alternate stripes of white and grey; green varandas, as light as gossamer, in the centre and at each end; the whole surmounted with a heavy pediment, and a tinned cupola, the openings of which are glazed, to make it a comfortable look-out.

I observed nothing particular in the fortifications at Illinois; but a sweet little cottage struck my eye, as we passed, connected with a string of convenient out-houses, a little garden before them, running to the water's edge, with covered seats, of elegant simplicity, in which, in all probability, some British officer, and the fair companion of his voluntary exile, indulge their recollection of happier auspices and a forsaken home.

As we ran by the place, a boat put off to exchange papers, with three young marines, in Scotch bonnets and trim uniforms, to whom our captain threw a rope; but so little dexterous were they in managing it, that they had like to have overset the boat before they reached us. They were, however, insensible of their danger, and I remember one of them showed a very fine set of teeth, as he laughed with the bystanders at his own absurdity.

Enough—perhaps too much of Illinois.

By noon we reached St. John's, of which still less may serve, and we did but drive through it for La Prairie—a considerable town on the St. Lawrence, nine miles above Montreal.

The rest of the company, among whom were several ladies from Carolina, crossed directly over, in a drizzling rain; but I, being no longer impatient of delay, as this is a considerable town of long standing, with a large French church, and other public establishments, stayed over night, and slept, though it was midsummer, under I know not how many blankets, in a bed close hung with worsted curtains, in flaming red.

I was now ready to doubt whether it ever was what we call hot, in Canada; but I had occasion afterward to change my mind upon that score, as well as some others, as will be seen in due time. Rapid travellers are apt to be hasty in forming their conclusions, of which, in course, plodding critics take notice at their leisure, without making one grain of allowance for the innumerable perplexities and contrarieties through which we have to pick our way in the research of truth.

Next morning the sun glittered upon the tinned spires and plated roofs of Montreal, many of them being sheathed with sheet-iron. I was told that the passage by water was tedious, and that a waggon would convey me much quicker to the ferry opposite the town. I went on accordingly to Longeuil, and crossed over from thence, in a canoe, which was managed by two diminutive Canadians, with Indian paddles.

MONTREAL

shows from the water like an old country sea-port, with long ranges of high walls and stone houses, overstopped here and there by churches and convents, with something that resembles a continued quay, though it is nothing more than a high bank, to which large vessels can lie close enough for the purposes of loading and unloading, in consequence of the unusual depth of water at the very edge of the current, which sets close in-shore from an opposite island, and a string of rocks and shoals, which obstruct it on the opposite side.

I took a hasty dinner, glanced at the public buildings which I had seen before, and walked the streets till night, when the principal avenue, in which is the cathedral, was lighted up, before dark, in the English manner, the twilight being almost as long here as it is there. I then took up my lodging on-board the steam-boat, for Quebec, which was to sail next morning at three o'clock; for I had now a mind to see in how short a time one might make a total change of religion, language,

government, and climate, in quitting the metropolis of the United States for that of the British provinces.

It was now but the eighth day from my leaving Philadelphia, and there was a chance that I might reach Quebec on the ninth (July 8th,) the current of the St. Lawrence being often so powerful, that, when the wind favours, this passage of 170 miles is sometimes made in seventeen hours, in sea-phrase ten knots an hour, arriving at Quebec, in summer-time, by sunset the same day.

VOYAGE DOWN THE ST. LAWRENCE.

I was not now in luck, if I may be allowed the phrase, or to speak with becoming dignity of a voyage upon the St. Lawrence, the wind was right a-head, and blew strong from the north-east, with occasional squalls of rain through the day and the following night; and I was glad to come off with two tedious and wearisome nights, spent at sea, to all usual intents and purpose, of seafaring life, such as incommodities of every kind, apprehension of danger, disinclination to stir hand or foot, and irremediable delay. But I am anticipating events, and ought, perhaps, to have kept the reader in that happy state of suspense under which we usually advance to the most dangerous or disagreeable adventures, without apprehension or reluctance.

First, then, of the first. After passing the night under an incessant trampling and rummaging overhead, the boatmen being at work all night, stowing away heavy freight, and clearing the decks of luggage, for the steam-boats of the St. Lawrence are as much used for the conveyance of freight as of passengers, I awoke an hour or two after day-light, some leagues below Montreal.

The great church of Varennes, with its two steeples, was distinctly visible, together with the isolated mountain which rises near Boucherville, in the midst of surrounding plains: but every other object was at such an immeasurable distance, for river scenery, that I was much disappointed of the boasted appearance of towns, and villages, and scattered hamlets, upon the banks of the St. Lawrence—said to exceed so far, in use and beauty, the scanty improvements upon the North River.

It is true the occasional spires of the parish-churches would be necessarily beautiful, if, as they are described by fanciful travellers, (fatigued by the repetition of substantial mills and meeting-houses in the United States,) they were actually seen peeping over trees and woods: but the trees are all cut away round Canadian settlements, and the unvarying habitations, stand in endless rows, at equal distances, like so many sentry-

boxes or soldier's tents, without a tree, or even a fence of any kind, to shelter them ; instead of being irregularly interspersed, as with us, among fields and woods, surrounded with every variety of domestic accommodation, and collected every ten or twelve miles into hamlets, or trading towns, of which there are fifteen or twenty upon the North River, whilst there are but four in the like space upon the River St. Lawrence, including Quebec and Montreal.

These circumstances admit of no comparison between the two rivers, and the improvements on their banks, in point of interest or effect. Still less with those of the Delaware, from Trenton to New Castle, where, in less than half the distance, beside innumerable farm-houses and country-seats, we have the cities of Trenton, Burlington, Philadelphia, and Wilmington ; and the beautiful towns of Bordentown, Bristol, Chester, and New Castle ; together with a like number of inland villages, in distant perspective, literally surrounded with orchards and gardens, and frequently ornamented with modest spires, or rather cupolas ; which are not to be sure so favourable to display, half concealed as they are by neighbouring woods.

Yet this is the only point of view in which any comparison at all can be supported between the two countries : for it is only on the banks of its rivers that Canada pretends to any population, or improvement, whatever ; whereas with us the cheering

———— Tract and blest abode of man

is scattered, more or less, over the whole surface of the soil, by hardy adventurers, who are not afraid to quit their native hearths in quest of the most distant establishments. And we have inland-towns little inferior in population to the capital of Canada.

It is but fair to observe, however, that the mode of settling upon the River St. Lawrence seems pointed out by nature in this region of perennial snow. It would have been difficult for inhabitants, far removed from each other, to have kept their roads open in winter ; and they must have passed the season, like so many bears sucking their paws, if they had been separated from each other by hills and hollows ; but, in many places, the banks of this mighty stream would seem to have been formed, by its waters, into different levels, running parallel with its course. Upon these levels the first settlers found it convenient to establish themselves in lines, whose communication could be readily preserved.

At the island of Kamouraska, some distance below that of

New Orleans, the appearance of the neighbouring heights is said to indicate unequivocally that the bed of the St. Lawrence was there once at a much higher level than that which it now occupies, a circumstance which corroborates the presumption that these ridges have been originally formed by the ancient current of the river.

THE TOWN OF WILLIAM-HENRY.

We came too, about ten in the morning, at the town of William-Henry, on the right bank of the River Sorel, which forms the outlet of Lake Champlain, for the purpose of taking in wood, of which article there is a very rapid consumption on-board of steam-boats.

As we approached the wharf, all the people in the place seemed to be taking post at the landing. Among the foremost came puffing a good-humoured looking mortal, genteelly dressed, of that description of bipeds that are said to laugh and be fat. He is currently known, it seems, by the name of Sir John Falstaff, and thus, like his prototype, of facetious memory, if he be not witty himself, he is oftentimes the cause of wit in others.

Sir James Sherbrooke, the governor-general of both the Canadas, has a seat near this place, where he spends the summer-months. He is now here, and I think we were told that Lady Selkirk was there, on a visit, from the dreary confines of Hudson's Bay.

This is but a small town, yet here is both a Catholic and a Protestant church. I entered the former, while the business of the boat was expediting; and found the aisles crowded with children, saying their catechism in a style of tedious rotation, which afforded a striking contrast to the compendious methods of the Lancasterian plan.

At the door I bought of a little girl a penny-worth of molasses candy, for which I put into her hand two coppers, saying I did not want any more, and she should have them both: but so competently had the principle of honesty, or independence, been impressed upon her memory (under the unpromising system above-mentioned,) that she ran after me, with the odd penny, crying, "Tenez, monsieur! Voici votre copper."*

Beggary is unknown, I find, in Canada, and thieving is said to be very rare. I afterwards learned, that it is no uncommon thing for the English inhabitants to receive again,

* Stop, Sir? here's your penny.

from the hands of the father-confessors, money which has been stolen from them, without their knowledge, carefully lapped up; with a request to take it again, and ask no questions.

THE LAKE OF ST. PIERRE.

Passing through the Lake, and among the woody Islands of St. Pierre, the weather being hazy, we almost lost sight of the main land; and when it again came in view, we were still tantalized with the perpetual repetition of house after house, or rather hut after hut (for the log hovels of the *habitants*, square hewn and neatly white-washed as they are, even to the roofs, which are clap-boarded and sometimes thatched with a species of long grass, which grows on some of these islands, called *l'herbe-au-lieu*, or wild grass, are little bigger than huts,) in which it very frequently happens that two or three generations of Canadians pig together, preferring the pleasures of ease and fellowship to all the advantages of independence and exertion. When necessity absolutely obliges a swarm of them to quit the parent hive, it is not to seek an establishment where land is cheap, for the future settlement of themselves and their children, but to sub-divide the original patrimony, and run up another hovel a few hundred paces distant, upon the same unvarying line which was traced out by their remotest ancestors, when they were obliged, above all things, to consult their safety from the irruptions of the savages.

THE TOWN OF THREE-RIVERS.

Towards evening we stopped for an hour or two off the town of Three-Rivers; there being no wharf for vessels to come too at, although this has been a place of trade more than 170 years; and it was once the seat of the colonial government—so indifferent are the Canadian French to matters of mere accommodation. Churches and monasteries are the principal features of the place, when seen from the water. One of these, that of the Recollects, is overshadowed by gigantic elms.

There were Indian canoes along shore, this place being yet frequented by the Aborigines of the north and west, with skins and peltry, which they bring with them many hundreds of miles; having their whole families on-board of these fragile conveyances.

Dun night and driving rain drove us below, and the next morning we were still thirty or forty miles from Quebec; having narrowly escaped the necessity of coming to anchor, by the wind's abating in the night.

During breakfast-time, we passed near the church of St.

Augustine Calvaire, which stands entirely exposed upon a naked beach.

The mountains here begin to rise, and produce more interesting scenery; the country in view having before been invariably flat. About nine o'clock we came in sight of the heights of Abraham on the left, and those of Point Levi on the right; between which were fifteen or twenty sail of merchantmen and ships-of-war riding at anchor; the island of Orleans appearing in the back-ground of this interesting picture.

We rapidly passed Wolfe's Cove, and were brought-to with admirable dexterity, at a wharf of most inconvenient height; for the tide rises, in this wild channel, from eighteen to twenty-four feet.

Here, and for half-a-mile round the precipice, which consists of a black slate, there is but just room for one narrow street. The rock is almost perpendicular till near the top; and as you look up from the water to the stone-wall, which caps the summit of the hill with projecting bastions, you wonder what prevents the ponderous masses from coming down upon your head.

GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

In this dismal ditch, where it first became exposed to a strong battery, which has been since taken down, on the 31st day of December, fell General Montgomery, and his aide-de-camp, M'Pherson, at the very first fire from the fort; and their disheartened followers were easily made prisoners, after a hopeless conflict; the snow being then four feet thick upon the ground.

Yet I was told, upon the spot, by a Canadian burgher, of confidential appearance, who said he was in the place at the time of the attack, that the town might have been taken, by surprise, if General Arnold had pushed his opportunity, when he first reached Point Levi, instead of waiting for the commander-in-chief, who was then coming down the St. Lawrence. In the mean time, the citizens had recovered from the panic into which they had been thrown by so unexpected an event. Sir Guy Carleton had thrown himself into the town, and the favourable moment for the attack was irretrievably lost.—The unfortunate general was interred by the British commander, upon one of the bastions of the citadel, with what are called the honours of war.*

* My informant, an old man, and a native Canadian, had in his youth been under the Falls of Montmorency, that is to say, within the tremendous concavity between the rock and the cataract, reverberating with incessant

QUEBEC.

Almost perpendicularly over the place where Montgomery fell, on the very brink of the precipice, which is here not less than two hundred feet high, in lieu of the ancient fort or chateau of St. Louis, which name, by courtesy of England, it yet retains, is erected the Government-House, the apartments of which are occupied by the various offices of the civil and military departments, acting under the orders of the governor-general of British America; the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia being included under his command. But his residence is in a convenient building, on the opposite side of the square.

The lower town, from which we have not yet regularly ascended, is a dismal congeries of the most wretched buildings, rising, in darkness visible, amidst every kind of filth, between the rock and the river; which is said to have washed the very base of the promontory, when Jacques Cartier first sailed by the craggy spot. I quitted the narrow confines, with the alacrity of a fugitive escaping from the confinement of a prison, (though here,

In dirt and darkness hundreds stink, content,)

by a long flight of steps, ending in slope after slope; down which trickles perpetually the superfluous moisture of the upper town; the streets of which, in wet weather, are rinsed over the heads of the luckless passenger, by those projecting

thunder, and dripping with perpetual spray; and he had often jumped down into the circular basins, of unusual magnitude, worn in the solid rock, from whence the name of the river Chaudiere, which now pursues its foaming course at a distance far beneath these indubitable indications of the anterior elevation of its waters. They differ in nothing but their size from the well-known perforations which were observable at the Falls of Schuylkill, before the progress of improvement had obliterated all remains of those curious appearances. I embrace this opportunity to record that such things were within five miles of Philadelphia, that it may not be utterly forgotten that such interesting phenomena had ever existed. Nor can I forbear to put the question which they suggest,—why may not these aqueous perforations be as well admitted, to prove that the globe is not of a date exceedingly remote, (at least in its present form,) as the contrary can be inferred from the various layers of lava round Mount Etna, by the periods of whose decomposition the Canon Recupero could read the history of the earth, and discover, with un-misgiving presumption, that

He that made it and revealed its date to Moses,
Was mistaken in its age.

The largest of these perforations, which have any where been observed, would not have required more time for its production, with the assistance of circulating pebbles, than is allowed by the sacred historian.

spouts which are so common in the antiquated towns of Germany.

The Upper Town, at a height of one hundred and fifty feet, from which it overlooks the Lower, and shows the shipping so perpendicularly below, that you think you could toss a biscuit into them from the ramparts, is completely fortified with walls and gates, and all the other inconveniencies of a garrisoned town; such as sentinels on guard at every avenue, &c. &c., independently of the citadel, which, with its outworks, of considerable extent, occupies an elevation two hundred feet higher.

The cathedral, and the seminary for the clergy, together with the Jesuits' college opposite, now converted into a barrack for the troops, who make its once tranquil walls resound twice a day with the animating sounds of martial music—the bugle—the fife—and the spirit-stirring drum.—These extensive establishments, all originally devoted to religion, together with the Hotel Dieu, as it is called, after the name of a similar institution in Paris, being a hospital for the sick, and the single sisters who attend them; the monastery of the Recollets, now taken down, to make room for more useful edifices; and the convent of the Ursuline nuns, with other religious establishments, and their courts and gardens, occupied at least one-half of the ground, within the walls, leaving the streets narrow, irregular, and invariably up-hill and down; a circumstance which must render them singularly inconvenient in frost and snow.

Such is the famous city of Quebec, for the acquisition of which General Wolfe willingly devoted his life, in the year 1759; the only memento of which circumstance, upon the spot, is a wooden figure of the celebrated hero, in his broad-skirted coat, with slashed sleeves, painted red, standing in a niche, at the corner of a street, in the attitude of commanding the decisive action which for ever separated Canada from the dominion of France. It is called St. John-Street, and it leads to the Gate of St. Louis, whence, through I know not how many covered ways, protected by a like number of salient angles, (I may very probably be incorrect in the terms of fortification, never having made the science of destruction my particular study,) it finally disgorges the weary passenger, thwarted by recurring obstacles, upon the open air of the adjacent common.

We are now upon the plains of Abraham; yet the ascent continues sufficiently to cover the scene of action from the fire of the batteries. Turning round when you arrive at the summit, and looking down the river, between the two steeples

of the catholic and protestant cathedrals, you have what I thought the most interesting view of Quebec, because it embraces in the same *coup d'œil* the principal objects in the vicinity. Overlooking the basin, which is six miles wide, you behold the island of Orleans stretched out before you, till it terminates in undistinguishing haze, whilst on the left you have the north coast, rising gradually into distant mountains, from which the river Montmorency, precipitating itself into the St. Lawrence, is all but seen, through a grove of firs, and the view terminates abruptly in the perpendicular promontory of Cape Tourment, which is two thousand feet high, and therefore may be distinctly seen at the distance of thirty miles. On the right you have the rocks of Point Levi, and behold the shipping in the harbour, at an immense depth below. Imagine the effect of this whole fairy scene, connected as it is by the broad surfaces of the river, which is seen again upon the edge of the horizon, winding round the stupendous bluff above-mentioned, in its course toward the sea.

The field of battle lies a mile further west.—The common remains bare and uncultivated; and a little to the left of the road to Montreal, you perceive a large stone, near which the general fell. It may be easily distinguished by the repeated efforts of British visitors to possess themselves of the minutest specimen of this monument of national prowess, to carry home with them, as relics, on their return to England. It is a whitish granite, of a finer grain than usual.

This interesting spot has been devoted to history, not by an English professor of the fine arts, but by our countryman West, who considers himself acting patriotically as a British subject, in celebrating any event which is counted honourable to the British arms, that had occurred before the revolution, which established the independence of his country.

The French governor of Quebec, M. de Montcalm, fell likewise on the field-of-battle; yet such is the injustice of mankind to those who seek

——the bubble honour in the cannon's mouth,

that the man who died in the defence of his country is never mentioned with applause, because unsuccessful, whilst the victorious invader of a foreign shore is puffed to the skies by the meretricious trumpet of Fame.

I sat up my head-quarters, to adopt the military phraseology that prevails here, at the Union Hotel, in the Place d'Armes or Parade, intending from hence to make excursions into the country at my leisure. Malhiot's Hotel, in St. John's-Street, is said to be the best house of entertainment at Quebec; but

I generally find the second best, in this case, best suited to the indulgence of my desultory habits.

At this place I met daily at dinner, while in town, a shrewd English agent or commissary, a man of mature age, universal information, and a cold, calculating temperament, and a young Canadian from the country, who was studying law at Quebec. The cool-headed Englishman occupied the head of the table, with the strictest observance of the customary forms of politeness; but, amidst the reciprocation of formal civilities, took care to maintain a prudent reserve; but the vivacious Frenchman attached himself to me immediately, with the most engaging frankness. This is not the first time I have had occasion to remark the mutual attraction and repulsion which takes place between total strangers, on sitting down together, for the first time, at a public table; nor yet to observe the preference which the French every where discover for the American character. It was as good as a passport when I was last in France; and an application under that name was respected by sentinels on guard, when permission was generally refused to others. "Vous êtes Américain! Entrez, Monsieur,"* and commandants, who received me with all the sternness of official authority, have softened their manner as soon as I called myself an American.

I thought my young friend an Englishman, so well did he speak the language; and I afterward understood that he had renounced the French from his childhood, and now spoke it so ill, that he declined conversing in it, even when he learned that I spoke French myself.

In the perpetual ebullitions of his vivacity, he put me to the question a great deal more than is agreeable to me, but I could not find in my heart to discountenance his volubility, or discourage his wish to be serviceable to me in the objects of my pursuit.

Accordingly, when I left Quebec, I was furnished by him with a list of the post-houses on the road, accompanied by notes of the inns, and other information, highly useful to a traveller by land. But this was not enough to satisfy his assiduity; I must have letters of recommendation to no less than four gentlemen of his acquaintance, in the different towns I should pass through, though I professed, with my usual bluntness, very little expectation of delivering any of them. And there was one to his grandmother at Machiché. But I will not anticipate the amusing visit to which this afterward gave rise.

I recollected some of the sprightly sallies of Monsieur Gury,

* Are you an American? Walk in, Sir.

with the intention of putting them upon paper; but so much of the effect of that volatile spirit

Whence lively wit excites to gay surprise,
unavoidably evaporates in repetition; and so much of its pungency depends upon attending circumstances, which cannot be conveyed by the pen, that I shall not risk the attempt, lest it should discredit the convivial powers of my young friend, whose esteem I should be very unwilling to forfeit.

One retort, however, which took place when the cloth was removed, between the two ends of the table, was national, and I shall therefore preserve it. The sober Englishman was asked to mention a historical subject upon which the student might exercise his talents for composition during the recess. He proposed "the rise and progress of the most extensive colony upon the globe."—"Not Botany Bay, sure," said I.—"No, no," interrupted Monsieur, "it shall be the decline and fall of Quebec."

On another occasion the American revolution being in question, the cause was on all hands allowed to be just. "Nay," said they, "the British government itself has virtually acknowledged it, in granting, by act of parliament, to the Canadian provinces, the only privilege which the leading patriots at one time contended for, that of not being taxed without their own consent."

My young friend would gladly have accompanied me to the religious houses; but to such places I always choose to go by myself. One of my earliest visitations was to

THE HOTEL DIEU;

where a superieure and twenty-seven sisters take care of the sick poor of both sexes, who are lodged in separate wards, and furnished by them with every thing necessary. The sisters, however, having a good deal of leisure on their hands, being themselves almost as numerous as their patients, employ or amuse themselves in making ornaments for altars, and embroidering with fruit and flowers a variety of trinkets, such as pocket-books and work-bags, which visitors take home with them for presents to children, or mementos of their journey: they are made of thin, smooth, and pliable bark of a tree, which is common here (the French call it *Boulotte*;) it will bear writing on as well as paper, the ink not spreading in the least. I brought away a specimen of it from the falls of Montmorency, which I intend to present to Peale's museum.

I introduced myself to one of the nuns whom I met in the passage, (she was dressed in white linen, very coarse, with a

black veil, pinned close across the forehead, and thrown back upon the shoulders,) by asking permission to see their chapel.

—“*Asseyez vous, Monsieur, un petit moment.*”^{*} There was a window-seat at hand. “*Je vais chercher une de mes Sœurs, pour nous accompagner.*”[†] It seems they are never allowed

to go any where without a companion, which is the reason they are always seen abroad in pairs. She returned immediately with another sister, who saluted me with apparent pleasure.

They introduced me to the door of the chapel, but went not in themselves; the sisters having a private place of devotion appropriated to them along-side, they never enter the public chapel when it is frequented by others.

I soon returned to them, finding nothing interesting in the building, though it seems it was founded in 1638, by the Duchess d'Aiguillon, who sent over three nuns of this order from the hospital at Dieppe, on the establishment of this charitable institution. It contains but two pictures worth attention. They are large pieces, without frames, by good French masters, leaning against the walls of the side chapels, as if they had never been hung up. The subjects I remember were the Visitation of St. Elizabeth, and the dispute with the doctors of the law.

The two sisters had waited for me in the sacristy behind the chapel; they seemed gladly to embrace the opportunity for a few minutes conversation with a stranger. I was curious about their regulations. “*Vous n'avez donc pas de communauté chez vous Monsieur.*”[‡] We had not any. I was from Philadelphia. “*Cependant,*” said one of them, “*on en a la Louisiane. Mais ce ne'est pas si loin. Voilà la raison apparamment.*”[§] Did they permit women who had once been married to take the veil? “*Oui Monsieur, si elles n'ont point d'enfans. Cela pourroit les distraire. Et d'ailleurs elles doivent plutôt s'occuper à élever leurs enfans.—Il y avoit dernièrement Madame une telle qui vouloit faire profession: Mais Monseigneur l'Evêque a dit qu'il étoit plutôt de son devoir d'élever ses enfans, que de soigner les malades.*”^{||} Having once entered the house, were they obliged to perpetual resi-

* Sit down one minute, sir.

† I am going for one of my sisters to accompany us.

‡ Have you no communities in your country, sir?

§ Yet they have them in Louisiana; but that is not so far. That must be the reason.

|| Yes, sir, if they have no children, that might divide their affections; and beside, they are bound in duty to bring up their children. It is but lately that Madame Such-a-one wanted to enter the house; but my lord-bishop told her that it was rather her business to see to the education of her children than to take care of the sick.

dence ?—" *Après un an et demi de profession l'on ne peut plus sortir, jusques là il est permis de se retirer* (laughing) *combien y a t-il de gens mariés, Monsieur, qui voudroient bien renoncer au mariage, si cela se pouvoit, après un an et demi de noviciat ?*"*—Assuredly, said I, a great many.—But I took the vow of matrimony twenty years ago, and have never had occasion to repent my obligation.

THE CATHEDRAL OF QUEBEC.

I next went to see the cathedral, which is a plain rough building on the outside, with a handsome steeple, as usual covered with tin. It is erected on one side of the great door. Within, this church has much of the imposing effect of European cathedrals, arising from great length and lofty height.

I was struck with the rich carved wainscot of the choir, much in the style of that of Notre Dame at Paris. Over it four Corinthian columns support an arch in scroll-work. Upon this rests the globe, on which stands a figure of the Redeemer, in the attitude of benediction, holding in his left hand, or rather leaning upon a ponderous cross, rays of glory emanating from the body on all sides. This part is painted white, and the whole work is admirable, both in design and execution, as well as the open work of the bishop's throne, and the stalls for the canons; but the sculptured pulpit, and the statues in the choir, are painted and gilded in a gaudy style unworthy of notice or description.

The Sacristan now accosted me, observing my peculiar curiosity. He was a hard-headed veteran of the church, with all his features settled into that imperturbable insensibility, which is naturally contracted by beholding, without interest or regard, the perpetual flux and reflux of the tide of human life at the doors of a Catholic cathedral, where every period of existence, from the cradle to the grave, is in continual rotation.

I had myself seen that morning the different ceremonies of a christening and a burial; nothing was wanting but a marriage to complete the whole history of life; and that, I am told, often takes place contemporaneously also.

I asked him whether the church was not a hundred and fifty feet long? He said it was one hundred and eighty-six. He had measured it himself. It is ninety wide, and the mid-

* After a year and a half of trial they are no longer permitted to withdraw. Until then they are at liberty to do so. How many married people are there who would gladly renounce matrimony, after the experience of a year and a half?

dle aisle, which is divided from the side aisles by massy arcades, is at least sixty high.

In what year, said I, was the church erected?—"Monsieur, il y a environ cent cinquante ans. Je ne saurois vous dire le jour même."* But the carved work in the choir is not of that age, (it is of some rich wood not yet much darkened by time). "C'est que l'Eglise a été brûlée il ya environ cinquante ans."† The pulpit, said I, was probably saved from the wreck, (it is of gothic construction, and grossly painted in colours.) "Non, Monsieur, Rien ne fut sauvé tout est à neuf."‡ Was the beautiful carved work of the choir made in this country? "Oui, Monsieur, ç'a été fait par un de nos propres Canadiens, qui a fait le voyage de France exprès pour s'en rendre capable."§ Was that Lewis XIII. or Lewis XIV. that stood on the right hand of the altar? (a marshal of France, perhaps Montmorenci, on the opposite side.) "Non, Monsieur, ce n'est ni l'un ni l'autre. C'est—C'est—Le Louis des Croisades."|| It is then Louis IX. or St. Lewis, said I.—"Eh oui, oui, Monsieur, vous avez raison. Mais comment l'avez vous reconnu pour être roi?"¶ By the crown and sceptre. "Oh! bin,"** said the old sexton, [who appeared to have, till that moment, overlooked his kingship, and considered the canonized Lewis as nothing more than one of the saints of the choir, it being not uncommon to crown the figures of saints in catholic churches.) "Les autres d'alentour," continued he, "sont St. Pierre, St. Paul, St. ——. He could not recollect the name of the third—it was the marshal of France, St. ——. Vous sentez bien que nous ne les croyons pas les véritables saints mêmes; mais seulement leurs représentants."†† O yes, yes, I understand it.

THE CHAPEL OF THE URSULINES.

Next morning I went to the chapel of the Ursulines, in the expectation of seeing the nuns at their devotions; but in that I was disappointed. An old priest was saying mass at a mag-

* Sir, it is about one hundred and fifty years old. I cannot tell you to the very day.

† No, for the church was entirely burnt down about fifty years ago.

‡ No, Sir, nothing was saved; every thing is new.

§ Yes, Sir, it was made by one of our Canadians, who went over to France on purpose to qualify himself for the work.

|| No, Sir, it is neither of them. It is—It is—the Louis of the Crusades.

¶ Yes, yes, Sir; you are right.—But how did you know him to be a king?

** O! true.

†† The others round are St. Peter, St. Paul, St. ——. You understand that we do not take them to be the very saints themselves, but only their representatives.

nificent altar, the tabernacle uncommonly splendid, Corinthian columns, gilded statues, a bishop on one side, and a queen on the other, (probably Ann of Austria, the mother of Lewis XIV. as this institution was founded in 1639,) St. Joseph with the child in his arms over head; seraphs are reclining in the angles of the pediment, and cherubs spread their wings above and below the niches; bas-reliefs of apostles and evangelists, with their appropriate emblems, occupying the pannels of the pedestals. All this in the finest style of the age of Lewis XIV. both sculpture and architecture.

This rich chapel may be eighty feet long, forty wide, and forty high. It is now dark with age, though it has always been neatly kept, by the piety of the nuns, and has therefore suffered nothing else from time.

On the left is a side chapel hung with Gobelin tapestry, (probably a royal present, as Lewis XIV. kept that manufactory in his own hands for such purposes.) On the right is a large arched grate, with a black curtain drawn behind it, through which the nuns were occasionally heard hemming and coughing; for this was a silent mass. I now despaired of seeing the particular objects of my curiosity; but presently the curtains were drawn from within, and discovered the nuns kneeling, in their black dresses, with white neckerchiefs. This was at the moment of the elevation of the host; and no sooner was it over than the curtains were closed again, and the slender audience seemed to be left behind, to receive the "*Dominus vobiscum*,"* and coldly respond "*Amen*."

The paintings in this elegant chapel are chiefly unmeaning representations of celebrated sisters of the order, in attitudes of adoration or beatification, on their knees, or in the clouds. There is, however, upon these venerable walls, a historical representation of the Genius of France, just landed upon the shores of Canada, from a European vessel, which is seen moored to the rocks. She is pointing to the standard of the cross at the mast-head, and offering, with the other hand, to a female savage, the benefits of religious instruction, which she receives upon her knees. Wigwams, children, &c. are seen in the back ground.

This conventual institution, probably the most strict in North America, short of the vice-royalty of Mexico, owes its rise to the piety and self-denial of a rich young widow, who, devoting herself to religion upon the death of her husband, chose Quebec for her retreat, as a place of seclusion from the world.

* The Lord be with you.

THE GENERAL HOSPITAL AND THE WHITE NUNS.

The General Hospital, which is beautifully located, in a retired situation, on the banks of the little river St. Charles, about a mile westward of the town, now only remained to be explored.

I walked that way one evening, when all nature wears an aspect of tranquillity, and invites to meditation or repose.

It is the most regular of all the religious edifices of this place, and remains, without alteration or addition, as it was originally founded by its beneficent patron, M. de St. Vallier, the second bishop of Quebec, who endowed it, I believe by will, in the year 1693, for the relief of the aged and infirm. They are attended by thirty-seven sisters, under the direction of a *Superieure*, or Lady Abbess.

This extensive building forms a hollow square, two stories high ; and the front, next the town, has a venerable appearance of antiquity, with its high pitched roof, and broad portals at each end, under the protection of St. Joseph and the Virgin, (if I remember right,) in their respective niches. Fortunately I did not enter it at this time, but sauntered about the lonely environs of the place, thinking upon the melancholy absurdity of those human inventions and traditions, by which God is robbed of his honour, so to speak, and his son Jesus Christ, is, at it were, superseded by Joseph and Mary, as if the heaven-born Saviour were yet under the tutelage of earthly parents.

I say fortunately, because this circumstance brought me here a second time, but a few minutes before a procession took place, which was the most impressive thing of the kind I ever saw in Canada.

I had passed through the lower ward, into the chapel, attended by one of the patients, who told me on my giving him something 'to discharge him,' that there was going to be a procession of the nuns that afternoon, agreeably to the rules of the founder, which enjoin, it seems, the formal visitation of the altars in the respective wards, to be performed by the sisterhood, in full habit, at certain set times in every month.

I bade him bring me word when the procession was coming, and applied myself to the perusal of two broad tablets upon the walls, which narrated, in French verse, the style and title, the talents and the virtues, of JEAN BAPTISTE LE CHEVALIER DE ST. VALLIER, who had been forty-two years bishop of Quebec, when he founded this beneficent institution, and was here interred at the foot of the altar.

I had not near finished the verses, which had no particular

merits of their own to recommend them, when my attendant returned in haste to tell me, that the procession was forming. As I re-entered the ward at the upper end, the sisterhood were coming in at the other. They were preceded by a lay-sister, bearing a silver crucifix. She was evidently in her noviciate, having only the white veil, which was pinned across her forehead, and fell loose upon her shoulders. The rest had all black veils of the same description; but the dress of all of them was white, with large open flannel sleeves, a small cross depending from the neck.

The cross-bearer was the handsomest woman, or rather, she was the only handsome woman I had seen in Canada—very fair, but tall, without colour; and her unusual height was set off to advantage by the little girls that carried lighted tapers on either side of her. But there was something, even in her downcast eyes, which failed to convince me that the fair proselyte had voluntarily drawn the lot of a recluse. They all three took their station on one side, directly opposite to where I stood, while the superior, between two sisters, bearing with both hands a ponderous image of the Virgin, approached the altar; and, kneeling down before it, was imitated by all the sisterhood, as they followed her in pairs.

They remained for some minutes in this uneasy attitude, singing aloud,

Virgo piissima! Ora pro nobis!

Mater dolorissima! Ora pro nobis! &c. &c.*

the Catholic spectators on their knees responding with zealous vociferation,

Domine exaudi nos! †

THE LEGISLATURE OF CANADA.

The legislature of Canada holds its sittings in what was once the bishop's-palace, a building which has been long allowed to be applied to other uses by the now humble bishops of the see, who are content to reside in the seminary among their clergy; and the old chapel has been handsomely fitted up by government for the accommodation of the legislature.

I walked into it one day with permission from one of their secretaries, who was writing in the anti-chamber.

The speaker sits, as at St. Stephen's, in a high-backed chair, at the upper end of the room, surmounted by his majesty's

* Most pious virgin! Pray for us. Most painful mother! Pray for us.

† Lord, we beseech thee to hear us. Or, as it stands in our Protestant Liturgy, *Good Lord, we beseech thee to hear us.*

arms. The members sit upon benches, without desks. It will be recollected that our delegates in congress occupy armed chairs, and every member is provided with a desk. Which arrangement is best adapted to the various purposes of discussion and deliberation, I shall not venture to opine; as it is evidently one of those questions upon which much may be said on both sides.

The proceedings in this miniature parliament, for so it is called, take place in both languages; though I perceived by the names of the actual members, which hung up in the lobby, that few of the representatives are now French.

The debates are said to be sometimes very animated; but they are more frequently personal than political: The crown having a veto upon all their proceedings.

After various changes in the system of government had been adopted and rejected, in the vain expectation of reconciling the customs of France with the laws and usages of England, in the year 1792, all the benefits of the British constitution were extended to this part of the empire; and the province of Canada was divided into two separate governments; a legislative council and assembly being allotted to each. But both of them were placed, together with the lower provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, under the controul of the same governor-general.

PEDESTRIAN EXCURSION TO THE FALLS OF MONTMORENCY.

My curiosity being now nearly satisfied at Quebec, I sat out by myself on a pedestrian excursion to the Falls of Montmorency, about eight miles north-east of that city.

On crossing the river St. Charles, I found myself in a muddy plain, or bottom of black mould, mixed with sand; through which I with difficulty picked my steps for a mile or two; after which the rising ground became stony and rough.

On the left I passed two or three large old French mansion-houses, very long in front, but shallow. They wore the appearance of desertion and decay; but the church of Beauport on the right, with its two steeples and a comfortable college for the priests, looked in good repair. I envied them nothing, however, but a small grove of trees on a projecting knoll, through which they had laid out a gravel walk. It terminated at an oaken table, with seats for study or reflection; from which tranquil spot the fathers could see Quebec, without any intervening object, but the majestic river and the shipping in the harbour.

About noon I reached the river Montmorency, which is crossed by a bridge a little above the fall. Having overlooked

the foaming torrent from a grove of firs (the French call them elegantly pinettes,) I crossed the bridge and dined, or rather would have dined, at a small inn on the other side; but I found the brown bread was totally unpalatable to my pampered appetite, and nothing else but eggs were to be had.

A quiet nap, however, refreshed me—I forgot the want of dinner; and, in the afternoon, I went round the hill, on the lower side of the falls. I saw them on the way to much better advantage than before, pouring, in an unbroken sheet of foam, into the abyss below; and, descending to the beach, I approached the thundering cataract near enough to be sprinkled with the spray; and to satisfy myself that the height of this celebrated fall has been much over-rated. It does not in reality exceed, if it even equals, the gigantic falls of Niagara, in the smallest of their dimensions, I mean that of height.

Heriot calls it 246 feet, which is about 100 feet beyond the truth; and yet he must have viewed it with attention, as he gives a beautiful view of Montmorency.

The bank over which it rolls consists of a lime-slate, in horizontal strata, of various thicknesses, connected together by occasional veins of fibrous gypsum.

The rocks of Montmorency have received little injury, or rather impression, from the course of the water; which does not appear to have receded many feet from what must have been its pristine situation, at the period of Noah's flood—perhaps long before: for I am one of those geologists who, with Professor Cuvier, of the French Institute, do not believe that the face of the earth was much, if at all, materially changed at the time of the deluge; the waters of which might rise to the height mentioned in scripture, and withdraw their covering without leaving any more permanent marks of their irruption than the mud and slime which they would naturally deposit.

It falls upon a flat rock, which bears no marks below the present basin of having ever been more worn by the waters than it is at present; and the adjoining banks are within a few hundred feet of the great river, to which they descend almost perpendicularly.

These circumstances disprove the fond presumption, so lightly adopted by Schultz and others, that the cataract of Niagara, which now pours over a perpendicular wall of similar rocks (as no doubt it has done from the beginning, and will continue to do to the end of time) has receded from a distance of, I forget how many miles below, wearing away the solid rock, at the rate of so many inches in a year.

This groundless hypothesis is accompanied with sage calculations of how nearly this prodigious wear and tear can be

kept within the limits of the Mosaic chronology; and how much more time—looking forward with fearful expectations, will be sufficient to wear through the remaining bed of the river, and let out the waters of Lake Erie, to deluge the subjacent plains !*

A truce to speculation—let us return to acknowledged realities.

By going round the mouth of the river, and ranging the flat rock, which forms its level bottom, I got within the influence of the spray; and, turning from the sun, was gratified with the ærial splendours of a circular rainbow, which formed around me a perfect ring, or halo, of the prismatic colours.

I now followed the course of the beach down the shore of the St. Lawrence, as far as the little church of Ange Gardien, (not less than three miles) and was by that time weary enough to have accepted a humble lodging in one of the neighbouring cots; but I did not feel inclined to solicit admittance, while I could possibly command accommodation at an inn.

I therefore stopped at a house to inquire the road, where an old woman and her daughter were weaving in a large room, which apparently answered all their purposes, as there were several beds in it. Whilst I was taking her directions, the priest of the parish came in with that peculiar air of unconcern, approaching to apathy, which is so observable among the

* The rocks of Montmorency afford ample confirmation of the comparatively recent date of the present state of things, according to the Mosaic Chronology; as it is evident from the proximity, or rather juxta-position of this cataract to the river St. Lawrence, into which it falls almost perpendicularly, in connexion with the unworn surface of the flat rock on which it falls, (every where but at the existing basin) that these waters could not have continued so to fall for any very long period of time, without having worn away the rocks over which they pour, in a much greater degree than they have yet done.

I consider these falls as affording palpable proof of Professor Cuvier's opinion in his *Theory of the Earth*, "That, by a careful examination of what has taken place, on the surface of the globe, since it has been laid dry for the last time, and its continents have assumed their present form, (for the learned Professor traces the formation of the rocks and mountains, through gradual and successive changes, both of composition and position, at least in such parts as are somewhat elevated above the level of the ocean) it may be clearly seen, that this last revolution, and consequently the establishment of our existing societies (in other words, the creation of the human race) cannot have been very remote. Accordingly, it is obvious to remark, that among the bones (of animals) found in a fossil state, those of the human species have never yet been discovered." Several of those specimens, which had passed for remains of that kind, Cuvier examined with attention, and that able naturalist declares, that not a single fragment among them had ever belonged to a human skeleton.

clergy in Canada. Upon the priest's sitting down, the good woman laid aside her shuttle, and brought in a mug of beer; which she set between us, with rustic civility—not offering it to either. His reverence was not inquisitive, and I was not loquacious under the fatigues of my journey; so I soon rose, and took my leave. I have since regretted that I had not taken the opportunity of some professional information; but one has always something to regret; and

The eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing.

There was no tavern, he said, for two leagues; but there were good houses upon the road; and they were accustomed to exercise hospitality. That is to say, in this country they would receive travellers, and take pay for their entertainment. Hospitality implies, in Canada, nothing like the disinterested kindness of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, which has been lately sketched with such glaring colours in Galt's *Life of West*; nor yet does it indicate the liberal welcome of the gentleman farmer of Maryland, or Virginia, to whom the company of an intelligent stranger is such an acceptable treat in those isolated situations, that he is recommended from house to house by way of conferring a favour; and he may live among the neighbouring gentry, at free cost, as long as he chooses.

I continued my progress by cottages and hamlets, mills and water-falls, till I came at last within ken of the expected place of repose; but its wretched appearance so disheartened me, after walking fifteen miles in expectation of a place of shelter, that I had, at last, a great mind to have begged a night's lodging in the neighbourhood. I actually knocked at one door for that purpose; but the people within answered as if they had retired to rest, (it was now between nine and ten o'clock) and I reconciled myself as well as I could to the brawling of watermen, who were to put off as soon as the tide served, which would be some time before midnight, for Quebec. The landlady (one of the coarsest women I have ever seen) had some tolerable wine, as it happened, so I had a pint of it, and declined having any thing else for supper. I threw myself, in my clothes, upon the wretched bed that was made for me; and next morning I turned out as early as possible, after swallowing a couple of raw eggs, the only eatable I could stomach in this squalid abode.

The peasants of Canada have got the disagreeable habit, so common in Europe, of never telling their price. *Ce que vous voulez, Monsieur*, (What you please, Sir,) is the universal answer, even at professed inns, in unfrequented places. But I must say they never asked me for more than I gave them,

whatever it was; and they always appeared to be perfectly satisfied.

Yet there are no beggars in Canada, any more than in the United States. The stranger is no where importuned for money, or disgusted by the shameless display of natural or acquired deformity, with which European roads and cities universally abound. Whilst I was at Montreal, a street beggar arrived from Europe. Upon taking his stand in the public square, he was soon noticed by the police, and clapped up in a place of confinement, till he should learn to respect the customs of the country, and betake himself to some honest means of obtaining a livelihood.

I was much annoyed, however, by the little whiffet dogs that run out upon passengers from every hovel, barking till they are out of sight. I often admired the patience of the postillions—but they are probably fond of it. Noise seems to be here the general passion. Church-bells are perpetually ringing out, drums beat twice a-day, in the principal towns, making the streets resound with the tattoo, or the reveillé; and in the country whole dozens of little bells are constantly jingling upon the harness of every calèche.

Before I turned about, I examined the ruins of the Franciscan convent, which had been burnt by General Wolfe to dislodge its inhabitants, whose influence prevented supplies from being brought him by the neighbouring peasantry, and the chateau, as it was called, (I conjecture from its having been originally a seignorial mansion-house or gentleman's seat) was never allowed to be repaired.

The neighbouring church, called Chateau Richer, from this castellated mansion (whose walls are yet perfectly sound, though they have been so long dismantled) was built in 1638; and it is now undergoing a thorough repair.

The whole island of Orleans may be seen from hence; but its appearance is uninteresting, on so near a view; from the monotonous style of the settlements, house after house, at equal distances, and so much alike that you cannot distinguish one from another.

The French settlements do not extend above fifty miles below the island, though they are sprinkled along as far as the harbour of Tadoussac on one side, and the town of Kamouraska on the other, from whence downward, in a space of hundreds of miles, nothing is to be seen on either hand but mountains covered with brush-wood and rocks, grey with the moss of ages, over or beside which innumerable streams and rivers seem to gush, or roll in vain.

In this gigantic river, the water is brackish no farther than the lower end of the island of Orleans, and the tide flows no farther than the Lake of St. Pierre, yet the white porpoises are frequently seen to pitch in the basin of Quebec, and whales occasionally ascend as far as the river Sanguenay.*

On my return toward Quebec, I proceeded more leisurely than I had done in coming down, and now found time to admire the beautiful plants, or rather vines, which were occasionally to be seen hanging from the lintel of an open window; the windows in Canada opening on hinges, from side to side, instead of being hung with weights, to rise and fall, as with us. These vines, it seems, are called *filz d'araigner*, or spiders' threads, from the singular delicacy of their tendrils; they are suspended in small pots, which the earliest leaves soon cover, so as completely to conceal the vessel which contains them; the plant then pushes forth its pendent strings of sprigs and flowers, green, red, and blue, the clusters of which seem to be growing in the air: frequently single pots of pinks, marigolds, and other flowers, occupied the sills of the windows in the meanest cottages, and gave them, more than any thing within, an appearance of domestic enjoyment.

As I walked along, the men had generally turned out to mend the roads, much rain having fallen latterly, and the surface being full of holes rooted up by the hogs. I asked one grey-headed man how old he was. He told me he was

* The impetuous torrent of the Sanguenay is a curiosity of the watery element, little, if at all, inferior to the thundering Falls of Niagara. The banks are naked rocks, which rise from one hundred and seventy to three hundred and forty yards above the stream, whose current is at once broad, deep, and violent. In some places, falls of fifty or sixty feet cause it to rush onward with inconceivable rapidity. It is generally from two to three miles wide, to a distance of one or two hundred miles from its mouth, where it is suddenly contracted by projecting rocks to the width of one mile only. At the place of its discharge, attempts have been made to sound its depth, with five hundred fathom of line, but without effect. At two miles up, the bottom is indicated at one hundred and thirty or forty fathoms, and seventy miles from the St. Lawrence it is still from fifty to sixty fathoms deep.

Its course is very sinuous, owing to innumerable projecting points, contracting its width from either shore: yet the tide runs up it for seventy miles; and the ebb, on account of these obstructions, is much later than it is in the great river, in consequence of which, at low water in the St. Lawrence, the force of the Sanguenay is perceivable for several miles, after its current has been absorbed in the broad bosom of the former, which is here twenty or thirty miles wide.

Just within its mouth is the harbour of Tadoussac, which is well sheltered by surrounding heights, and furnishes anchorage for any number of vessels, of the largest size.

eighty-one. "Ah! Monsieur," added he, "J'ai vu bien de la misère, au monde."* I quitted him with the obvious remark, that such were generally those that lived the longest.

In the yard of a large grist-mill, through which the road passed, I sat down to rest myself among the work-people who were employed at their different occupations. I soon perceived that one of them noticed me particularly; and I was just going to continue my journey, to avoid interrogation, when he asked me, with more responsibility than his appearance indicated, if I would not walk into the house to rest myself. I assured him I was very well where I was. Then he would have me to come in and take a cup of tea, for the French have learned to love tea in America, though they have forgotten the receipt for *soupe maigre*. I civilly declined the offer, wishing to reach Beauport by dinner-time, where I knew I might lay by for the day at a tolerable inn.

I now jogged on, without any farther adventures, to the inhospitable inn at Montmorency, where, however, the children now brought me plates of wild strawberries, for which I paid them to their hearts' content. These Canadian strawberries are so very small, that I did not always think it necessary to pull off the stems, but ate them sometimes by handfuls, stems and all. Here they had been picked clean, and were served up to me like a delicacy, which they really are.

Knowing this was no place to dine at, I went on, after a nap in my chair, and reached Beauport, as the family were sitting down to table; so I dined with them, as I could, upon salt-fish, without eggs; for it was meagre day. The bread, however, was now eatable, for there is a baker in the village.

Next morning, instead of returning to Quebec, I concluded to cross the country to Charlebourg; dined there, after stopping at the church, where I was glad to shelter myself from a drizzling rain; and in the afternoon proceeded to the

INDIAN VILLAGE OF LORETTO,

but was obliged to stop by the way, under a friendly roof, while a smart shower refreshed the air. It cleared up before night, and I readily found the village, by the direction of the steeple.

The Canadian Loretto takes its name from a representation of the Holy House, on its way through the air, from Bethlehem, in Palestine, under the conduct of angelic guardians, which the Catholic founders of this Indian church, whose zeal will, at the present day, be readily allowed to be more conspicuous than their judgment, have placed over the altar.

* Ah! Sir, I have seen a great deal of misery in my time.

This, may I be permitted to observe by the way, is little better than initiating the Hindoos in the Christian faith, by explaining, or rather attempting to explain, the mystery of election and reprobation, by an arbitrary election of some, and rejection of others; whereas, the election of which the scriptures speak (although in some parts they are hard to be understood, and the unlearned wrest them to their own destruction,) the election of grace is universal, being in Christ the seed of Jacob, the second Adam, the quickening spirit; and the rejection or reprobation is of Esau, a figure of the first-born, or natural man, not in some, but all; for it is a literal truth, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. We must be born again. We must actually put on Christ, or we shall never be saved by him; for he came to save his people from their sins, not in them. "Know ye not, that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?"—"These are hard sayings," said the Jews, "Who can bear them?"

Perhaps these children of nature had better have been left to "the Great Spirit," whom their fathers worshipped, however ignorantly; and their intuitive belief in "the Land of Souls," than to have been thus impressed with one of the idlest impositions of ancient superstition.

The village consists, besides the church, which appears now to be much neglected, of forty or fifty square houses, standing separate from each other, with spaces between, which serve both for streets and yards to the listless inhabitants. Some young men were lounging about. A girl, as fleet as a fawn, frolicked round them occasionally, and the children were at some noisy play.

These simple people are of the Huron tribe, and they have long been civilized, or rather naturalized, among the French in Canada. They have lost their native habits of contempt for labour, and fondness for war, and now live much in the Canadian manner, though they preserve the Indian dress, as less constraining to their limbs.

They occupy about two hundred acres, I was told, of their own, but depend more willingly upon the precarious chances of hunting and fishing, having recourse, when those fail them, to hiring themselves out for bread among the neighbouring farmers.

Under such circumstances they are fast forgetting the traditions of their ancestors, which are no longer preserved by belts of wampum, and renewed, by periodical revival, during the solemnities of a council fire; even the song and the dance are now only taken up at distant intervals, to the monotonous sounds of Yo! He! Waw! in perpetual repetition, to gratify

the curiosity of European visitors, with the ferocious attitudes and frantic gestures of triumphant massacre.

The next day, being the sabbath, I should have gone to church with the Indians, but there was to be no service; and I should have staid to dinner with my host, but there was no meat in the house; so I concluded to go to the French church, half a mile distant: after visiting the Falls of St. Charles, called by the natives Cabir Coubat, to express the abrupt turns which the river here makes, as it descends, with a shrill concussion, through narrow tunnels which it has worn in the rocks, till it loses itself to the eye amid overhanging pines.

On the road to church the peasantry were collecting in great numbers; they were decently but coarsely clad, in jackets and trowsers of grey coating; and the youth were amusing themselves with harmless sports, till the bell rung for mass, for there was to be no sermon, the priests finding it easier to perform their accustomed rig-ma-role of the mass, than to task their ingenuity with the composition of a discourse adapted to the uninformed situation of their parishioners, who are thus literally left to "perish for lack of knowledge."

We had what is called High Mass, that is to say, the ceremonies of the mass were accompanied with singing; they are sometimes performed in apparent silence, the priests alone uttering certain parts of the ritual in a low voice, not designed to be heard by the congregation; and there was much smoking of incense, and sprinkling of holy water, a practice so very puerile, that it is difficult for a Protestant to behold it without a feeling of contempt for the operator.

But the rehearsal of a language that has censed to be spoken ever since the decay of the Roman empire, and which therefore involves a period of at least fifteen hundred years, is a solemn commentary upon the lapse of ages.

I consider this perpetuation of a dead language (however absurd it may appear in practice) as an unbroken link in the chain of history, that attaches, with irresistible conviction, the New Testament dispensation to that of the Old; and I reverence it in the order of Providence, as I do the Jews, that peculiar people, prepared of the Lord, for the introduction into the world of his only begotten Son, by whose genealogies and prophetic annunciations, (however unwittingly on their part,) we are assured of the birth of the Messiah, which was to be (I appeal to Moses and the prophets) before the kingdom should depart from Judah, before the daily sacrifice should be taken away, and whilst it was yet possible to trace the descent of the King of Israel from the house of David, and the tribe of Judah.

And if the true believer cannot but condemn the mummary

of superstition, engrafted by priestcraft upon primitive simplicity, it may yet excite his wonder, that the decayed fabric of Christianity should have stood the shock of reformation, and been restored in the Protestant professions to new life and vigour.

The rocks which compose the chain of mountains, which forms an immense amphitheatre behind the village of Loretto, and terminates in the promontory of Cape Tourment, consist, I am told, of a quartz of the colour of amber, sometimes white, with a black glimmer, and a few grains of brown spar. Not far from the point of the Cape, there is said to be a considerable lake upon the summit of the mountain.

I was now nine miles north of the St. Lawrence, upon a commanding elevation, from which there is an unbounded view of the great river, in its course toward the ocean ; of the heights of Quebec, and its glittering roofs and spires, whose reflection is too powerful for the eye, even at this distance ; of the island of Orleans ; of the southern coast, and, far beyond all, of the long chain of mountains which separates Canada from the United States.

Nothing can be more sublime than this uninterrupted view of one of the greatest rivers in the world, it being five miles wide, where it is unequally divided by the island of Orleans, which is upwards of three hundred from the sea.

You trace the channel as far as Cape Tourment, a bluff nearly perpendicular, which rises to a height of two thousand feet, and is distinctly visible, in its majestic outline, at the distance of forty miles, abruptly terminating, to the eye, the dim-seen mountains that bound the horizon, at an unknown distance, for at least as many leagues, allowing to the ravished eye, at one protracted glance, a softened view of the tremendous precipices,

Which pour a sweep of rivers from their sides ;
And, high between contending nations, rear
The rocky, long division.

I now set out in good spirits for Quebec, refreshed myself at Charlebourg, and reached town as the bells were tolling for seven o'clock, the hour at which the churches are closed. Here I supped deliciously upon fresh salmon, after the poor fare I had met with in the country ; and I listened again at nine o'clock to the penetrating trumpets, by which the hour of retirement is sounded every night.

The first bishop of Quebec was a Montmorency, of the noble house that has furnished so many dukes and marshals of France, in the most brilliant periods of the French monarchy.

I must have somewhere seen his epitaph, though I cannot now recollect where; but the celebrated Falls we have just visited, were probably called after him, and, if so, he may be said to have a more splendid monument than any of his illustrious ancestors. How much more durable! Since those were probably overturned in the fury of the revolution, whilst the resplendent cataract, faithful to its trust, will perpetuate the name of the good bishop to the end of the world.

Quebec is subjected to frequent rains, by the neighbouring mountains which arrest the clouds in its vicinity; and it has little to boast of in summer, though the days are very long, from its high northern latitude, (46. 55.) The sun now rises about four o'clock, and sets about eight.—The winter is allowed to be the season of enjoyment here.

A sufficient stock of meat and poultry is killed when the cold sets in, which it usually does in November, continuing without intermission till April, and sometimes encroaching upon May. The snow then usually lies upon the ground from four to six feet deep. The meat, as well as every thing else that is exposed to the cold, instantly freezes; and it is thus kept, without further trouble, till it is wanted.

As the snows fall, the inhabitants turn out to keep the road open, that their intercourse with their neighbours may not be impeded. The air is constantly serene and healthful; the nights are illuminated with the aurora borealis; and the time is spent in giving and returning visits between town and country. Dancing-parties are frequently formed by the young people at one another's houses, and the gay scene is at its height when the great river freezes over, as it sometimes does from side to side. The island of Orleans is then accessible, and every body turning out upon the "pont," as they call it, on skates, or else in sleds and carriages,

The then gay land is maddened all to joy.

Spring at length opens suddenly; the ice breaks up with tremendous crashes; and vegetation follows in surprising rapidity, as soon as the surface of the ground is clear of snow.

Such they say is, occasionally, the extremity of the cold, that wine freezes even in apartments heated by stoves, the pipes of which are conveyed through every room. Brandy exposed to the air will thicken to the consistence of oil; and the quicksilver of thermometers condenses to the bulb, and may possibly congeal, for even mercury freezes at 39 degrees below the beginning of Fahrenheit.

Heavy snows come in October. During November they

sometimes continue falling for weeks together; and when the cold at length purifies the atmosphere, the moon-light nights are almost as brilliant as the day; for the sun cannot rise very high between eight in the morning and four in the afternoon; and the full-moon, reflected by the snow and ice, is bright enough to admit of reading the smallest print.

The roads, which would have been utterly impassable had they not been kept beaten, as the snow fell, and marked across the undistinguishing waste by pine-bushes, stuck in from space to space, now harden to the consistence of ice, under the runners of the carriages, which seem to flit in air as they whirl along the impatient passenger (muffled up in furs till nothing appears but the tip of his nose,) at the rate of fifteen or twenty miles an hour.

One of the amusements of winter is to go a fishing upon the ice. For this purpose large openings are made, in certain places, which the fish are known to frequent. The broken ice is piled up arch-wise, to shelter the fishermen from the wind; and the fish coming hither for air, are easily caught, especially at night, when the men use lights, and sometimes kindle fires, which attract the fish to the circle, and produce a singular effect, at a distance, through the hollow masses of transparent ice, the angles of which glitter on your approaching them, as if they were hung with diamonds.

Notwithstanding this extraordinary frigidity, Canada lies in the same latitude with the smiling provinces of old France. The greater degree of cold upon the new continent must be attributed to the land stretching away to the vicinity of the Pole, with little intervening sea, and expanding at the same time very far to the west. The whole range of winter winds, therefore, from N. E. to N. W. passing over but little sea to divest them of their rigour, gather fresh cold in traversing immense tracts of snow and ice.

The Episcopal Cathedral, a handsome building, erected at a great expence (I believe of royal munificence) upon the spot once occupied by the convent and cloisters of the Recollects, or Franciscan Friars, is now undergoing a reparation which marks ostensibly the peculiarities of the climate.

This structure is of Grecian architecture (Ionick, if I remember right), finished with the broad entablature and low pediment; prescribed by the rules of that order; but its flat roof has been found incapable of supporting the weight of snow which annually rests upon it; and to render the building tight and comfortable, it has been found necessary to spoil its elegant proportions, by raising the roof at least ten feet higher.

33

The steeple of this church, though on a smaller scale, is evidently modelled from that of Christ Church, Philadelphia, which is the handsomest structure of the spire kind that ever I saw in any part of the world; uniting the peculiar features of that species of architecture, the most elegant variety of forms, with the most chaste simplicity of combination. It is allowed by all foreigners to do great credit to the taste and talents of the architect, (Robert Smith.)

Quebec is much nearer to Boston than it is to Halifax, or St. John's. By the route of the Chaudiere and the Kennebeck, it is no more than 370 miles to the capital of New England; but it is not less than 627 to that of Nova Scotia, by the road which was traced, by General Haldimand, in the year 1783, to St. John's in New Brunswick, thence crossing the Bay of Fundy to Halifax; but it is even now barely practicable, stretching for the most part across uninhabited deserts.

By Craig's road, which was cut by the command of Sir James, when governor-general in 1809, toward the American frontier, but which remains still unfinished, it would be only 200 miles to Hallowell, a town on the Kennebeck, from whence that river is navigable to the sea. It is but seventy miles from the out-settlements on the Kennebeck to the French posts on the riviere du Loup, a branch of the Chaudiere—the country between, mountainous and rugged, but intersected by rivers and streams.

I now prepared for my return by land, resolving to take the calèche, the Canadian post-chaise, that I might have the better opportunity of seeing the country, and observing the manners of the people; though I had been almost discouraged from the attempt, by apprehensions of imposition from the post-masters and postillions, whom I supposed to be no better than their brethren in Europe; and the certainty that this mode of conveyance would cost me at least twice as much as a passage in the steam-boat; the fare on-board of which, up the river, is but twelve dollars, including every thing, (ten dollars down.) Passengers are also provided for in the steerage, on-board of these boats, at one-quarter of the price.

I left Quebec with a confirmed opinion, that, although its citadel, reputed the strongest fortification in America, with its hundreds of heavy cannon, and its thousands of well-disciplined troops, might possibly, in future wars between the two countries (which Heaven avert), fall a prey to American enterprise and intrepidity; yet the conquest would cost infinitely more than it could be worth; and must be with difficulty maintained against the re-action of the greatest naval power on

part of a step-mother—who has but an equivocal claim to filial obedience.

Upper Canada, or British America, is proudly stretched by English geographers from the shores of the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean; and the boundless pretension serves to colour, with red, upon the map of the world, a great part of the northern hemisphere, until it whitens the Pole. But Upper Canada, Proper, or that part of it which is at all likely to be inhabited during the present generation, is a fertile territory, lying under a temperate sky, of about equal dimensions with the State of New York, which already contains a million of souls; and upon which it bounds, both above and below Lake Ontario, for a space of one or two hundred miles.

This extensive tract is isolated by nature, between the Ottawa River, a branch of the St. Lawrence, and Lake Nipissing, with its outlet, called French River, emptying into Lake Huron on the north; the broad expanse of Lake Huron on the north and west; and Lakes Erie and Ontario toward the south.

Upper Canada presents a solecism in politics; as well as a paradox in geography. An island, or at least a peninsula, in the heart of a continent: Its prosperity, as a nation, will be its ruin as a province. The stronger it grows, the weaker it will become, as a dependency of Britain. Let her beware of enumeration—David was under a delusion when he numbered Israel.

I would not be counted an enemy of England, because I tell her unwelcome truths. I am a friend to Britain; and have ever been proud of my descent, from the first nation upon earth.

This isolated territory, or, if you will, peninsula, at a distance of a thousand miles from any sea, is now settling—not with English, but with Americans, who pass into it by thousands, through the ample isthmus which separates Lake Erie from Lake Ontario—and a man must shut his eyes not to see the inevitable consequence.

It appears, from history, that in the year 1629 the infant Province of Canada was taken from the French by the English: but it was then held in little estimation, (as it would have been in 1759, if it had not been a security for the peace of the adjacent provinces) and, three years afterward, the unprofitable possession was restored to its rightful owners. The British Crown (it was worn by Charles I.) was then, it seems, wise enough to relinquish Canada, as an acquisition not worth the expence of maintaining; and, if it should eventually do so

again, by its own act, the deed will not be without a precedent. If Canada was then worth less than it is now—How much less did it cost?*

RETURN TO MONTREAL, BY LAND.

I was a little fretted upon leaving Quebec, at the unexpected demand of the Poste Royale, which has been carefully transferred to Canada, by the brethren of the whip: but no other imposition did I suffer till I reached Montreal. Every post-boy took his established fare, one-quarter of a dollar per league, and looked for no gratuity. The two first postillions had no whips. Not one of them swore at their horses, invariably managing the obedient animals with nothing more than. "*Marche donc!*" There was no liquor at the post-houses, not even where they professed to entertain travellers; for the police regulations are here very strict, against unnecessary tippling houses; and instead of calling for something to drink, at every stage, the post-boys invariably sat down and smoked a pipe, in familiar conversation with the people of the house. One of them was deaf—of course he was silent; but the next hummed a tune, with incessant volubility; and a third—"Whistled as he went, for want of thought."

At St. Augustine, whose church is at the bottom of a hill, along the summit of which runs the road, there stands what is here called a Calvary; that is a crucifix, as large as life, elevated upon steps, railed in, and covered overhead with a bell-shaped roof, surmounted, as are most of the simple crosses, with a cock; not as a late traveller has supposed, in remembrance of Peter's denial of his Lord, but as the symbol of patriotism.

At a place called Sillery Cove, in this vicinity, the Jesuits erected a chapel, and other buildings, as early as the year 1637, for converting the natives to Christianity. They had arrived from France but twelve years before. The ruins of this edifice still remain; and in Sillery Wood, where the Algonquins, the ancient allies of the French, against the Iroquois, or Five Nations, had a large village, there still remains some of the tumuli of these native inhabitants of the

* Charlevoix says, with amusing simplicity, that the French King would not have reclaimed La Nouvelle France, considering it as a possession that was a burthen to the crown, (the advances exceeding the returns) but for the sake of being instrumental in converting the natives to Christianity; a deed which was in that age thought no less meritorious than had been, in the days of Lewis IX. that of dispossessing the Infidels of the Sepulchre of Christ. [See vol. L. p. 178.]

forest; and their mementos, cut upon the stems of trees, may yet be traced by the curious observer.

My post-boys scrupulously lifted their hats to every body we met, whether man, woman, or child; but that kind of obeisance to the crosses would appear to be now dispensed with, for there was but one postillion out of twenty or thirty that appeared to take any notice of them whatever—perhaps the service may have been commuted for a mental Ave Mary, in consequence of the ridicule to which that ceremony exposed them from British travellers.

POINTE AUX TREMBLES.

At the little village of Pointe aux Trembles, where! there is not only a church, but a small convent of nuns, the parson of the parish was strolling through the village, with a book under his arm—to show that he was not absolutely

*Occupé à ne rien faire.**

Among the half-dozen hovels of the place was a lodging-house, under the pompous designation of l'Hotel Stuart. I had seen a tavern among the dirty lanes of the lower town of Quebec, which was kept by a Valois; and a petty grocery, hard by, under my own proper names, both first and last, with the variation of a single letter in the surname; to which I was now indifferently reconciled by finding myself in such company.

I am in the habit of observing the names upon signs, they are often curiously appropriate to the occupations of the parties—What think you for instance of Burnop for a baker? Sometimes they afford genealogical traces, and hints of national history. I have often been amused in New England with the names of Endicot and Coddington—the posterity of former governors, metamorphosed into shop-keepers, and tailors; and in a suburb of Montreal, unconscious of the honours of illustrious descent, I observed a Rapin on one side of the way, and a Racine on the other. One was a petty grocer, the other a shoemaker, who had probably never heard of the historian or the poet.

It was at this place that General Arnold, after ascending the Kennebeck, against its rapid current, from the sea-coast of Maine, and crossing the White Mountains, where they are interrupted by the impetuous torrent of the Chaudiere, (appearing, like a vision of enchantment, in the eyes of the *bons citoyens* of Quebec, who would as soon have expected an

* Engaged à doing nothing. (Boileau.)

arrival from the moon upon the opposite peak of Point Levy) formed a junction with General Montgomery, who, having possessed himself, almost without resistance, of the castle of Chamblee and the town of St. John's, had entered Montreal in triumph, and descended the St. Lawrence to this point—Sir Guy Carleton fleeing before him in a boat with muffled oars. Thus scouring in a few weeks the whole province of Canada, to this short distance from its capital. Montgomery had a regiment of Canadians in his train, for the French peasantry had, at the breaking out of the war, refused to arm against their neighbours, and were disposed to favour the American cause, notwithstanding it appeared among them in the equivocal guise of successful invasion.

The postillion that conducted me to the river Jacques Cartier was quite a humourist. He replied to my first inquiries about the state of the country:—"Monsieur, C'est le pays le plus aimable, pour la misere, que vous trouverez nulle part. On travaille beaucoup pour gagner peu. Oh ! c'est une occupation que la vie, ici, je vous en assure. Nous avons un petit bout d'été et donc, tout de suite, la gelé, qui vient toujours à la St. Michel, [the 29th of September] Quelque fois pendant la Récolte même. Toujours avant la Tous Saints,"* [the 1st November.]

I asked him his age, thinking he might be about sixty.—"Monsieur, J'ai quarante ans, juste"† I told him I was fifty. "Mais vous avez l'air plus jeune que moi. Et comme vous avez de l'embonpoint ! Je pense que vous devez venir de Boston ? Les Bostonnois sont tous de gros hommes (He was himself a little fellow of five feet three) Vos chevaux aussi sont grands. Les nôtres sont petits. Mais nous les faisons aller a toutes jambes."‡ (We were now descending a hill, at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour, I thought at the imminent risk of our necks.) "Comme les hommes de notre pays, l'on est obligé de faire plus qu'on ne peut."§

* Sir, it is the most charming country for misery that you shall find any where. We work a great deal to earn a little.—Oh ! Life is an occupation here, I assure you. We have a little bit of summer, and then directly comes frost ; which happens always by St. Michael's day. Sometimes in harvest—Always by All Saints.

† Sir, I am forty years old.

‡ But you look younger than I do ; and in what good case you are. I think you must be from Boston. The Bostoners (a general term here for Americans) are all big men. Your houses too are large. Ours are very, very little : but we make them lay leg to it.

§ Like the men of our country, they are obliged to do more than they can.

I enquired how the French liked the English. "Comme ça! Messieurs les Anglois," were very brave, generous, and so forth. "Mais ils ne sont pas polis, comme les François. Quelque fois aussi ils ne sont pas de bonne humeur. Ils se mettent en colère souvent sans savoir pourquoi."*

Were the Canadians content under the British Government? "Oh pour ça, oui! l'on ne sauroient être mieux."—Y-a-t-il loin, Monsieur, d'ici à Philadelphie?† Answer, two hundred leagues. "C'est bien loin.—Mais ce doit être un bien beau pays."‡

We had, by this time, reached the little river Jacques Cartier, so called from the first explorer of the Saint Lawrence, who wintered here in 1535, on his return down the river. It here disembogues itself between steep banks, with a rapid current.

I was set over this wild ferry, in a small canoe, just before dark, and had to find my way, with my baggage in my hand, as well as I could, up the opposite hill. Its rugged heights had been fortified to oppose the descent of the English in the year 1760. I was received, however, at the inn (one of the best on the road) as well as if I had arrived in a coach and four.

I enquired after the Salmon Leap, for which this river is famous. They had just begun to appear. Two had been caught at the Falls that morning; but they had been sold. For how much?—Three-quarters of a dollar a-piece.

Salmon have been caught here weighing from thirty to forty pounds. They are impatient of the heat, which prevails in the great river at the time of their arrival, and dart eagerly up the cool streams of the smaller rivers, with a view to deposit their spawn in places of security. When a rapid, or cataract, obstructs their passage, (which is often the case in Canada,) they will leap ten or fifteen feet at a time to get over it; and these powerful fish are sometimes seen struggling with insurmountable obstacles, against which they will leap six or seven times, if as often thrown back into the adverse current.

Upon my expressing a wish to have some salmon for breakfast, the men said they would go out in the morning and try to catch one for me. By the time I got up they had brought in a fine one, weighing twelve or thirteen pounds.

* Pretty well—but they are not polite like the French. Sometimes they are fretful. They often get angry, without knowing why.

† Oh yes, for that matter. We could not be better.—Is it far from here to Philadelphia?

‡ That is a great way; but it must be a very fine country. [The word Philadelphia is here synonymous with Pennsylvania.]

I breakfasted with an excellent relish, and passed lightly through Cap Santé, Port Neuf, and Dechambault, observing a large old mansion-house upon the right; upon the left a grove of trees, near a small church. At the river St. Anne there was a large church, unusually situated, fronting the water. As I crossed a wide ferry, a groupe of Indian boys were amusing themselves on the shore, half naked, a wig-wam near.

At Battiscan, another large river not many miles from this, there was an Indian encampment. Several comfortable wig-wams stood close together. The females belonging to this tribe, very decently dressed, in their fashion, were industriously occupied under the trees, while children of all ages were playing upon the beach.

The men, I was told, were out a hunting. They catch beavers, otters, raccoons, opossums, and other wild animals, such as hares, rabbits, deer, and sometimes bears; upon which, together with fish from the river, such as sturgeon, salmon, pike, perch, &c. they often feast luxuriously, while the inactive Canadians are sitting down to scanty portions of bacon and eggs.

Of the feathered game, with which these woods and waters abound in their season, I may mention wild geese, an endless variety of ducks, wood-cocks, plovers, quails, wild-turkies, heath-hens, wild-pigeons, in inconceivable abundance. The eagle, the stork, and the crane, are not unknown in Canada, though rare, these noble birds sedulously keeping themselves out of danger in unfrequented wilds.

During my progress, I was frequently amused with the simple naïveté of the post-boys, one of whom was only twelve years old, but had already driven several years.

"Comment vas ton Pere? Barrabie,"* said one of them to a boy that followed us on horseback, apparently for the pleasure of company.

"Je veux boire un peu d'eau,"† said another, as he stopped short at a spring by the road side, without leave or licence.

"Si vous voulez aller plus vite, passez avant,"‡ said one that was returning empty, to the boy that was driving me, and whom we had quietly followed at his own pace for some time.

"Pourquoi courez vous à pied?" said another to a little fellow that was running after us, for his own pleasure. "Montez derriere."§

Observing larger barns than usual, as I advanced, and a good

* How is your father? Barrabie.

† I will take a drink of water.

‡ If you want to go faster, drive on.

§ Why do you run a-foot? Get up behind.

grazing country, though the cattle looked very small and lean, (there were but few sheep in the whole route,) I asked my man whether they had begun to mow in those parts. It was near the borders of Lake St. Pierre. "Non, Monsieur," said he, "Cela ne se fait jamais avant la St. Anne," [the 26th of July.] Every thing goes by saints here. I now observed frequent patches of flax, barley, and oats, but very little wheat or corn. Toward evening we approached

THREE-RIVERS,

and I was now obliged to take boat, or rather to seat myself upon straw, in the bottom of a canoe, to be ferried over the mouth of the St. Maurice, a stream that flows from the north-east some hundreds of miles; by which the savages in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay formerly descended to this town in great numbers.

As we landed upon the beach, there was a boat ashore from a vessel from Glasgow. It was interesting to one who had been in Scotland, to see the sailors with their blue bounets and plaids.

In the town, which has nothing extraordinary in its appearance, there is, or rather was, a monastery of Recollets and convent of Ursulines. The monastery has long been converted into a jail, and the convent having been burnt down a few years since, and wholly rebuilt, has lost the prestige of antiquity, though it was founded in 1677, by the same good bishop that endowed the one at Quebec for the education of young women, and an asylum for the old and sick.

A young girl from the States, (as the American Union is familiarly called here) brought up a Protestant, had taken the veil in this convent a few days before I was there.

There is a superieure and eighteen nuns here, but I was disappointed of seeing them at matins, by that invidious curtain which I have already had occasion to reprobate. Nothing was to be seen but an old man prostrating himself before the altar. I was struck with something unusual in his manner, as he rose from his knees, and passed out into the sacristy. It was the Abbé de Calonne, brother to the prime-minister of that name, who took refuge here during the French revolution, and who now, it seems, thinks himself too old to return to France, even to behold the restoration of the throne and the altar.

As I returned to the inn, I met an old man of whimsical appearance, with a large cocked-hat flapped before. I enquired who it might be, and was told that he was a man in his 104th year; that he had been a singular humourist; was still fond of his joke, and always made a point of flourishing his cane when-

* No, Sir. We never mow before St. Anne's day.

ever he met a woman: whether this was a freak of fondness, or aversion, I neglected to enquire.

There are here several Jewish families of the names of Hart and Judah. They are said to be no less respectable than the Gratzes of Philadelphia, and the Gomezes of New-York. The father of the former, when he first came hither, could have bought half the town for a thousand pounds, and thought it dear. But property is now becoming valuable. It lies on the right-side of the St. Maurice, as respects the United States; being on the road to which is here reckoned a recommendation to lands on sale. A new jail and court-house are erecting, and cross-roads are laying out into new townships now settling in the neighbourhood, with disbanded soldiers.

I got all this local information from two of his British majesty's civil officers, with the exception of the recommendation above hinted at; (I picked that out of a newspaper.) These gentlemen introduced themselves to me as king's counsel and recorder (if I remember right) during my evening's ramble from the inn—excused their freedom, as being happy to see a new face, and insisted upon the pleasure of accompanying me round the town.

The former was a young gentleman of a refugee family of the name of Ogden, originally of New York; the latter a Canadian, of Scotch descent. He led the way to his own house, ordered wine and water, and pressed me earnestly to consent to dine with him next day. He took me for an Englishman just landed at Quebec, and deprecated any fresh disputes with America.

The commissioners for settling the boundary-line between Canada and the United States were said to be setting up opposite claims to the vacant territories, which it was observed could not be worth disputing about; but that each party on such occasions must appear strenuous for the rights of his country. The people here wish for nothing more than the establishment of the line upon the height of land which separates the streams which run into the St. Lawrence, from those which run southward; and it is devoutly to be hoped that this definite barrier will not be exchanged for a line of demarcation, less strongly marked by nature, as the northern limit of the United States—the preservation of which is of infinitely greater importance to the peace and welfare of the two countries, than the possession of a few millions of useless acres on one side or the other.

The commissioners are collected, it seems, at St. Regis, some distance above Montreal, where the ideal line strikes the St. Lawrence, and from thence proceeds westward, up the middle of the river, and through the great lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, to the unexplored lake of the woods.

St. Regis is an Indian village, a sort of neutral region, where the contending parties will be likely to spend a good deal of time, as ambassadors use to do, in disputing for the honour of their respective principals.

In a shop-window of this unfrequented place, I saw again, with renewed interest, a caricature of the fall of Bonaparte, with which I remember to have been particularly struck, when the event was recent, in the British metropolis, where this species of *substantial* wit is carried to its utmost perfection. It is not understood at Paris, where the spirit of satire evaporates in a transient pun, or a temporary distich.

The little ravager of the world appears on the left of the scene—on the right is Atlas with his globe. A label issuing from the mouth of Bonaparte exclaims: “De Prusse be mine. De Russe be mine! All the world will be mine! if you will only hold it up a little longer, Monsieur Atlas!” “No, no,” replies the sturdy bearer of the world, in vulgar English, “I’ll be hang’d if I do. Since you wont let it alone, Master Bony, you may carry it yourself.” And as the grim Colossus launches the monstrous burthen upon the little conqueror, (who kicks up his heels, to save his bacon, with ridiculous earnestness) his principal generals, Marmont, Massena, and the rest, with characteristic levity, bid their old master, “Good night.”*

* This ludicrous caricature reminds me, perhaps not inopportunately, of a serious representation of the great Napoleon, which was re-published in America, after the first fall of the tyrant, and before his temporary restoration. I remember it was on-board the ship in which I sailed for Europe in the spring of 1815; and it had been the subject of my contemplation but a few days before we were surprized, in the British channel, with the incredible intelligence that Bonaparte was *again* upon the throne of France.

It is a bust of the emperor, seen in profile, with his hat on his head and a star upon his breast:—

The **HAT** represents the Prussian Eagle, who has settled upon Napoleon’s head, and ceases to struggle for release; his neck being twisted round, to form, with his crest and beak, a cockade for the conqueror of the earth—*hitherto invincible*.

The **FACE** is ingeniously made out, in every feature, by the victims of his insatiable thirst for glory, the contours of their naked limbs forming, without distortion, the physiognomical traits of the unfeeling despot.

The **CELLAR**, which is red, typifies the effusion of blood occasioned by his ambition for universal dominion.

The **COAT** is interlined with a map, representing the Confederation of the Rhine; on which are delineated, particularly, all those places where Napoleon lost battles.

The **STAR** on his breast is a Spider’s Web, whose threads are extended over all Germany.

But, in the **ÉPAULETTE**, is seen *the hand of the Almighty*, descending from the North, and, with a finger, leading the unconscious spider to that destruction which awaited him among the snows of Russia; for it was nei-

Near *Three-Rivers* is an iron-foundery, which has been worked ever since the year 1737, and the castings produced there are uncommonly neat. The ore, it seems, lies in horizontal strata, and near the surface. It is found in perforated masses, the holes of which are filled with ochre. This ore is said to possess peculiar softness and friability. For promoting its fusion, a grey limestone is used, which is found in the vicinity. The hammered iron from these works is pliable and tenacious, and it has the valuable quality of being but little subject to rust.

The country is here very flat, and the soil a fine sand, mixed with black mould. The neighbouring woods abound with elm, ash, oak, beech, and maple, of which sugar is made in sufficient quantities for home-consumption; and those beautiful evergreens, the white pine, the cedar, and the spruce, are here indigenous in all their varieties.

No sooner had I quitted the town of *Three-Rivers* than I perceived indications of being on the road to the United States. I am sorry to say it, they were not all of them favourable to American morals: but there was now less bowing, and more frequent intercourse; yet the inhabitants continued to make themselves easy, without the trouble of sinking wells, in consequence of their convenient proximity to the water; and they still appeared to hold what we esteem *necessaries*, as unnecessary as ever.

At *Machiché* I delivered the letter from my young friend at *Quebec*, to his worthy grandmother. I found the old lady in a retired situation, half a mile from the road. She was delighted to hear from her grandson, who, it seems, had been out of health. She pressed me to stay to dinner—to drink something, at least; and sent for the young gentleman's brother to detain me. He presently came in with his dog and gun. They resembled each other very much. They had both been in the army, I was told, but their corps had been disbanded. She should make a point of letting her grandson know that I had done him the honour to call upon her.

I must have detained the postillion half-an-hour, but he showed no signs of impatience, and never asked me for any

ther the coalition of 1813, nor yet that of 1815, but the retreat from *Moscow*, that annihilated the power of the tyrant, and dispelled the charm with which he was impiously attempting to bind the destinies of Europe.

Whose powerful breath—from northern regions blown—

Touches the sea, and turns it into stone!

A sudden desert spreads o'er realms defaced,

And lays one-half of the creation waste?

merited superabundance with which we have been uninterruptedly favoured, from the first settlement of our "happy land."

Two calèches now approached us, at a rapid rate; the first of them with two horses, which is very uncommon in Canada, and between its broad and lofty ears sat a well-fed ecclesiastic. It was the curate of Maskinongé, returning from Montreal, where he had been with a neighbouring brother of the cloth (who was reading as we passed him, or appearing to read, without ever raising his eyes from his book) to pay his devoirs to the bishop; who was about going on a visit to Quebec.

We now entered a beautiful oak wood, extending for half a mile, on both sides of the way. Expressing my admiration of this grateful shade, (this being the only wood through which the road passes between Quebec and Montreal; though an unbroken forest bounds the horizon at no great distance the whole way,) I was assured that "*Tous les généraux et les messieurs Anglois l'admiroient infiniment.*"*

It belongs to a Seigneurie, of which we saw the manor-house, called La Valterie, on quitting the road. We stopped hard by at a decent inn, about which a few isolated silver pines had been judiciously preserved; and in the garden were some of the finest roses I have ever seen. On alighting, I ran to treat myself, for a moment, with their delightful smell, and was politely invited to help myself to as many of them as I chose to take; upon which I stuck one of them into my button-hole, and rode into Montreal, with this rural decoration, as the peasants here frequently do, with flowers stuck in their hats.

From this enchanting spot, (for it was on a gentle eminence, from whose airy brow an open green descended to the river, which was now sparkling at its foot with the cheerful play of morning sun-beams,) I was taken forward in a style of the same pastoral simplicity, by a delicate-looking youth, whose manners and appearance resembled nothing more remotely than the audacity of a European postillion.

A stage or two before I had been conducted by a boy of eleven years old, who told me he had already driven three, and must therefore have begun to hold the reins at the tender age of eight years. I could not but congratulate myself on the child's having had some years' practice before he took charge of me. Immediately on our arrival at the next stage, he was saluted by a chum, in the most affectionate manner imaginable, and the two boys went off together, arm in arm,

* All the generals, and the English gentlemen, admired it prodigiously.

like two students at college, instead of professors of the whip.

Now, however, taking boat at St. Sulpice, to cross over to the island of Montreal, I fell into the hands of a surly fellow, the only post-boy on the whole route who had ever been out of humour with his horse, or showed the least signs of dissatisfaction with himself, or any thing about him; though both horse and chaise, at the post-houses below Three-Rivers, had often looked as if a puff of wind might have blown them away, and I often thought what a show the antiquated harness and long-eared vehicle would have made for the finished coach-makers of Philadelphia.

On this passage, an elegant mansion-house presents itself at some distance to the right, and a new tavern, in the neat, two-story, low-roofed, American style, is beheld with pleasing anticipations by the returning Columbian.

It is, I believe, or rather was, an appendage of the new bridges, which were constructed over the different branches of the river, that here separate the adjacent islands from the main land, and which were intended eventually to supersede this tedious ferry, by connecting Montreal, on the north side, with the adjoining shore.

But the projectors of this laudable undertaking had forgotten to consult their climate, or to obtain security from the Great River, as the Indians expressively call it. Accordingly, after serving the intended purpose, through the following winter, they were carried off bodily by the ice, when "the roused-up river"* swept away every obstacle to his passage, in the spring.

This idea of bridging the St. Lawrence, even where approaching islands invite the attempt, is for the present totally abandoned. Yet I have no doubt that it will be tried again, and that with success, when adventurous New-Englanders shall have taken that ascendancy at Montreal which the Scotch have hitherto enjoyed.

The ferrymen here vented their passions, as watermen seem to be every where particularly apt to do, in scurrilous provocatives. Every other word was *foutre*, or *diantre*; and every thing that thwarted their humour was *bête*! and *bougre*! and *sacré matin*!

We met nothing on the road, after we reached the island, but a solitary calèche or a market-cart, or a foot-passenger, at distant intervals, as we drove forward five or six miles, by a country church and a tavern. It was the sign of the Three

* Thomson.

Kings, which is here a favourite emblem, as well as in Germany; though the eastern sages are here so ludicrously transmogrified that I did not at first recognize the allusion.

MONTREAL.

As we entered the town it had become very hot. I was disappointed in the comforts of the French hotel, to which I had been directed.—Did not think it worth while to change even for the mansion-house, late the residence of Sir John Johnson. Tired myself almost off my legs with perambulating the streets and lanes—Suffered excessively with the heat, (to my conviction that it might occasionally be hot in Canada) and would have set out immediately for New York, if I should not have been too early for the next steam-boat.

The thermometer was now, on the 19th day of July, at ninety-six degrees of Fahrenheit. Reaumur was quoted at an ale-house where I stopped for refreshment, at twenty-eight and three-quarters, which answers to ninety-seven of Fahrenheit, a degree of heat at which spermaceti melts, and at the next elevation of the scale ether boils.

In the evening, however, I cooled myself delightfully in a floating-bath that is moored off Windmill Point; and the next morning my spirits were restored by writing home and making the necessary preparation for my approaching departure, which was to be the next day: the weather having in the mean time become very cool and pleasant, after refreshing showers; a change which I had predicted at the table d'hôte, from the very extremity of the heat, agreeable to the well-known remark with us, that extreme weather seldom lasts longer than three days. But I did not find that the opinion gained confidence. It appeared to have heretofore escaped observation; nor did any one notice the fulfilment of the prediction but myself when it took place, as it usually happens with voluntary prognostications.

But a French confectioner, at whose house I called occasionally, had known the thermometer at Pondicherry as high as a hundred and two. He was a man of observation, and remarking my full habit, he recommended me to drink Lisbon wine, rather than Madeira, because Lisbon will bear the sea, whereas Madeira will not, without a powerful admixture of brandy. This, it seems, is usually infused immediately after the fermentation takes place, and before it is refined with isinglass; but the operation is often performed in England, whence the term, London particular Madeira, as it will bear the short voyage to that cold climate; but, if sent pure to the neighbouring hot countries, it would infallibly turn sour. It

is regularly brandied, it seems, more or less, according to the climate it is to go to.

He drank himself nothing but port, claret, and the Spanish wines, which will all bear the sea, without the pernicious intermixture of Cogniac. It is thus, says he, a Frenchman will live in a hot climate to a hundred years; whilst Englishmen, who persist in drinking Madeira between the tropics, die accordingly at sixty.*

I now gave myself time to visit the religious institutions of Montreal, which are no less numerous and extensive than those of Quebec, though they are far less interesting to a southern visitor, having mostly lost that venerable appearance of antiquity which characterizes those of the capital. I say mostly, because there is one antiquated exception, which I shall proceed to designate, while its chilling effect is still fresh in my recollection. It is

THE CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF THE RECOLLETS,

in the outskirts of Montreal. Nothing presents itself to the street but the dingy façade of the chapel, and the outer walls of the cloisters, which are still overshadowed by coeval elms, though the precincts have been given up to the use of the troops in garrison, ever since the decease of the last surviving incumbent. Only the chapel, and the school-rooms on one side of it, have been reserved for religious purposes.

The great door is accordingly no longer opened; but I obtained admission at the wicket, by the favour of a lay-brother, who had been sent for from the country, to retain possession of the premises, upon the demise of the last of the friars. He, poor soul, is content to wear alone the cowl of the order, to gird himself with a rope, and walk barefoot in solitary singularity. The good monk informed me, with a face of unconscious simplicity, that he was labouring to restore the church. (*Il travailloit à la restaurer.*) He did not, however, accompany me in; and I found that his restorations consisted in some tinsel lamps, which he had hung up before

* This adventurer had been in the campaigns of Moreau, upon the Rhine, from thence to the East Indies, thence to the United States, where he had married, and was now lately transferred to Montreal, for the benefits of Catholic communion. His name was Girard, spelt exactly as it is by his countryman, that eminent merchant, who has raised in Philadelphia a fortune of I know not how many millions, and is now sole proprietor of one of our principal banks, and owner of half-a-dozen Indiamen.

the altar, but their lights were gone out. I found the walls dark with age, and dreary with neglect and desertion.

This chapel is very lofty, in proportion to its other dimensions, which are not great. The windows are at a height of twenty feet from the floor; and the dingy intervals were hung, neither with crucifixes nor Madonnas, but with ecstasies of St. Francis, and prostrations of Petrus Recollectus.

Pursuing my walk into the country, more sensible than ever of the cheerfulness of open air and day-light, I soon came across the general burying-ground, which is, by a late law of the British Government, without the town, none but the priests being now allowed to be buried in the cities of Canada, the health of which was supposed to have been endangered by the multitudes of bodies, which were formerly crowded together in confined places, insufficiently covered over,

Here was a chapel and a corpse house, the one was recommended to the particular care of St. Anthony, by an inscription over-head, (St. Anthoine, priez pour nous)* and the other had upon its folding-doors the *memento mori*, which makes so little impression upon callous survivors, "Aujourd'hui pour moi, demain pour vous."†

A mile further on, I marked the castellated mansion of the Seigneurie, which belongs to the seminary of this place. It has all the peculiarities of an old French chateau. There are round towers on each side of the gate-way, which are said to have been fortified in the ancient Indian wars, and loop-holes are still discernible in them, at a secure elevation: for there was an Indian village at this place, when the French arrived, in 1640, the displacing of which was an early cause of sanguinary conflicts.

Directly back of this curious specimen of the specious inconveniencies of antiquated abodes is the isolated mountain, which rises abruptly in the plain of Montreal. Its summit is still covered with thick woods; but the descent upon the other side is highly cultivated and beautifully picturesque, being thickly strewed with villages and spires, interspersed with wood and water.

* St. Anthony, pray for us.

† To-day for me, to-morrow for you; or, in other words, so often repeated upon moralizing tombstones,

As I am now, so you must be,
Prepare for death, and follow me.

At a considerable height on this mountain may be seen, from the streets of Montreal, a large house, with wings of hewn stone, and a monumental pillar appears in the woods behind it. The house was built, it seems, some years ago, by the oldest partner in the firm of Mc Tavish and Mc Gillivray, (a Scotch house,) long the principal proprietors of the North-West Trading Company. Mc Tavish died whilst the house was building, and his nephews, the Mc Gillivrays, declining to finish the house, erected this monument to his memory. There is nothing remarkable in the inscription; but the column itself is a striking memento of the uncertainties of life.

The heirs of the estate prefer spending it in the city, and have built themselves fine houses in the eastern suburbs, where they are said to keep hospitable tables, especially for their countrymen from Scotland, of whom such numbers have resorted hither, ever since the conquest, that Montreal, originally French, was in danger of becoming a Scotch colony, before it began to be over-run by the still more hardy and more adventurous sons of New England.

NORTH-WESTERN TRADE.

From the village of La Chine, which is situated at the upper end of the island, merchandise intended for Upper Canada, together with military stores and presents for the Indians, are embarked in flat-bottomed boats, to proceed up the St. Lawrence; but the fur-trade is carried on by the North-West Company, through the Ottawa, or Grand River, by means of birch canoes. These are made so light that they may be easily carried up the banks of rapids, or across necks of land. Of these carrying places, there are reckoned no less than six-and-thirty between Montreal and the New settlement on Lake Superior, called Kamanastigua. Accordingly, the wares to be sent out are put up in snug packages, and the return of furs comes back in solid packs, which the voyageurs carry on their backs at the different portages.*

* The canoes employed in this trade are about thirty feet long, and six wide. They are sharp at each end: the frame is composed of slender ribs of some light wood, which are covered with narrow strips of the bark of the birch-tree, about half-a-quarter of an inch in thickness. These are sewed or stitched together with threads, made of the fibres of certain roots, well twisted together; and the joints are made water-tight by a species of gum, that adheres firmly, and becomes perfectly hard when dry. No iron-work is used in them of any description, not even nails. When complete, these fragile barks weigh no more than five hundred pounds.

About a thousand persons are supposed to be employed in this occupation, who, spending most of their time at a distance from home, contract habits of idleness in the midst of hardships, and become so attached to a wandering and useless life, that they rarely establish themselves in society.

The fare of these poor fellows is of the meanest quality, being mostly nothing better than bear's grease and Indian meal, which is made up into a sort of broth, requiring little cookery; and they beguile the tediousness of their progress with songs to the Virgin, the solemn strains of which, in the darkness of night, when different parties of these poor pilgrims overhear each other, have a very impressive effect amid these desert wilds. When I have occasionally heard them myself, they reminded me of Christian overhearing Faithful, when they were passing, unknown to each other, through the valley of the shadow of death.

The distance from Montreal to the upper end of Lake Huron is nine hundred miles, and the journey usually consumes three weeks. A number of the men remain all winter in those remote and comfortless regions, employed in hunting and packing up skins. That of the beaver is, it seems, among Indians, the medium of barter. According to usage immemorial, ten beaver-skins are given for a gun, one for a pound of powder, and one for two pounds of glass-beads.

The river Michipicoton, one of the thirty or forty streams which supply Lake Superior with its chrystalline waters, interlocks the territories of Hudson's Bay; and it has been the scene of frequent disputes about property and jurisdiction, between the subjects of the same prince (carrying on the same traffic, in that remote corner of the globe) under the authority of different patents from the crown. The Hudson's Bay Company, it seems, are compensated for the hardships of their frozen colony, by its superior readiness of access, which enables them to undersell the tardy voyageurs of the North West Company, who are obliged to make their way up the rivers, and across the lakes of Canada.

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF CANADA

is chiefly confined to the different ports of London and Glasgow for the various articles of British manufacture, and to the West Indies for the productions of the tropics; a solitary ship or two being now and then dispatched for the brandies, oils, and wines of the south of Europe; for which they return lumber, furs, wheat, and flour, beef and pork, pot and pearl-

ash, some horses and cattle, hemp and flax-seed, ginseng, and castor-oil, &c. Ship-building is also carried on at Quebec to a considerable extent; but the balance of trade would be much against Canada, if it were not for the sums annually expended by Government upon fortifications, and the payment of the troops.

In the year 1795, at which time wheat and flour commanded unusual prices in Europe, no fewer than one hundred and twenty-eight vessels arrived in the St. Lawrence from foreign parts, amounting to nineteen thousand tons, and navigated by upwards of a thousand men. A still larger exportation of grain (much of it, by the way, received from the neighbouring states) took place in 1799, and the three following years. The quantity of flour shipped in 1802 was thirty-eight thousand barrels; and the wheat is said to have exceeded a million of bushels.

EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT.

The colonial revenues that year amounted to thirty-one thousand pounds, and the expenditures of Government exceeded forty-three thousand; so little profitable is the sovereignty of Canada to the kingdom of Great Britain.

So much for civil government. The military peace establishment, about five thousand men, can hardly be supported at a less expence than two or three hundred thousands sterling. Extraordinaries, such as erecting new fortifications, the repair of old ones, allowances for waste and peculation, with other incidental expenses, may be one or two more hundreds of thousands. But in time of war, when the latter items are always increased beyond all calculation or credibility, (witness our own experience during the late war) the sums laid out upon Canada must amount to at least as many millions; to say nothing of the naval armaments which protect, and the transports which convey, fresh troops across the Atlantic.

It is to these circumstances mainly, that Canada owes her apparent prosperity. She fattens on the wealth of Britain; and the most refined policy would dictate to the United States to leave the unprofitable possession to burn a hole in the pockets of its possessor.

As for Upper Canada, it is, in fact, an American settlement—the surplus population of the state of New-York; and it will, sooner or later, fall into our hands, by the operation of natural causes, silent but sure; or if we should become too wise to extend our unlimited territory, a powerful colony of

American blood must in time become an independent nation, and will naturally be to us an amicable neighbour.

Hitherto the ships employed in foreign commerce have persisted in ascending the great river to Montreal, in spite of the currents, rapids, rocks, and shoals, which opposed their course, and rendered it as difficult and dangerous as the open sea. In some instances, when the winds likewise have been unfavourable, they are said to have been as long getting up this part of the river, as they had been in crossing the Atlantic; I have myself seen a fleet of sixteen sail stemming the current in sight of Montreal, for hours together, without advancing a furlong. But the invention of steam-boats is likely to produce a total change in the system of trade. There are already three of these boats running, whose principal object is freight; and a fourth has just been finished, of the burthen of seven hundred tons. These boats will, it is supposed, eventually supersede the necessity of sea vessels ascending higher than Quebec; where they will probably, in future, unload their cargoes, and take in the returns. One vessel, however, may perhaps be allowed to keep the run as long as she lasts. She was built on purpose for this difficult navigation, and draws but twelve feet water, though of five hundred tons burthen, having made the tedious voyage successively for one-and-twenty years.

Sabbath-day now occurring for the third time since I entered Canada, and probably the last, I took the opportunity which I had before sought, without success, to attend morning prayers at

THE CHAPEL OF THE DAMES NOIRS,

a charitable institution, which was founded by the piety of a Duchess of Bouillon, in 1644. I now found the sisterhood sitting, or rather kneeling, in a long oratory, ranging on the left with the church of the hospital, and through an open window they could be seen as I approached it, in long prostration before the altar.

The church was crowded with a motley congregation of the meanest-looking people that can well be imagined, (I speak not of dress, for they were decently clad, but of person and countenance.) Being naturally a physiognomist, I could not help remarking the various kinds and degrees of weakness and simplicity which were strongly marked upon their features. There was not one face among the hundred that was lighted up with any indications of refinement, sensibility, or

reflection. The priest himself was little better than his flock; and I could not forbear the ready comparison of the blind leading the blind; though I dare to say, they were every one of them

Much too wise to walk into a well.—*Pope.*

I looked over one of their books, and found that they were reciting what is called the office of the Virgin; among the innumerable clauses of which, I was soon disgusted with that sacrilegious one of

*Dei genitrix intercede pro Nobis,**

as if we were not expressly told in the Scriptures of truth, the written word, that Christ himself stands “at the right hand of the Father, making intercession for the sins of the world;” and that “there is no other name given under heaven by which we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth.” The changes were rung, however, at the same time upon

Dominus—Domine—Domino;†

and before the audience were dismissed, we had the *Dominus Vobiscum* from the priest, with the response from the people, (whether they understood it or not)

Et cum spiritu tuo,‡

which was followed by

*Oremus.
In Sæcula Sæculorum—
Amen. §*

The perpetual repetitions of the Catholic ritual have certainly a stupifying influence upon the human mind, inasmuch as they occupy the place of reflection, if they do not even exclude it; yet I have no doubt but that many good people have found their way to heaven through this bye-path, in the long course of seventeen hundred years, from the early corruption of Christianity; and I copied with pleasure, from the walls of this benighted cell, the following modest and edifying inscription:

* Mother of God! pray for us!

† The name of the Lord.

‡ And with thy Spirit.

§ Let us pray, for ever and ever. Amen.

Cy git
 venerable Demoiselle,
 Jeanne Lebel,
 bienfaitrice de cette Maison ;
 qui, ayant été Recluse
 quinze ans,
 dans la maison de ses pieux Parens,
 en a passé vingt,
 dans la retraite qu' elle a faite ici
 Elle est décédée
 le 3 d 'Octobre
 1714,
 âgée de cinquante deux ans.*

I remember nothing else particularly in this chapel, but that the great window opening into the nuns' oratory was glazed, instead of being grated, and no curtain drawn, so that the sisters could be seen by the audience at their own altar. There was a picture of some Catholic missionary among the Heathen, St. Francis Xavier, or some other legendary pretender to apostolic zeal, holding up a crucifix by way of preaching the cross—not surely that which was “to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the wise Greeks foolishness;” for that was declared to be nothing less than the “power of God, and the wisdom of God, in all them that believe and obey the Gospel.”

THE GREY NUNS.

From this place I went to the Grey Sisters, or General Hospital, which is a little way out of the town. This chapel is richly ornamented by the piety of the fair devotees; and it has this interesting peculiarity, that the arched entrances of the cross aisles are unincumbered either by grates or doors,

* Here lies
 that venerable Lady,
 Jeanne Lebel,
 a benefactress of this House;
 who having been a Recluse
 fifteen years,
 in the house of her pious Parents,
 passed twenty
 in the retirement of this place.
 She deceased
 the 3d of October,
 1714,
 aged fifty-two years.

and the corresponding windows run down to the floor, so that you see through them the burying-ground on one side, and a flower-garden on the other, in which pinks and poppies, with yellow lilies, and other showy flowers, unite, very happily, with the golden hues of the altar, the crucifix of which is of ivory, in producing a rich glow of solemn colouring, reminding the traveller of the vivid reflection from painted windows in the gothic edifices of the north of Europe.

These sisters have the care of the lunatic, as well as the maimed and the infirm. A heavy task it seemed to me; but they appeared to show me every thing with pleasure; partly at least, we may suppose, (without discrediting any sentiment that excites to love and good works) arising from self-approbation. I declined entering the lunatic ward, the sad objects of which are, I think, every where too freely exposed to public view, and would gladly have omitted that of the aged and infirm; but I could not so readily get clear of my conductress, to whom I had given something for the orphan children (*Enfants trouvés*) who are received here without inquiry or objection.

I asked the sister who had the superintendence of this department, (a chatty old woman, who seemed determined to hold me a while in conversation,) whether her patients ever lived to a great age.—She said, not often; but that one had died lately, aged ninety-eight, and another some years ago, at a hundred and ten. I asked if they were natives of Canada. “Non, Monsieur, c’étoient des François. Les vieux François ont de bons estomacs.” *

Thus I found the ancient prejudice that old countrymen born, live longer than the native Americans, prevails here, as well as with us; because, for many years, it was observed that there were more instances of old people who were born elsewhere, than of such as were born in America. Although it is obvious, that as the first comers were not born here, but came over from the European continent, most of them at mature age, there could not at first, in the nature of things, be so many natives dying of old age, as there would be of old country born. Yet with us in Pennsylvania, be it remembered, that the first child born of English parents lived to be eighty-five. Several of our natives born have since turned a hundred, These, it has been observed, have been chiefly women.—But one is now living, at the town of Beaver, on the Ohio, who was

* No, Sir, they were Frenchmen. The old French have excellent constitutions.

born in New Jersey in 1686, within a very few years of the first settlement of the province. Well, therefore, might our patriarch Franklin say, when, during his long agency at London, he was pressed to tell whether people lived as long in America as they do in England, "I do not know—for the first settlers are not all dead yet."

The most frequent instances of longevity may now be observed to occur in the most old settled parts, such as Virginia, and the New England States; and for this plain reason, that it is there that there were most children to take a chance for it a century ago. The comparative numbers of old people in any country, is not to be made upon the population of those countries when they died, but when they were born. It is well known that whilst most of the towns in the Old World have increased but little within the period of a long life, the oldest towns in America have doubled and quadrupled, some of them ten or twenty-fold.

It appears by the London bills of mortality, for thirty years, viz. from 1728 to 1758, that out of seven hundred and fifty thousand deaths which took place in that city, there were two hundred and forty-two persons who had survived their hundredth year. This is something over one for every three thousand, which was more than half of the whole number of inhabitants in Philadelphia a hundred years ago. If, therefore, the Philadelphia bills now show two centenarians in a year, (which they invariably do) it is sufficient to place us on a similar scale with the city of London. And if that proportion is greatly exceeded in Russia, according to the annual bills for that extensive empire, let it be remembered, that large deductions may be safely made from the accounts furnished by the illiterate popes and papas of a nation, the interior of which is yet but half civilized, and which, a hundred and fifty years ago, was little likely to be very correct about births and dates.

Let us hear no more, therefore, of the groundless presumption that people live longer in Europe than they do in America. It is not the fault of our climate, nor our soil, if we do not live as long here as in any part of the world; though the general participation of the luxuries, as well as of the necessities of life, may oftener prevent with us the natural term of existence among that class of people, the hard-working poor, which most frequently in all countries arrives at the utmost period of human life.

THE CATHEDRAL OF MONTREAL.

I now went to the cathedral, which has been lately new fitted up, gilded and painted in the most glittering style imaginable.

This building is neither so long nor so high as the cathedral of Quebec; and it makes a very plain appearance outside, standing as it does in the middle of the principal avenue, which leads round it, on the north side, across a public square. But no expence has been spared upon the interior, nor has any idea of Christian simplicity been suffered to check the exuberance of fancy in the decorations of the choir.

I found the tribune of this church particularly offensive to my orthodoxy, as the great crucifix does not occupy its proper station (can it be possible that it should have been removed to a side isle, where it now stands?) in the centre of the tribune, the appropriate situation which it invariably retains in our Philadelphia chapels (which, by the way, are a good deal new-modelled by the benefit of surrounding observation and example) to make room for a statue of the Virgin—not as usual with the child in her arms, which could alone countenance the impropriety, but in the elegant contours of a Grecian female (it might pass as well for a Juno or a Ceres) standing in a niche above the altar; whilst Corinthian columns, fluted in green and gold, and surmounted with curved scrolls of the same glittering materials, support over her head a crown richly gilt.

Is not this worshipping the creature more than the Creator? Yet we are told, that “the Lord our God is a jealous God, who will not give his glory to another, nor his praise to graven images.” Alas! that the professors of the first Christian church, instead of leaving those things that were behind; and, going on unto perfection, should fall short of the ancient Jews, under the shadowy dispensation of the Law. They were forbidden to make unto themselves the likeness of any thing in heaven or upon earth, to worship it. There was accordingly (we are told by S^t. Paul, a Hebrew proselyte of the tribe of Benjamin) nothing contained in the Ark of the Covenant (beside the Tables of the Law) save a pot of manna, and Aaron’s rod, that budded in the presence of Pharaoh; which things were preserved for a memorial to succeeding generations of the wonders which the Lord had wrought in Egypt, for the deliverance of his chosen people: and to this day, the Jews have nothing in their tabernacles but a copy of the Law, which is produced before the people every Sabbath-day; not to be worshipped, but merely to be commemorated and obeyed. This cathedral is dedicated to Notre Dame, rather than to God Almighty; and the perpetual recurrence of Ave Marias all over the building, shows indeed too plainly that this is a temple dedicated, in the first place to the Virgin Mary, in the second to Jesus Christ.*

* It is truly and excellently spoken of Seneca, says Lactantius, “Consider the majesty, the goodness, and the adorable mercies of the Almighty

Even St. Peter, with his keys, has been here obliged to give way to the exclusive pretensions of the Virgin.—None but saints of their own making have been able to stand the too powerful competition here. (They worship the work of their own hands, that which their own fingers have made.) In the side chapels, opposite to the altars of the favourite divinity, the curious stranger may find a St. Francis, or a St. Anthony, in garments of sack-cloth, gaunt and ghastly, who have been permitted to pay their obeisance to the incarnation; but every close, and every open compartment throughout the aisles and galleries of this—I will not call it Christian temple, exhibits the name (must I say of the idol of its adoration?) in which, in a single cipher, are interwoven the letters M, A, for the name of Maria, and V, for the attribute of Virginity.—Apropos of keys—I do not myself regret the absence of the Prince of the Apostles, as they call him at Rome.—I think St. Peter has kept the keys of Heaven's Wicket* long enough, since they were first given, not to him as a man, subject, as the history abundantly testifies, to like passions with his fellow-creatures, but to the revelation which he had received in common with other believers.—And his successor, like the dog in the manger, will neither enter in himself, nor suffer them that would.

But Pius VII. with all his briefs and his bulls, (even if they

his pleasure lies not in the magnificence of temples made with stone, but in the piety and devotion of consecrated hearts." And in the book that this same Heathen Philosopher wrote against superstitions, treating of those who worshipped images, St. Austin observes, he writes thus: "They represent the holy, the immortal, and the invisible Gods, with the basest materials, and without life or motion, in the forms of men."—"All these things," continues the ancient Sage, "a wise man will observe for the law's sake more than for that of the gods; and all this rabble of deities, which the superstition of many ages has gathered together, we are in such manner to adore," says Seneca, (darkly, as one who could yet only see men as trees) "as to consider their worship to be rather matter of custom than of conscience."—How much farther did this enlightened Heathen penetrate into the nature of spiritual worship than those who venerate images? or at least make use of such representations in Christian churches, as the means of heightening religious fervour.

But Christians have no occasion for heathen authorities against outward temples and symbolic worship. "For the Lord God," said David, "dwelleth not in temples made with hands;" not surely then in a consecrated host, at the command of a sinful priest, to bring forth as a God, or to put away as a thing of nought. "What house will ye build me? saith the Lord, or where is the place of my rest?" Yet this was the same munificent potentate that prepared, before his death, for the house that was to be built in Jerusalem for the God of Heaven, a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass and iron without weight or number.

* Milton.

should again be seconded by the thunder of the Vatican) cannot prevent the candle, which has been lighted by the Bible Societies, from being put upon the candlestick, no more to be hid under a bed or under a bushel. The Scriptures of Truth will at length be circulated throughout the habitable globe; and there will be, if I may be allowed the comparison, a second preaching of the Gospel among all nations.

In this dark cathedral (I speak of spiritual darkness, for this church is as brilliant as a ball-room) the trade of auricular confession is more extensively carried on than in any gothic edifice I ever was in, and I have been in many of them in my time, in the most bigoted countries in Europe. I suppose there are not less than twenty confessionals around the walls, at which penitents are occasionally seen ringing the bells, to call their favourite confessors to the seat of judgment; and priests, in their white vestments, are to be seen pacing the aisles to answer these incessant requisitions every hour in the day.

This magnificent edifice was now crowded to overflowing; not with the populace merely, many of whom having no seats in the church stood bare-headed about the door, or kneeled upon the steps, it being impossible for them all to get in. But the choir was lined with priests and chaunters in white. The Black nuns were there, and the Grey Nuns were there, (though they have all churches of their own to go to)—nay, I found my old monk assisted here, instead of attending to his restorations at the Recollets, making a grotesque appearance, amidst glittering gew-gaws, in his coarse gown and hood, which was thrown back to discover his shaven crown. In short, it seemed as if the hierarchy had mustered all its forces,

Black, white, and grey, with all their trumpery;
Cows, hoods, and habits.

There was, however, a sermon to countenance this universal assemblage, which was declared by an old woman that sat next me, (between one pinch of snuff and another) to be *un beau sermon*. But I shall not give myself the trouble to report any part of it; for the next morning, seeing a Catholic catechism in a bookseller's window, I asked to look at it, and returned it with evident indignation, as soon as I came to the following passage, which is worthy of the intolerant spirit of the darkest ages:

Demande. Y a-t'-il plusieurs eglises Catholiques?*

* Question: Are there several Catholic churches?

Reponse. Non. Il n'y a de Catholiques que la seule Eglise Romaine. Hors de laquelle il n'y a point de salut.*

Demande. Que faut il donc penser de ces autres Sociétés qui se nomment Eglises, et ne professent pas la même foi que nous ? ou ne sont pas soumises aux mêmes pasteurs ?†

Reponse. Elles sont des institutions humaines, qui ne servent qu' à egarer les hommes, et ne sauroient les conduire à Dieu.‡

But let me not involve myself in darkness till I become myself uncharitably blind. Adjoining to this cathedral is the extensive edifice called the Seminary, which was here instituted in the year 1657 by the Abbé Quetus, and a deputation of teachers from the celebrated brotherhood of St. Sulpice, at Paris.

The present superiors of this noble institution, with other clergymen, particularly of the dignified class, are said to be men of great learning and exemplary piety, who confine themselves, with the most self-denying strictness, to the exercise of their religious duties, and lead irreproachable lives ; deprived as they are, by their stations, of the inestimable comforts of female society.

This seminary of learning is chiefly designed for the education of the priesthood ; but others are admitted into this truly Catholic college, even Protestant children, from whom conformity is not exacted. To this excellent institution is attached an extensive garden, with shady avenues for air and exercise, which I regret not having seen, as I have since understood that the teachers are not merely accessible, but politely attentive to strangers, who wish to survey the establishment, or to prosecute, in its academical groves, botanical researches.

The city of Montreal has thriven surprisingly within a few years, and now contains as many inhabitants as Quebec, say twelve or fifteen thousand.

There has been, and in time of peace will continue to be, a great influx of Americans, chiefly from the New England States, who are winding themselves into all the most active and ingenious employments. Episcopal and Presbyterian chapels, or meeting-houses, have long been established here ; and of late the Methodists, those pioneers of reformation, have

* Answer. No. There is no Catholic church but that of Rome, out of which there is no salvation.

† Question. What must we then believe of those other societies which call themselves churches and do not profess the same faith with us, or are not subjected to the same pastors ?

‡ Answer. They are human institutions, which serve to lead men astray, and can in no wise direct them to God.

broke ground within the precincts of the Catholic church, one and indivisible as it is!

The relations of trade increase daily between this place and the United States; and such is the course of exchange, that the notes of our principal banks circulate freely in all the towns of Canada. The merchants of Montreal are now, however, about establishing a bank of their own, with a capital of 250,000*l.* sterling, something more than a million of dollars. This will have a tendency to limit the circulation of foreign paper, and promote domestic improvement, as well as facilitate the operations of trade; though the exports from hence are chiefly confined to wheat and flour, peltry, lumber, &c. received from Upper Canada, or the United States.

If the vicinity of Montreal is less wildly magnificent than that of Quebec, it is far more luxuriant and smiling. Here wheat and rye seldom fail to reward the labours of the husbandman, (however ill-directed they may be) though the summers, even here, are found too short to encourage the cultivation of Indian corn; and peaches will scarcely ripen without sheltering walls. Plums, apples, pears, are likewise much better here than at Quebec; and the berry fruits, particularly currants, raspberries, and strawberries, from foreign stocks, are produced as large, and some of them as fine, as they are with us. The cultivated gooseberry is much larger, the general coolness of the summer favouring its growth, by retarding its maturity.

There is here a Society of Florists, who gave premiums, whilst I was at Montreal, for the finest specimens of ranunculuses and carnations.

As many weekly papers are already published, both in Montreal and also at Quebec, in the English language as in the French; and it is evident that the former will gain the ascendancy here—perhaps at no distant day.

The streets of business, and especially the shops, have the sang look of an English town; and it was amusing to see how exactly the young men of any figure were in the London cut.

The British Officers, I am told, do not mix much in society with the natives of Canada; yet military manners prevail here, as well as at Quebec. The rabble flock in crowds to regimental parades; and even women, of any appearance, make a point of stepping to a march.

Before I quit Montreal I shall not do justice to its public edifices without mentioning, as a handsome structure, the government-house, for the administration of justice, &c. with the king's arms in the pediment, elaborately executed in Coade's artificial stone; a new jail, of appropriate construction, accom-

panied by that eye-sore to American feelings—the Whipping Post; and a naval pillar (which has been unfavourably placed in front of the latter) intended in honour of Lord Nelson.

NELSON'S PILLAR.

This beautiful memento (I recollect nothing superior to it in England, where, to be sure, they are not remarkable for public monuments any more than ourselves) stands upon an elevated pedestal, upon the front of which is a suitable inscription, in which is not forgotten the hero's last order, "England expects every man will do his duty." On the two sides, in circular compartments, are represented, in the boldest bas-reliefs (of the composition before mentioned) the horrid scenes of ships sinking to the bottom of the deep, or blowing up into the air, as they occurred at the Nile, and off Trafalgar. In that of the fourth side is represented the Crown-Prince of Denmark, who is seen submitting to Nelson's lawless requisition at the moment when, it is said, that victory was turning against the conqueror.

The shaft of this pillar is fifty feet high. Upon its capital stands the admiral, who makes, it must be allowed, but a very sorry figure in statuary, with his arm in a sling; but his lordship leans, with peculiar propriety, upon the remains of a broken mast; and the base of the column is a well-wrought cable.

This monument is injudiciously placed in the common Market-place, instead of the Place d'Armes, or the parade upon the boulevards, at one end of which are two very fine new houses of hewn stone, and in the neighbourhood new streets are laying out, which will greatly modernise the town, and connect it with the adjacent suburbs, from which it was formerly very inconveniently disjoined by the ramparts, which are now dismantled.

THE PEASANTRY OF CANADA.

The peasantry in Canada, (by which term I hope *Lower Canada* will be always understood in these sketches) that is to say, the great body of the people, is in a state of ignorance but little exceeding the simplicity of the Indian tribes in their neighbourhood, and of poverty almost as little removed from a state of absolute want; yet

Patient of labour, with a little pleased,
they are, perhaps, as happy as their more polished neighbours;
and certainly they are more harmless and less discontented:

No fancied ills, no pride-created wants,
Disturb the peaceful current of their days.

Relieved from the horrors of military conscription and feudal tyranny, pinning their faith upon the priest's sleeve, these simple people are literally satisfied with their daily bread, and leave the morrow to provide for itself

No more—Where ignorance is bliss,

(says the poet) and I shall not now stop to controvert the position,

'Tis folly to be wise.

In point of morality and devotion, the French, in Canada, may be compared to the Swiss and the Scotch in Europe, though far behind the former in industry, and the latter in ingenuity and enterprise. Infidelity is unknown among them; and the passion for military glory almost extinct, as well as that thoughtless gaiety which distinguishes the French in Europe, no longer enlivened by the exhilarating wines of the mother-country:

Those healthful cups which cheer but not inebriate,

as Cowper elegantly said of the English beverage—tea.

So great is the change of manners and principles which has followed, in two centuries, an alteration in the overruling circumstances of climate and government.

National pride, in its proper sense, as confined to the country which gave us birth, is scarcely felt in Canada, where every sensation of national glory reverts to the forgotten history of a distant land; and the government that is obeyed, per force, is foreign to the people; and they can have no sentiments in unison with the objects of its ambition.

A Canadian is ready to admit the superiority of the American character, and shews nothing of French partialities, save in the display of the Gallic cock, which is perched upon the spire of every steeple, and upon the top of every cross, together with the sun, the flower-de-luce, and other degraded emblems of the French monarchy, which British policy has wisely permitted these harmless people to retain as long as they were content to let go the substance of national independence, and grasp a shadow.

Even in person and countenance they are perceptibly altered from their European ancestors. The Canadian peasant is not so tall as the native Frenchman; neither is he so well-shaped, or so comely in feature as his progenitors. He is also browner, by many degrees, than the natives of France.

From this marked example it would appear that national peculiarities may be formed by the operation of imperious circumstances, in far less time than is required to change the

colour of the skin, by the influence of climate; and we need be at no difficulty to admit the gradual origin of the variety of complexions in the human race; since a change of feature and person can be so soon brought about in a colony of Europeans thus completely separated from the parent-stock.

The French tongue, however, has been very little deteriorated in Canada. The peasantry coming from different provinces, left their respective allotments of the "*Patois de chez nous*" behind them, in the land of their ancestors; and their posterity now speak but one language, which is very tolerable French; though not, to be sure, like the English of America, as pure and perfect as the chastest dialect of the mother-country; although spread over an inhabited surface of ten times its extent.

And here let me warn the British reader, that whenever an English traveller in America undertakes to amuse his countrymen, as Weld has sometimes done, with pretended conversations of American peasants, delivered in bad language, it is of his own manufacture; bad English is not coined in the American mint.

There appears to have been but very little emigration from France since the year 1660, when the province was already comparatively well-peopled; and it was about the same time, in the following century, that the Canadians yielded their independence to the ascendancy of the British arms; since which there has been far more connexion and intercourse between France and the American provinces of British origin, than between that powerful nation and her own descendants.

Thus the deterioration of pristine vigour, that it was possible for a few centuries to produce, in national character, has been, in this instance, completely exemplified.

In North America a colonization originally gradual and progressive, together with the incessant intercourse of commerce and curiosity, has admitted of so little variation of national character and appearance, that the Englishman of the United States is not now to be distinguished in form or feature; in temper or intellect, (excepting certain shades of difference which I shall not now undertake to define) from the Englishman of Europe: and the two branches from the parent stem may now be considered, with infinitely more propriety, in the light of elder and younger brothers, established in different countries, than in the fancied relationship of parent and child, which, if it was true of our ancestors a hundred years ago, is no longer so of the two separate races which have since sprung from the same parent-stock.

A hundred years hence, when obsolete pretensions have been forgotten, and jealousies and prepossessions shall be no

longer remembered, it will be the proudest boast of Britain that she planted the Colonies of North America; and the dearest title of the United States, that their progenitors came from Old England.

To an American from the United States, the smallness of towns so noted, and so long established as Quebec and Montreal, is inconceivable, and scarcely credible to the observer. I could myself with difficulty believe, that the population of the latter is now estimated at but fifteen thousand, of the former at no more than twelve; numbers which might have been roughly computed by the English at the time of the conquest. Still less can we imagine how the population of the country which, at that period, was estimated at seventy or eighty thousand, should have little more than doubled itself since, although sixty years have nearly elapsed, a period in which the standing population of the United States has more than trebled itself. I speak not of the rapid reduplication of the New States, which arises from emigration, and takes place at the expense of the Old.

In the year 1706, the people of New France were estimated at thirty thousand. At the Conquest, fifty-five years afterward, they were variously computed at seventy and at ninety thousand souls. If the latter was the true number (which I very much doubt) they can have little more than doubled since; for on the peace of 1763 an account of them was taken, by order of the government, and the whole amount, including the English with the French, was only one hundred and thirteen thousand. There were, at the same time, ten thousand loyalists established in Upper Canada.

If, therefore, the French stock has doubled itself since the year 1760, it is as much as can be inferred from the data given above. Taking the mean number (eighty) for a basis, its double will be a hundred and sixty thousand, which is probably not far from the truth; for I cannot adopt the flattering estimate of common computation, by which the present inhabitants of Lower Canada are raised to the suppositious amount of two hundred and fifty thousand.

There are many circumstances in Canada which control the energies of life, beside occasional scarcity and the long absence of the voyagers; preventing the natural tendency of new colonies to increase and multiply.

The extreme heats of the climate, though not lasting, enervate the body, and its extreme cold chills the blood, and has a benumbing effect upon the powers of the mind. Frequent festivals, or holidays, introduce habits of idleness and relaxation. The lands are held by military tenure. The occupants are liable to the teasing claim of quit-rents, and the unseason-

able exaction of military service. At every transfer of property the new purchaser is bound to pay one-fifth to the seignior, and in case of war the land-holder is liable to serve without pay. In short, under the *Ancien Regime*, every peasant was a soldier, and every seignior an officer; and although the natives are now excluded from the king's troops, the Creoles are enrolled in the militia, and are still called out, occasionally, without fee or reward. Accordingly, the frequent may-poles to be observed on the road-sides, do not mark, as at first sight I fondly imagined they might have done, the circle of a village-dance, where the sons and daughters of poverty might forget their wants in their enjoyments; but the superintendence of a serjeant, or a captain of a militia, as the rallying-point of duty in cases of alarm.*

Most of those who cultivate the soil can neither read nor write, of course they know nothing of the advantages of composts or the rotation of crops, by which the means of life are so cheaply multiplied by intelligent agriculturists. And before Quebec was taken by the English, all the manure produced in its stables was regularly thrown into the river.

Another check to population remains to be mentioned (though last, not least.) It is the law of celibacy to which the priests and nuns are prescriptively subjected, and to whose mortifying restrictions, however unnatural, there is no reason to doubt their scrupulous conformity.

* By the ancient custom of Canada, lands *en fief*, or *en roture*, were held immediately from the king, on condition of rendering fealty and homage, upon every accession to the seignorial property, and, in the event of a transfer, by sale, or otherwise, except in the line of hereditary succession, they were subject to the payment of a quint (one-fifth) of the purchase-money.

The Tenanciers, or holders of lands, *en roture*, were subject to the payment of a quit-rent, which was generally accompanied with some trifling gratuity, such as a pair of fowls, or a bushel of wheat. They were also bound to grind their corn at the Moulin banal, or the Lord's mill, where one-fourteenth part is taken by way of mouture, or toll, for grinding; likewise to repair highways, and to open new roads, when directed so to do, by the Grand Voyer, or Supervisor of the district.

The Lords were also entitled to a tithe of the fish caught within their domains, and might fell timber wherever they chose, for necessary purposes.

Lands held by Roman Catholics are farther subject to the payment, to the curates, of the twenty-sixth part of all grain produced upon them; also to occasional assessments for building and repairing churches, parsonage-houses, and other church-occasions.

The remainder of the located lands are held in free and common socage, from which is made a reservation of two-sevenths, one of which is appropriated to the crown, and the other to the maintenance of the Protestant clergy.

HISTORY OF CANADA.

IF I have said little of the early history of Canada, it is because little is to be said; yet the reader of these loose hints may be curious to know when the first settlements took place, and under what auspices they were established. I shall briefly transcribe the meagre historians of Canada; I say meagre in point of facts, for both La Hontan and Charlevoix are insufferably verbose, and the ponderous quartos of the latter may be called any thing but meagre.

The island of Newfoundland, that inhospitable waste of naked rocks and barren mountains, which lies at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, and which is supposed, notwithstanding its immense extent, to have never had any aboriginal inhabitants; none but wandering Esquimaux from the neighbouring coast of Labrador having ever been observed there, was first discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian adventurer, under the patronage of Henry VII. of England. But no advantage whatever was derived from this discovery, until after the lapse of half a century, when the French navigators began to frequent these seas for fish; and the two nations long enjoyed, without molestation from each other, the privilege of drying cod on the shores of this island, by prudently occupying the one the southern and northern, and the other only the eastern coast.*

It was in 1523 that Francis I. King of France, commissioned John Verazzani, a Florentine, then in his service, to make discoveries (which were then considered in the same light as conquests) in America. He sailed from Dieppe, and returned to Dieppe the same year, and this is all that is now known of his first voyage.—In 1525, however, he set sail again, ranged the coast of America from south to north, and having touched at Newfoundland, returned as before. He now prepared to plant a colony in North America, and

* The banks of Newfoundland, so called, are, strictly speaking, a submarine mountain of great extent, no where covered with less than twenty fathom of water, and varying from that depth to sixty and upwards. It is ascertained by soundings, that there are vast quantities of shells upon these banks, and immense multitudes of fish of various sizes, which serve for nourishment to the cod, which is so much prized in Europe. This, it seems, is one of the most voracious of fish. Both glass and iron are often found in its stomach, which, by the provision of nature, has a power of inverting itself, and thus disgorging its indigestible contents. Their number is apparently inexhaustible, seeing that two or three hundred vessels have been annually freighted with them for the last three centuries, without any apparent diminution.

sailed from France for that purpose, but was never afterward heard of.

The river St. Lawrence, one of the largest bodies of fresh water on the surface of the globe, received its name from Jacques Cartier, who, in the year 1535, had ascended the river as far as the place where Montreal now stands, in the vain hope of finding a nearer passage to China, the fruitless research which so long engrossed the attention of European navigators, with a small ship or two from St. Maloes, a seaport of France, upon the coast of Brittany.

That magnificent monarch, Francis I. still occupied the throne of France; but that prince being engaged at home in perpetual conflicts with his formidable rival, Charles V. of Spain, from this period, until the beginning of the following century, no effectual attempts were made by Europeans to form a settlement in Canada.

When Jacques Cartier arrived at the island called by him Montreal, from the singular mountain which there rises, in solitary majesty; over the present town, they found there an Indian village, or rather a fortified town, since the fifty cabins, of which it was composed, were surrounded by a triple row of palisades. It was called Hochelaga, and it was under the command of a chief, whose name has not been preserved, so far as I know.

Although Jacques Cartier appears to have been prevented, either by discouragement or inability, from returning to take possession of Montreal, yet, in 1541, Francis de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, a nobleman of Picardy, having been endowed by the king with the unlimited powers of viceroy of Canada, set sail, with no fewer than five small vessels, for New France, where he planted a colony, at the head of which he placed Cartier, who had accompanied him, and went back to France to prosecute the interests of the new settlement at court.

On his returning the next year with fresh recruits, he met, opportunely, his new colonists off Newfoundland, returning home in despair of relief. He readily persuaded them to return; and this enterprising nobleman made afterward several other voyages in prosecution of his favourite settlement, before the last unfortunate embarkation in 1549, when he was lost at sea, upon which the colony was broken up; and with this unfortunate event terminated the first attempts at colonization upon the river St. Lawrence.

The Protestants of France, unlike those of England, appear to have been little disposed in this age to expatriate themselves for the sake of the free exercise of their religion,

being headed at home by men of quality and influence, who for a long time maintained a successful stand against the power of the crown, and the intolerance of the clergy: yet about this time Coligni, then admiral of France, and afterward remarkable for suffering martyrdom in the tumultuous massacre of St. Bartholomew, with the permission of Charles IX., over whose weak mind he appears to have enjoyed great influence, notwithstanding his religion, attempted a settlement in Florida, for the retreat of the Calvinists, or Hugonots, of France. But these unfortunate emigrants were not long afterward indiscriminately murdered by the Spaniards, under the express directions of the gloomy tyrant Philip II.

In the year 1598, the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, was again commissioned as viceroy. His colonists were convicts from the French prisons, and he left them behind to perish upon the isle of Sable, being prevented from returning to their relief by untoward circumstances, in consequence of which he is said to have died of grief.

Other attempts to people Canada continued to be made from time to time, but they were all equally unsuccessful.

Champlain, (the future father of the colony,) came over for the first time in 1603, and returned to France the same year: but, in 1604, the Sieur de Monts, a Calvinist, obtained permission from Henry IV. to exercise his religion in America, obliging himself, oddly enough, to promote the Catholic faith among the savages. His object was the peltries of Canada, which had now become an important branch of commerce.

He established his company upon the coast of Acadie, now Nova Scotia, where he found a rich soil, covered with gigantic woods, and abounding with game of every description.

It was in the year 1608, that Samuel de Champlain, an enterprising and intelligent merchant, of the town of Dieppe, in Normandy, who had been for some years engaged in the above-mentioned traffic of furs, resolved upon establishing himself permanently in the new world.

Henry IV., the prince so long idolized in France as the only favourite of the people, in a long line of sovereigns, now swayed the sceptre in his native country; but it does not appear that that easy and amiable monarch gave himself any concern about the claims of his crown upon the unknown regions of the north. The kingdoms of Spain and Portugal had been fortunate in their American acquisitions. They had discovered mines of gold and silver sufficient to tempt their cupidity across half the globe; but even England had not yet established colonies for the sake of commerce, and it

is not to be wondered at that the French, who despise the useful but unostentatious pursuits of trade, in comparison of the fancied glories of war and conquest, should see nothing attractive in a country which opened to them no prospects but those of honest and industrious thrift.

When Champlain surveyed the banks of the great river, for the choice of a suitable situation for his infant colony, it is asserted, upon the authority of tradition, that when they came in sight of the lofty promontory, that reared its head between the two rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, some of his attendants cried out at the first sight of this abrupt and imposing eminence, *Quel bec!* and the bold adventurer is said to have immediately adopted this exclamation in his native tongue, as the future name of his projected town.

No later than the next year we find Champlain, under the romantic notions of honour, which then prevailed in Europe, imprudently engaged in an Indian war. He found the Algonquins of the vicinity of Quebec, and the Hurons of the fertile island since named Montreal, at war (according to the immemorial custom of neighbouring savages,) with the Iroquois, a powerful confederation on the western border of the present states of New-York and Pennsylvania.

The Indians of North America, a generous and intelligent race of men, would seem to have required the excitement of war and bloodshed in default of the active pursuits and ingenious occupations of civilized life, to preserve them from sinking into the torpidity of indolence, rather than for the indulgence of the brutal passions of anger and revenge. Can the European sophist assign as plausible a reason for the frequency of wars among civilized nations? much less among professing Christians, fighting under the same banner, professing to obey the same spiritual Commander? Since the plea of aggression can never be good on both sides, and even in defensive wars, which are mostly held to be justifiable, on the principle of necessity, that system (no less prudent than humane, I refer to universal experience) is sure to be abandoned, with all its advantages, as soon as opportunities occur for retaliation or reprisal.

In the spring of 1609, he headed a large party of the savages, (the name seems to be now not inappropriate) who were going against the Iroquois, upon the great lake, to which the French adventurer then gave his own name. They penetrated into the lake by the river since called the Sorel, and Champlain remarked that the fertile islands of the lake were full of roebucks, deer, elks, and other wild animals, particularly beavers, who absolutely swarmed in those unfrequented re-

treats, wherein they had never been disturbed by the restless avarice of man.

The two parties met accidentally upon the lake; but it seems the Indians of America were not accustomed to fight on the water, though they were such perfect masters of the paddle, that the descendants of the most polished nation in Europe have never yet made any improvement upon their canoes for river navigation.

They landed upon this occasion on the eastern shore, where they fought with bows and arrows, the only missile weapons of which they were then possessed. The French fusees soon decided the fortune of the day, and the Iroquois fled with terror, after a few discharges, which were accompanied with the loss of many of their leaders, cut down by the unerring aim of the European rifle.

Only two years afterward Champlain went again on the same idle expedition, now soothing his conscience with the fond imagination that it might be a means of spreading the knowledge of the cross, and procuring the future establishment of a permanent peace. The Algonquins, or rather the French, for the victory was gained by their fire-arms, were now again victorious.

In 1615, "Like a true knight-errant of the woods and lakes," says Charlevoix, (from whose authority I derive the ancient history of Canada) Champlain was inconsiderate enough to make a third of these marauding expeditions, to please his savage neighbours, the Hurons of Hochelaga. He now received several wounds from the Iroquois, who had by this time recovered from their surprise at the novel instruments of warfare adopted by their enemies, and the Hurons retreated with great loss, carrying off their wounded in a sort of wicker baskets, constructed for that purpose.

Only two years after this, so little popularity had Champlain gained among his more immediate neighbours by his imprudent courtesy, these same allies of his had plotted to rid themselves of the new-comers, and the timely discovery of the plot alone prevented its execution.

Thus was the colony of New France immersed in ruinous contests with the natives, from its very first establishment; and we need look no farther to account for its retarded progress, and protracted population, at the end of half a century.

But in justice to the Indians of North America, let it never be forgotten, that they every where received the new-comers with open arms; and, while they conducted themselves peaceably, entertained no ideas of repulsing, much less of exterminating, the intruders.

Accordingly, when William Penn laid the foundation of his colony, in peace and friendship, the only treaty, it has been wittily observed by Voltaire, that was not ratified by an oath, and that never was broken, a peace of eighty years was the happy consequence; and when it was at length infringed, in the prosecution of European quarrels, the peaceful followers of Penn withdrew from a government which could no longer be administered without the use of the sword.

In the year 1620, the Marshal de Montmorency purchased the viceroyalty of New France, of his brother-in-law, the Prince of Condé, (only brother to Lewis XIII.) who had caused himself to be invested with the proud title of Viceroy of New France, apparently without the least intention of interesting himself in the affairs of the colony.

The marshal appears to have slighted the bauble as soon as it had gratified his vanity, parting with it, in 1623, to his nephew Henry de Levi, Duke of Ventadour, in the same ignoble manner in which he had acquired it. From the surname of this nobleman, it will be remarked, comes the name of Point Levi. It is, I believe, the only memento of his administration that can now be traced in Canada.

In the next year (1624) the powerful league of the Iroquois made a general attack upon the French settlements, in the hope of exterminating the obnoxious intruders; but they were repulsed with great slaughter.

The Duke de Ventadour was a devotee of the fashion of the times, (Charles V. had but a little before strove, in vain, to shroud his royal temples in the cowl of a monk, and to bury imperial solitudes in the oblivion of a cloister.) He only wished for the viceroyalty of Canada, as a means of facilitating his views for the conversion of the savages; for which purpose he engaged the Jesuits, that sect of the Catholic Church which was, at its first institution, remarkable for application, zeal, and talent; so many of whose members, apparently denying the honours, the interests, and the pleasures of this life, were afterwards selected by the sovereigns of Europe as their prime-ministers, or bosom counsellors.

In 1625 (I mark the epoch with exactness, because I consider it as a date of the first importance in the history of Canada) the Duke sent over three fathers and two brethren of that distinguished order.*

* When the possessions of the Jesuits fell to the British Crown, a few years since, on the demise of the last incumbent, (for the Jesuits in Canada were protected from the general proscription which awaited them in Europe) they were valued at an income of ten thousand pounds sterling a-year. The

During all this time, viz. from 1608 to the period of the arrival of the Jesuits, Champlain appears to have rarely remained above one, two, or at most three, years at a time in America, although the affairs of the colony always went ill in his absence.

The next year, however, (1626) three more Jesuits arrived from France, with a number of industrious mechanics; and now, says Charlevoix, "Quebec began to assume the appearance of a town; for till then it had been but a fortified trading-house, and it was not considered at home in any other light."

In 1627, another form was given to the government of New France, by Cardinal Richelieu; the Duke de Ventadour gave up his viceroyalty, and the affairs of Canada were afterward managed by a company of merchants, with the cardinal at their head, until the next wars between France and England, and the clashing interests of their respective colonies rendered a military commander indispensable.

The first missionaries in Canada appear to have been men of eminent piety and zeal; whose labours were wonderfully blessed among the Hurons; though their well-meant exhortations were rejected by inimical tribes; and many of the zealous fathers, in time of war, suffered martyrdom for the profession of their faith.*

The superannuated survivors of this early period of simplicity and devotion (it was considered as the golden age of Canada) have always been venerated as the patriarchs of New France. Some of them were yet alive, though bending beneath the weight of years and services, when Charlevoix made his first visit to the new world; and their memory is still preserved in Canada with apostolic veneration.

In the year 1629, under the pretence afforded by the siege of Rochelle, an English fleet, said to be conducted by a French Protestant, who was inimical to the colony, attacked and easily made themselves masters of Quebec, at a time when the infant settlement had reduced itself, by its own mismanagement and the failure or neglect of its harvest, to a state so nearly approaching starvation, that they could scarcely re-

whole was appropriated by the British nation, with its usual munificence, to the establishment of public schools.

* Among other affecting instances of conversion which then occurred among the savages, so called, an old chieftain is mentioned by Charlevoix, of a hundred years of age, who had been baptized by the Jesuits but a little before his death. He said, in his last illness, with great tenderness and self-abasement, "Seigneur! J'ai commencé bien tard à vous aimer!" Lord! I have begun to love thee very late.

frain from opening their gates to the enemy, as their deliverer from the still greater evil with which they had been threatened. The transient conquest was, however, restored by amicable compromise, between the two sovereigns, at the treaty of St. Germain, in 1632.*

In the year 1635 died Samuel de Champlain, who has justly been denominated the father of New France. This circumstance cast a damp upon the joy occasioned by the restoration of the colony to its original governors, that was heightened, a year or two after that event, by a general sickness among the Hurons, which had well nigh swept away the Indians of Canada by a bloody flux. The French, it seems, were seized by the same disorder; but to them it was not fatal; whether owing to the difference of their constitutions, or the different manner of treating the complaint.

The court had early forbidden the Protestants to go to New France, and it does not appear that any of that long persecuted people ever established themselves permanently on the banks of the St. Lawrence; but upon the revocation of the edict of Nantz, toward the close of this century, a considerable body of those humble and devout professors of the Christian faith, who might say with St. Paul, "After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers;" took refuge in the then province of New York, where their posterity have become numerous and respectable.

In 1642 the Hollanders of Manhattan are mentioned as furnishing the Iroquois with fire-arms and spirituous liquors, and from this period, which appears to have terminated the golden age of Canada, we read of nothing for twenty years but wars

* There is something so exquisitely artless in Charlevoix's account of the different manner in which the English settlers treated the Indians, from that by which the French had gained the affections of their savage neighbours, that I cannot forbear transcribing it for the amusement of the reader—"The English, during the little time in which they had been masters of the country, had not known how to acquire the good-will of the savages. The Hurons never appeared at Quebec as long as the English remained there. The other tribes that resided nearer to the capital, many of whom, on account of particular causes of dissatisfaction, had openly declared against us, on the approach of the English squadron showed themselves afterward very rarely. All were disconcerted, when, upon taking the same liberties with the new comers, which they had been accustomed to do with the French, they perceived that such manners gave offence.

"It was still worse some time afterward, when they saw themselves driven out of those houses with blows, where, till then, they had entered as freely as into their own cabins. They accordingly kept at a distance from the English habitations; and nothing afterward more strongly attached them to our interests than this difference of manners and disposition between the two nations."

without and conspiracies within ; and the whole history of New France is but a tissue of attacks and reprisals, of missions received or rejected, of dissensions between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

To these calamities were added those of famine and pestilence, under the effects of which we can scarcely wonder, considering the temper of the times, that " voices were heard upon earth, and portents appeared in the air. There were eclipses of the sun, and halos round the moon. Strange lights were seen to traverse the country in the day ; and globes of fire gleamed among the shades of night." Witches, however, do not appear to have ever haunted Canada, though they were not unheard of, at this period, in France.

All these things were considered as manifest intimations of the wrath of God ; and such was, indeed, the situation of the unhappy colonists about the year 1660, that they did not dare to leave the forts without an escort ; and during some time the sisters of the two nunneries, in the outskirts of Quebec, used to retire into the city every night for safety. The harvest could not be gathered in, and serious thoughts were entertained of abandoning the settlement and returning to France. Seven hundred Iroquois kept Quebec, all summer, in a state of siege. The next year, however, these people (it seems they were not inveterate enemies) sent a flag down the great river with proposals of peace, demanding, as the only condition, the residence of a missionary among them. The proposition was gladly embraced by the humbled colonists ; and they now set themselves to repair the losses which they had sustained, by neglecting to cultivate the arts of peace rather than those of war.

In the year 1663 there were several shocks of an earthquake, which are said to have been felt throughout New England and New Holland. The earthquake would appear to have been real ; though its effects are evidently exaggerated by the credulous historian, since, though the houses were shaken from side to side, none of them fell down ; and in the yawning chasms which were seen to open in the bosom of the earth, no person appears to have perished.

But all these supposed indications of the wrath of that merciful Father, and all-gracious Benefactor, who causeth his sun to shine upon the righteous and the wicked, and sendeth rain alike upon the just and upon the unjust, were now at an end ; a new epoch commenced under brighter auspices ; and, in 1663, the king (Lewis XIV.) took the government into his own hands. His majesty sent out the Marquis de Tracy as viceroy of New France ; the old trading company, before men-

tioned, relinquishing the privileges, which had turned to so little account in their hands, to a new association, called the West-India Company, which was modelled by the great Colbert.

It was in the year 1671, that the first discovery was made by rambling voyagers, of the existence of that great river in the west, which was destined for the future outlet of an industrious (perhaps immense) population, by the Gulph of Mexico. It now only served to confirm the ambitious views of France for the subjection of North America.

In 1672 arrived the Count de Frontenac, as governor-general; who built Fort Cataraqui, now Kingston, at the entrance of Lake Ontario. But the haughty manners of this nobleman gave universal umbrage in America, and he was recalled by his royal master in 1682. He returned again, however, in 1689, with renewed powers, the French king then entertaining the project of possessing himself of the more fertile province of New York; a design which appears to have been prevented, at the time, by an irruption of the Iroquois; and afterwards prudently abandoned.

In the summer of 1690, before the count's arrival, the Five Nations had attacked Montreal. They landed at La Chine, twelve hundred strong, and sacked all the plantations on the island. The French at the same time had been obliged to abandon Cataraqui; and the neighbouring Indians were with difficulty prevented from joining the Iroquois, by the personal influence of the Sieur Perot, then governor of Montreal, to whom they were strongly attached. New France is said to have been on this occasion reduced almost as low as it had been in 1663, by a concurrence of similar circumstances.

In the year 1690 a joint invasion of Canada was concerted between New England, that was to attack Quebec by sea, and New York, that was to invest Montreal by land. Major Peter Schuyler commanded the party sent from New York, having been joined at Albany by a body of Indians, some of whom were now always enlisted in every quarrel between their European neighbours. He penetrated as far as the Prairie de la Madeleine, where he was repulsed by the Count de Frontenac, who was there posted, with a large body of French and Indians. The fleet destined to attack Quebec, consisting of thirty sail, fitted out in the ports of Massachusetts, was commanded by Sir William Phips. Arriving before the town on the 5th of October, Sir William summoned the Count de Frontenac, who had by this time returned from Montreal, to surrender the place. In the chronicles of the times, the pompous message is said to have received an insolent answer.

Upon this he landed a few miles below, thinking to take the town by storm; but he was so warmly received by the French commander, that he was fain to re-embark in the night, leaving behind him all his baggage and artillery. The fleet now cannonaded the town, but with little effect; and, being driven from their moorings by stress of weather, Sir William retired in disorder, on the 12th of October, under the necessity of avoiding the approach of winter. Several of the ships of this unfortunate squadron were blown off to the West-Indies, as they endeavoured to make the coast of New England; and some of them were wrecked in the Bay of St. Lawrence, or never more heard of. Sir William himself did not arrive at Boston, with the shattered remainder, until the 19th of November.

Quebec had been, for the first time, regularly fortified in the summer of 1690, and was thus enabled to resist a formidable attack, which it would have been utterly unable to withstand, had it taken place but a few months before.

The English and Dutch settlers, upon the more favourable coasts and rivers to the south, had now become sufficiently populous and powerful to stimulate the Iroquois or Five Nations to commence hostilities upon the French, during the frequent wars which have been always taking place between those two powerful and warlike nations.

The early emigrations were principally from the northern coasts of France, which would seem to be one of the reasons why no Protestants engaged in this colonial adventure, the great body of the Protestants of France being situated on the coasts of the Mediterranean; whilst the migrations from England were almost entirely confined to dissenters from their national establishment; a circumstance which has probably had no small share in producing the various fortunes of the respective colonies.

The society of Jesuits had been among the first to locate and improve the Island of Montreal, which they founded agreeable to traditional record, by the express command of Lewis XIV. as far up the great river as it was possible for ships to sail. They were followed in 1657 by the Abbé Que-tus, and the brotherhood of St. Sulpice.

From this time till the conquest of Canada by the English, which occurred in the year 1759, there continued to take place, at distant intervals, repeated incursions on both sides, between the French and English provinces, as likewise that of the Dutch, with various degrees of success, or rather of disappointment and disaster; for the French never gained any ground upon the neighbouring frontier, and the hardy sons of

New England had more than once invaded Canada to as little purpose, or rather worse than none; particularly in the year 1711, when Admiral Walker was cast away in the Bay of St. Lawrence, with a fleet of ships intended to co-operate in another attack upon Quebec; before General Abercrombie, at the head of fifteen thousand men, was repulsed (in 1758) by the French and Indians at Ticonderoga, a formidable out-post at the confluence of Lake George and Lake Champlain—now far within the acknowledged boundary of the United States.

It was before this savage entrenchment, the remains of which may still be traced by those who sail upon those inland waters, that the first Lord Howe lost his life. The same nobleman, whose two sons afterwards acted so conspicuous, yet so negative a part, the one as admiral, the other as commander-in-chief, in the struggle that soon afterward took place between the British colonies and the mother-country, for continental independence.

In the following year, General Wolfe succeeded in wresting Quebec out of the hands of the Marquis de Montcalm, who fell, together with the successful invader, in the same bloody field. The marquis is said to have replied, with characteristic magnanimity, when he was told that he had but a few hours to live—"So much the better!—I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

During the revolutionary contest, in the year 1775, the American General Montgomery fell, in like manner, during a fruitless attack upon Quebec. And the British General Burgoyne, in 1777, having descended Lake Champlain, and dissipated his mighty force among the trackless woods which then surrounded it on all sides, was fain, at Saratoga, to strike the royal standard to that very undisciplined multitude whom his fulminating proclamation from Illinois, for we are not the only people that are chargeable with similar rhodomontades, had begun with denominating rebels and traitors.

Five-and-thirty years after this event, in the year 1812, during another struggle between the same parties, in support of national pretensions, the British Commodore Downie, with five or six sloops of war, was completely discomfited by M'Donough, the American commander, upon the same Lake Champlain; and the trophies of his victory, their dismantled hulks, still exhibit their black and battered sides among the dark firs and frowning precipices of Wood Creek.

Sir George Prevost, who had penetrated to Plattsburgh, at the head of fifteen thousand men, precipitately retreating to

St. John's, upon this event taking place before his eyes, without his being able to do any thing to prevent the unexpected catastrophe.*

Such are the melancholy details of national prowess: alas! that it should have been hitherto in vain for moralists, philosophers, and poets, under the immediate sanction of the PRINCE OF PEACE, the Captain of our Salvation, to deprecate the unnecessary effusion of blood in national quarrels.—

Ah! what more shows the vanity of life,
Than to behold the Nations all on fire,
In cruel broils engaged, and deadly strife;
Most Christian Kings inflamed by black desire,
With honourable ruffians in their hire,
Cause war to rage, and blood around to pour;
Of this sad work, when each begins to tire,
They set them down just where they were before;
Till, for new scenes of woe, peace shall their force restore.

THE ANCIENT NOBLESSE.

Of the ancient Noblesse of Canada, the Counts of Longueuil and St. Lawrence have long been extinct; and the small remainder being now deprived of the advantages of privilege and prepossession; and having no longer any other chance for the appointments of power and profit, but what they must derive, in common with their fellow-subjects, from personal merit, are rapidly sinking into decay or insignificance. Events which they are said to have accelerated by their own inattention to qualify themselves for public confidence, and their neglecting to preserve their families from the supposed contamination of plebeian intermixture.

Yet there still remain in Montreal and at Boucherville, in dignified retirement, the noble families of Lavigniere, De Beau Jeu, Dechambault, De la Naudiere, and others. And at Quebec are yet found the ancient Chevaliers de Lery.

The Baronies of Port Neuf and of Longueuil preserve upon parchment the obsolete titles of their ancient lords; but those dignities no longer descend with the estates; and they may be considered as virtually extinct, since the honours which they claim have not been derived from the British Crown.

* I say nothing of the turgid manifestoes and retrograde manoeuvres of General Hull, or General Smythe, upon Canadian ground; and many other futile attempts on both sides to penetrate into each others borders—in pure bravado—or on marauding expeditions, without end or aim—since they all terminated, as usual in such cases, in the disgrace or discomfiture of the invader; and served no other purpose than to add another lesson to the many already forgotten by disappointed ambition, upon the inevitable mischances of offensive war.

I much doubt the correctness of my orthography in these foreign denominations, but I have now no means of correcting it; having collected most of this local information on-board the steam-boat, in Lake Champlain, not from printed documents, to which I might again recur, but from two Canadian gentlemen, one of them a father, and the other a bachelor-brother, of reserved habits, but of gentle manners, and affections mild. They reminded me of Sterne's "my Father and Uncle Toby," calculating the possibilities of his eldest brother Bobby's projected tour of Europe. For these two good souls were going all the way to Philadelphia, to accompany the hope of the family (a well-grown youth, whom American parents would have considered fully competent to the task of taking care of himself) on his way to take shipping for France, to perfect himself in the celebrated schools of Paris, for the practice of physic; which, it seems, is a profession less willingly embraced in Canada, by youths of family or spirit, than that of the law—Creoles having no chance for preferment in the army.

They had heard the well-merited fame of our penitentiary, and were solicitous to inform themselves of its details, as there is a probability that some, at least, of its beneficial provisions may be adopted in the new places of correction and confinement which are now erecting at Montreal. I told them what I knew of the system, and recommended them to apply to the benevolent managers of that institution, for the information which I know they will most willingly impart.

Thus the benevolent (may I not say, with reverence, the godlike) plan of correcting, with a view to reform rather than punish, is generally extending itself from land to land. May it one day pervade the world, and do away the barbarous custom of inflicting sanguinary punishments, in the face of day, with which the streets of the most polished capitals in Europe now shock the feelings of the American traveller!

ON THE LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS, OR FIVE NATIONS.

THE justly celebrated confederacy of Five Nations, which existed in the heart of the New Continent, when the first migrators landed from Europe, was a powerful league, which had existed for ages, like that of the States of Holland, or the ancient Republics of Greece, for the purpose of mutual defence against powerful neighbours; but without impairing the independent jurisdiction of any of its members.

It affords a striking parallel to that potent and wide-spread confederation, which has since taken place among the succeeding occupants of the same rich and well-watered territory, which is adapted, in an unexampled degree, to carry to their utmost limits the active energies of civilized man.

This aboriginal association, which is entitled to more respectful notice than has ever yet been allotted to it in American history; but to which ample, though tardy, justice will be done by our future poets and historians, (may it not be when too late to trace the features of their character with the precision of which the interesting subject is yet susceptible!) then consisted of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagoes, the Cayugas, and the Sennekaas.

Of these, the Mohawks, then situated on the fertile banks of the river which still bears their name, were considered as the chief nation, or tribe; but the great council of the confederacy assembled annually at Onondaga (I have myself seen the great wigwam, sixty or eighty feet in length, in which was kindled the council-fire, before the dereliction of National Sovereignty to the Congress of the United States had dissolved the aboriginal union) on account of the central situation of that place, which rendered it convenient for the assembling of the confederated tribes.

Of this powerful league, which is supposed to have once extended the terror of its arms from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay, the Sennekaas are the only tribe that is now numerous enough to be of any political importance. They are yet to be found in large bodies upon the eastern banks of Lake Erie; where the curious traveller may still witness, at their occasional councils, all the striking peculiarities of the Indian character.

An old war-chief, called the Farmer's Brother, whose person and features are stamped with all the hardihood of antiquity, is yet living; and the chief speaker, vulgarly called Red Jacket, but in his own tongue, with appropriate qualification, Tsekuyeaathaw, "the man that keeps you awake," may still be heard, occasionally, delivering orations that Cicero or Demosthenes would have listened to with delight. I have myself heard this native orator speak for hours together, at one of the last public treaties that was held with this tribe. His discourse was then taken in short-hand. It was upon local policy, and therefore is now forgotten, though it went through the newspapers of the day; but some of his speeches, in reply to the solicitations of different missionaries to the Sennekaa tribe, to change the religion of their fathers for the Christian creed, have been often reprinted in our periodical publications, and can only be read with astonishment. They elevate the untutored Indian far above Pope's elegant apology for that supposed ignorance and imbecility with which self-complacent Europeans have been pleased to designate the wild man of America.

When Father Charlevoix, a learned Jesuit, first assisted, as the French say, at an Indian Council (for the gift of eloquence was not confined to the orators of the Five Nations) he could not believe that the Jesuit, who acted as interpreter, was not imposing upon the audience the effusions of his own brilliant imagination.

Yet Charlevoix had been accustomed to the orations of Masillon and Bourdaloue; when those eminent orators displayed all the powers of pulpit eloquence, at the funerals of princes, upon the fertile subject of the vanity of life; but he confesses that he had never heard any thing so interesting as the extempore discourses of an Indian chief.

Even those who have had the enviable privilege of listening, in the British House of Commons, to

The popular harangue, the tart reply,
The logic, and the wisdom, and the wit,

that flowed spontaneous from Burke, and Sheridan, and Fox, and Pitt, during the most splendid period of British oratory, have freely acknowledged, that they never heard any thing more impressive than an Indian speech, accompanied, as it usually is, with all the graces of unconstrained delivery.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE BEAVER, IN CANADA.

THAT sagacious and persevering animal, the Beaver, is the proper emblem of republican America, and was so adopted by Franklin, in his designs for the continental bills. He is a pattern of conjugal fidelity and paternal care. Laborious, thrifty, frugal, watchful, and ingenious. He submits to government in the republican form for the benefits of political association; but is never known, in the most powerful communities, to make depredations upon his weaker neighbours.

On the first arrival of Europeans in Canada, the beaver was found of the size of four feet in length, and the weight of fifty or sixty pounds; but all animals, hunted for their furs, or skins, have become much less, or rather have been prevented from becoming so large, as they were before the approach of civilized man. He is now rarely met with of a greater length than three feet, or a greater weight than twenty-five to thirty pounds.

The back of this remarkable animal rises like an arc. His teeth are long, broad, strong, and sharp. Four of these, two above and two below, are called incisors. These teeth project one or two inches, and are curved like a gouge. The toes of his fore-feet are separated, as if designed to answer the purpose of fingers. His hind-feet are fitted with webs, adapted to the purpose of swimming. His tail is a foot long, an inch thick, and five or six inches broad; it accordingly serves the purpose of a trowel in plastering his dam.

Wherever a number of these animals come together, they immediately combine, in society, to perform the common business of constructing their habitations; apparently acting under the most intelligent design. Though there is no appearance indicating the authority of a chief or leader, yet no contention or disagreement is ever observed among them.

When a sufficient number of them is collected to form a town, the public business is first attended to; and, as they are amphibious animals, provision is to be made for spending their time, occasionally, both in and out of the water. In conformity to this law of their nature, they seek a situation which is adapted to both these purposes.

With this view, a lake or pond, sometimes a running stream, is pitched upon. If it be a lake or pond, the water in it is always deep enough to admit of their swimming under the ice. If it be a stream, it is always such a stream as will form a pond that shall be every way convenient for their purpose; and such is their forecast, that they never fix upon a situation that will not eventually answer their views.

Their next business is to construct a dam. This is always placed in the most convenient part of the stream; the form of it is either straight, rounding, or angular, as the peculiarities of the situation require; and no human ingenuity could improve their labours in these respects.

The materials they use, are wood and earth. They choose a tree on the river-side which will readily fall across the stream; and some of them apply themselves with diligence to cut it through with their teeth. Others cut down smaller trees, which they divide into equal and convenient lengths. Some drag these pieces to the brink of the river, and others swim with them to the spot where the dam is forming.

As many as can find room are engaged in sinking one end of these stakes; and as many more in raising, fixing, and securing, the other ends of them. Others are employed at the same time in carrying on the plastering part of the work. The earth is brought in their mouths, formed into a kind of mortar with their feet and tails; and this is spread over the intervals between the stakes, saplings and twigs being occasionally interwoven with the mud and slime.

Where two or three hundred beavers are united, these dams are from six to twelve feet thick at the bottom; at the top, not more than two or three,

In that part of the dam which is opposed to the current, the stakes are placed obliquely ; but on that side where the water is to fall over, they are placed in a perpendicular direction.

These dams are sometimes a hundred feet in length, and always of the exact height which will answer their purposes.

The ponds thus formed, sometimes cover five or six hundred acres. They generally spread over grounds abounding with trees and bushes of the softest wood, maple, birch, poplar, willow, &c. and, to preserve the dams against inundation, the beaver always leaves sluices near the middle, for the redundant water to pass off.

When the public works are completed, the beavers separate into small companies, to build cabins or houses for themselves. These are built upon piles, along the borders of the pond. They are of an oval construction, resembling a bee-hive ; and they vary from four to ten feet in diameter, according to the number of families they are to accommodate.

These dwellings are never less than two stories high, generally three ; and sometimes they contain four apartments. The walls of these are from two to three feet thick, formed of the same materials with the dams. On the inside they are made smooth, but left rough without, being rendered impenetrable to rain. The lower story is about two feet high, the second is formed by a floor of sticks covered with mud, and the upper apartment terminates with an arched roof. Through each floor there is a passage, and the uppermost floor is always above the level of the water.

Each of these huts has two doors, one on the land-side, to admit of their going out and seeking provision that way ; another under the water and below where it freezes, to preserve their communication with the pond.

No association of people can possibly appear more happy, or be better regulated, than the tribe of beavers. The male and female always pair. In September they lay up their winter's stock, which consists of bark, and the tender twigs of trees. Then commences the season of love and repose ; and during the winter they remain within, every one enjoying the fruits of his own labour, without pilfering from any other.

Towards spring the females bring forth their young, to the number of three or four. Soon after, the male retires to gather firs and vegetables, as the spring opens ; but the dam remains at home, to nurse and rear up their young. The male occasionally returns home, but not to tarry, until the end of the year ; yet, if any injury should happen to their works, the whole society are soon collected, by some unknown means, and they join all their forces to repair the injury which has been sustained.

Whenever an enemy approaches their village, the beaver who first perceives the unwelcome stranger, strikes on the water with his tail, to give notice of the approaching danger ; and the whole careful tribe instantly plunge into the water.

The fur of this wonderful animal, which is so much prized in commerce, is an interior coat, there being a double growth of it over all parts of the body ; the outer and longer being of an inferior quality, while the inner, being thus preserved from air and injury, is thick, fine, and as soft as silk. The sacks which contain the precious oil, used in medicine under the name of castoreum, lie concealed behind the kidneys.

They vary very much in colour. The most esteemed shade is black, and they have been found perfectly white ; but the general colour of the species is a chesnut-brown.

In a state of nature, undisturbed by barbarous and selfish man, this provident animal lives fifteen or twenty years, and prepares the way for several generations, adapting his dwellings to the increase of his family.

END OF SANSOM'S TRAVELS.

2

TOUR

IN

VIRGINIA, TENNESSEE,

&c. &c. &c.

BY THE REV. ELIAS CORNELIUS.

HAVING recently returned from a tour of considerable extent in the United States, I avail myself, with pleasure, of the first leisure moment to communicate some facts relative to the Mineralogy and Geology of that part of the country through which I have passed.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Before doing this, permit me to premise, that, in consequence of my limited acquaintance with these branches of Natural Science, and the still more limited time, which other and important concerns allowed me to devote to the subject, I can do little more than give a general description. What my eye could catch, as I travelled from one country and wilderness to another, preserving occasionally a few of the most interesting specimens, was all I could do. The narrative I am about to give, is drawn principally from the notes which were taken on the journey, and will be confined to a simple *statement of such facts* as were either observed by myself, or derived from good authority. Their application to preconceived theories I leave to those who have more leisure and disposition for speculation than myself.

A description of a few natural and artificial curiosities which came under particular notice, will not, I trust, be thought an improper digression. The whole is committed to your disposal; and, if it shall add but one mite to the treasury of American Natural History, I shall be gratified, and rejoice to have made even this small remuneration for your unwearied efforts, to impart to one, formerly your pupil, a love for Natural Science.

The Author's Route.

My route was in a line nearly direct from Boston to New Orleans; passing through the principal cities to Washington;

thence, diagonally, through Virginia, East Tennessee, and the north-western angle of Georgia; in a western course through the north division of the territory of Alabama, to the north-eastern boundary of the State of Mississippi; and thence in a line nearly south-west to Natchez. From this last place I descended the river Mississippi to New Orleans. On my return, I frequently varied from this course, and had increased opportunities for surveying the country. In both instances I passed through the countries belonging to the Cherokee, Chickesaw, and Choctaw tribes of Indians, and travelled among them, in all, about one thousand miles.

Geology of Virginia.

As others have described more minutely and accurately than I can, the country north of Virginia, I shall begin with a few remarks on the geological character of that State. It is there that the traveller, in passing from the Atlantic to the interior, crosses successively the most important formations of the earth, from the most recent alluvial to the oldest primitive. For a considerable distance from the coast, the country is alluvial. It then assumes an older secondary formation—and sandstone and puddingstone are frequent. This is the character of the district of Columbia, and, indeed, of a great part of the valley of the Potomac.

Sandstone of the Capitol, &c.

In this valley, and adjacent to the river, is found the sandstone of which the president's house and the capitol are constructed. It is composed of fine silicious grains, is easily wrought, and, from its colour, has the appearance, at a small distance, of white marble.

Beautiful Breccia.

It is also in the valley of this river, and not far from its famous passage through the Blue Ridge, that immense quarries of beautiful Breccia have been opened. This rock was first brought into use by Mr. Latrobe, for some years employed by the government as principal architect. It is composed of pebbles, and fragments of silicious and calcareous stones, of almost every size, from a grain to several inches in diameter, strongly and perfectly cemented. Some are angular, others rounded. Their colours are very various, and often bright. Red, white, brown, grey, and green, are alternately conspicuous, with every intermediate shade. Owing to the silicious stones which are frequently imbedded through the mass, it is wrought with much difficulty; but, when finished, shews a fine polish, and is unquestionably one of the most beautifully variegated marbles

that ever ornamented any place. It would be difficult to conceive of any thing more grand than the hall of the Representatives, in the capitol, supported as it is by twenty or thirty pillars formed of the solid rock, and placed in an amphitheatrical range; each pillar about three feet in diameter, and twenty in height. Some idea of the labour which is employed in working the marble may be formed from the fact, that the expense of each pillar is estimated at five thousand dollars. The specimens in your possession are good examples of its general structure, but convey no adequate idea of its beauty.

Petrifaction of Wood.

It will be proper to notice, in this place, a petrifaction of wood, which is found on the road from Washington to Fredericksburgh, sixteen miles from the latter, and four miles north of the court-house in Stafford county. It is remarkable for its size, rather than for any singularity in the composition. It was found by digging away the earth on the side of the road, and appears to have been the trunk of a considerable tree. It is firmly fixed in the ground, and penetrates it obliquely; how far has not yet been ascertained. At the time I saw it about two feet had been exposed. The diameter is about eight inches. Its colour is white, sometimes resembling that of wood. The fibres are well preserved, and so is the general structure. It is much to be desired, that some one would clear it from its bed, and give it entire to one of our mineralogical cabinets.

Geological Features.

Next to the alluvial and secondary formations, as you pass to the west and north-west, are to be found ranges of granite and shistose, and other primitive rocks; interspersed with these may be seen sandstone, clay, slate, quartz, and limestone. Granite ranges were particularly seen in the neighbourhood of Fredericksburgh, crossing the Rappahannock; and in Orange and Albemarle counties, extending nearly to the Blue Ridge. Great quantities of quartz and quartz-rock, sometimes covering with their fragments the sides of hills, are frequent. Another and more interesting rock in the same connexion, is found in Albemarle county. For some time I doubted to what class to refer it. But from its resemblance to the rocks of the east and west mountains near New Haven, I ventured to call it trap, or whinstone. It becomes more abundant as you approach the Blue Ridge, and the granite disappears. On the sides and summit of the mountain its appearance is more decidedly that of greenstone. In crossing the south-west mountain, the range to which Monticello belongs, and distant from the Blue Ridge

about twenty-five miles, I observed the same rock. Whether this opinion is just, you will be able to decide from the specimens which have been forwarded.

Blue Ridge.

I have repeatedly named the Blue Ridge. It is the first of those long and parallel ranges of mountains, called the Alleghany; and constitutes one of the most prominent features in the geology of the United States. Its height I cannot determine with accuracy. Probably it would not average more than one thousand feet. Its base may extend in diameter from one to two miles; and yet such is the influence it has on the climate, that vegetation on the eastern is usually two weeks earlier than on the western side. And, what is remarkable, this difference obtains, on the former side, at least, until you arrive within a few hundred yards of the summit. I crossed the mountain in two places, distant from each other one hundred miles, but observed nothing essentially different in their mineralogy. At one of them, called the Rockfish-Gap, on the road from Charlottesville to Staunton, I spent a few hours, and brought away specimens of all the varieties of minerals which I could find. These have been submitted to your inspection. Among them you will, I think, see greenstone, epidote, and slate, more or less allied to the first. These are the most common rocks, and, excepting the second, are usually stratified. The epidote is generally associated with quartz, and sometimes is imbedded in it. In some instances it has a porphyritic appearance, and is very beautiful. In others, it is coated with small filaments of a greenish asbestos. Other minerals were found, whose nature I could not so easily determine. I regret exceedingly that I cannot furnish you with a more complete description of this interesting mountain. That its character is peculiar, or different from the country on either side of it, must be obvious to the most superficial observer. Its principal rock does indeed bear a resemblance to the trap or whinstone of Albemarle county, and yet I think you will say it is not the same. One fact of importance cannot be mistaken; this mountain constitutes the great dividing line between the granite and limestone countries. For you no sooner reach its western base, than the greenstone and epidote disappear; and limestone pervades the country for hundreds of miles in every direction. In all the distance from this mountain to New Orleans, I did not find a single specimen of granite, or greenstone. This may appear singular, since Mr. Maclure and Professor Cleveland have a granite range on their maps, immediately west of the Blue Ridge; and even that mountain is on those maps, in some

parts of it, covered with the granitic tinge. This may be true. I can answer for only two points of it, and for that part of the country beyond, lying near the main road to Tennessee. In this route I descended almost the whole length of the great valley included between the Blue Ridge on the east, and the north mountain on the west. But in no instance did I meet with specimens of granite; nor west of the Blue Ridge with any prevailing rock but limestone. I know of no reason why the Blue Ridge should not be regarded as the first great dividing line between the granite and limestone countries. The change in the geological formation is so sudden and striking, that it would be difficult for the most careless traveller, with his eyes open, not to observe it. The face of nature, he cannot but perceive, wears a different aspect; the air is more cool and lively; even the water which he drinks possesses new properties perceptible to his taste. The inhabitants no longer speak of their "sandstone water;" but every where he hears of "limestone water." Indeed, for 800 miles in the direction which I travelled, he tastes no other water. Every spring and every rivulet is strongly impregnated with carbonate of lime. The vessels in which it is prepared for culinary use, soon become lined with a white calcareous crust. Nor is its taste the only inconvenience experienced by the traveller unaccustomed to it. It often injures the health of a stranger, and covers the surface of the body with cutaneous eruptions.

Limestone Country in inclined Strata.

The geological observer has now entered upon a very interesting field. Its great extent, and its wonderful uniformity, give new facilities to investigation. Two divisions of it seem to have been made in nature.

The *first* is that which includes the limestone lying in INCLINED STRATA. This division extends from the Blue Ridge to the Cumberland mountain in East Tennessee, a distance in the direction of my route of 500 miles. Of course it includes all the ranges, five in number, of the Alleghany mountains. The strata lie in a course north-east and south-west, the same as the general course of the mountains. The angle which they make with the horizon is very variable, from 25° to 45°. The colour of the rock varies from blue, and pale blue, to grey, or greyish white; frequently it presents a dull earthy appearance. The fracture is more or less conchoidal. Sometimes the rock assumes a different character, and the fracture is uneven, and the texture firm. This last is distinguished from the former, not only by the fracture, but by the colour. It is usually spoken of by the inhabitants as the *grey limestone*, the

colour of the other being usually of a bluish cast. It differs from that also by being less brittle, and possessing the quality denominated by stone-cutters "tough." In consequence of this, and its enduring heat better, it is more frequently used in building than the other. This variety of limestone is not uncommon. Its colour is not always grey, sometimes it is a reddish brown, and sometimes white. Immense quantities of it, possessing either a greyish or reddish brown colour, are found in the vicinity of Knoxville, East Tennessee. One range of it is crossed by every road, passing to the south and east of Knoxville. Its appearance is that of some variegated marbles; white veins penetrate it, and wind through it in every direction. Whether any part of it has a texture sufficiently fine and firm to be wrought to advantage, is yet to be determined. To the eye of a superficial observer, there are many indications that it has. A specimen of very fine white marble, resembling the Italian white, was shewn me in Augusta county, Virginia, which was found fifteen miles from Staunton, where there is said to be a considerable quantity of it.

Limestone Country in Horizontal Strata.

The *second* great division of the limestone country extends, on the route which I took, two hundred miles from the Cumberland mountain, and others associated with it south-west, as far as the Dividing Ridge, which separates the waters flowing into the Tennessee from those which proceed direct to the gulf of Mexico. The grand circumstance which distinguishes the limestone of this division from that already described, is this, ITS STRATA ARE HORIZONTAL. Frequently immense piles may be seen forming bold precipices, but always in horizontal layers, differing in thickness from a few inches to many feet. How far this arrangement extends to the west and north, I have not yet been able to learn. Travellers always speak of the limestone rocks in West Tennessee and Kentucky as *flat*, from which circumstance I conclude, that the Cumberland mountain forms, for a considerable distance at least, the eastern boundary. I have observed but three other particulars in which the strata of the *horizontal* differ from those of the *inclined* limestone.

1. Its colour is not so strongly marked with the bluish tinge.
2. It is not so commonly penetrated with white veins of a semicrystallized carbonate of lime; nor is it so frequently associated with the *uneven* fractured species.
3. Petrifications are oftener found in it.

I will here take the liberty to suggest, whether, in our maps of geology, some notice should not be taken of this very im-

portant division in the limestone country. Such a division exists *in fact*; nature has made it; and if geology depends on nature for its only legitimate inductions, there can be no reason why a feature so prominent as this should be overlooked: I shall not undertake to account for their difference: but would not every geological theorist consider them as distinct formations? *

Cumberland Mountain.

The Cumberland mountain, which forms a part of this dividing line, is itself a singular formation. It belongs to the class called "Table mountains." Its width varies from a few miles, to more than fifty. Its height is not perceptibly different from that of the Blue Ridge. It forms a circuit, in a shape somewhat resembling a half-moon. Winding to the south-west, it keeps a course north of the Tennessee river, in some places nearly parallel with it; passes a few miles to the south-east of Huntsville in the Alabama territory, and not long after terminates. At one part, over which I crossed, the mountain is eighteen miles wide. This is about 150 miles south-west of Knoxville, a little north of the 35th degree of N. Lat. I had not ascended the mountain more than half-way, before I found sandstone begin to intermingle with limestone strata. As I drew near the summit, the limestone disappeared entirely, and sandstone prevailed in abundance, with no other mineral associated until I reached the western descent, where I met bold precipices of horizontal limestone, reaching from the base to the summit. I examined several sandstone-rocks while crossing the mountain, found them usually imbedded in the earth, generally with flat surfaces, of a fine grain, and strong texture. The colour is usually a reddish brown, or greyish red. The specimen which you have received is a good example. I crossed this mountain in the vicinity of Huntsville, not less than 100 miles south-west of the place above-mentioned, and found it not wider than mountains commonly are. Its height had also become less, and horizontal limestone in regular strata prevailed in every part.

* The modesty of the writer has prevented him from applying to the formations which he has well described, the terms *transition* and *secondary*, which there can be little doubt do, in fact, belong to them. His strata of highly inclined limestone appear to belong to the transition class of Werner, and his flat strata to the secondary. It may be observed, in this place, that the specimens alluded to in the text (*passim*;) appear to be correctly described by Mr. Cornelius, and to justify his geological inferences as far as hand-specimens, seen at a distance from their native beds, can form a safe basis for general geological inductions.

Although this mountain forms a part of the dividing line which has been mentioned, it does not exclusively so: for the Rackoon mountain, which crosses the Tennessee river, at the place so well known by the name of "the Suck," and the Look-Out mountain, which terminates abruptly about six miles to the left of "the Suck," form an acute angle with the Cumberland, and are composed of horizontal strata of limestone. Thus, it would appear, the line which divides the two kingdoms of this rock is nearly north and south, inclining, perhaps, a few points to the east and west.

Scenery.

And here I cannot forbear pausing a moment to call your attention to the grand and picturesque scenery which opens to the view of the admiring spectator. The country is still possessed by the aborigines, and the hand of civilization has done but little to soften the wild aspect of nature. The Tennessee river, having concentrated into one mass the numerous streams it has received in its course of three or four hundred miles, glides through an extended valley with a rapid and overwhelming current, half-a-mile in width. At this place, a group of mountains stand ready to dispute its progress. First, the "Look-Out," an independent range, commencing thirty miles below, presents, opposite the river's course, its bold and rocky termination of two thousand feet. Around its brow is a pallisade of naked rocks, from seventy to one hundred feet. The river flows upon its base, and instantly twines to the right. Passing on for six miles further, it turns again, and is met by the side of the Rackoon mountain. Collecting its strength into a channel of seventy yards, it severs the mountain, and rushes tumultuously through the rocky defile, wafting the trembling navigator at the rate of a mile in two or three minutes. This passage is called "The Suck." The summit of the Look-Out mountain overlooks the whole country. And to those who can be delighted with the view of an interminable forest, penetrated by the windings of a bold river, interspersed with hundreds of verdant prairies, and broken by many ridges and mountains, furnishes, in the month of May, a landscape which yields to few others in extent, variety, or beauty. Even the aborigines have not been insensible to its charms; for in the name which they have given to the Look-Out mountain we have a laconic, but very striking description of the scenery. This name, in the Cherokee language, without the aspirated sounds, is *O-tullē-ton-tannā-tā-kunnā-ēē*; literally, "mountains looking at each other."

I have already remarked that the limestone of this mountain

lies in horizontal strata: one mile east from its base it is inclined. Like the Cumberland, it contains immense rocks of sandstone, but of a coarser grain, verging occasionally into pudding-stone. I was told by a white man, a professed millwright, that among these sandstone-rocks, he knew of many which were suitable for millstones. At the missionary establishment, called "Brainerd," eight miles east of the mountain, I saw one of them which was used for this purpose to much advantage. It is composed of fine and large grains of silicious stones, nearly white, and resembling pebbles of white quartz: the texture is firm.

Silicious Minerals, &c.

I will now notice an important fact, applicable to the whole extent of limestone country which has come under my observation. It is its association with a description of minerals, all of which appear to be *silicious*. To describe them minutely would require several pages. From the time I entered the limestone country till I left it this association was observed. The minerals included in it differ much in their external character. Their size varies from that of rocks to the smallest fragments. Usually they lie loose upon the earth, in angular forms, having the appearance of a stone that has been broken in pieces by the hammer. Sometimes they cover the sides of hills and mountains in such abundance as to prevent or impede vegetation. When the disintegration is minute, they are serviceable rather than otherwise; and the farmer talks of his "good black," or "white gravel land." It renders this service, I presume, not by decomposition, but by preventing the soil and its manure from being washed away. Indeed, the different varieties of it are generally scattered over the surface, in pieces so small, that, for convenience-sake, the whole may be denominated a *silicious gravel*.

Sometimes the mineral is imbedded in limestone, in the form of nodules, thus indicating their original connexion with it.

The varieties, so far as I have observed, are quartz, hornstone, flint, jasper, and semi-opal; and several, which to me are non-descripts. *Quartz* is the most abundant. It is found of different colours; compact, and porous or cellular; of every size; simple and associated with other silicious stones; massive and crystallized. In Augusta and Rockbridge counties in Virginia, beautiful crystals of quartz, of a singular form, are found. They are six-sided prisms, with double acuminations, that is, with six-sided pyramids, mounted on the opposite ends of the prism. A specimen of two such crystals united, you

have received. It was found near Lexington. A curious variety of the quartz gravel-stone occurs on both sides of Elk river, a few miles above its junction with the Tennessee, in the Alabama territory. As you travel to the west from Huntsville, it appears first in the neighbourhood of Fort Hampton, two miles east of Elk river, and may be seen for ten miles west of that river. The mineral is remarkable for containing a curious petrification. Its first appearance is that of a solid screw. On examination, however, you find it is not spiral, but consists of parallel concentric layers. Their diameter varies in different specimens, from that of a pin to half an inch. They stand in the centre of a hollow cylinder, extending its whole length, and occupying about one-third of its dimensions. The stone is sometimes perfectly filled with these forms. The petrification I could not have named had you not pronounced it the "Entrochite."

Hornstone, next to quartz, is the most abundant of the silicious minerals associated with limestone. It is very often seen imbedded in rounded masses, both in the inclined and horizontal strata.

Flint is more rare. Several fine specimens were observed on the western declivity of the Look-Out Mountain, but in no instances in large masses or quantities.

Semi-Opal was found in one instance on the dividing ridge, which constitutes the south-western boundary of the lime-stone strata.

Of the non-descripts you have several specimens. One variety strikes fire with steel, is a milk-white colour, adheres slightly to the tongue, and has no degree of translucency on its edges. As Mr. Kain has furnished you with an interesting detail of particular minerals found in East Tennessee and Western Virginia, I need not recapitulate what he has so well said.

I will conclude this part of the narrative with a brief notice of a few curiosities occurring in the region which has been described.

Caves.

1. It is well known that it furnishes a great number of interesting caves. They are found alike in the inclined and horizontal strata. Some of them are several miles in extent, and afford fine specimens of earthy and alkaline salts.

Wier's cave, in Virginia, has been described by Mr. Kain. I have in my possession a map of its most important apartments, including its whole length, copied from a survey made by Mr. J. Pack, in October, 1806; also the notes of another

survey made in May, 1816, by the Rev. Conrad Speece, of Augusta county, and Mr. Robert Grattan; which, with an explanation, and particular description, I hope to be able to transmit to you at a future time.

From these surveys, it appears that the whole extent of the cave, hitherto discovered, does not exceed eight hundred yards. This was the length stated to me by the guide, when I visited it in August, 1817. I cannot but think there is some mistake in Mr. Kain's remark, that "it is a mile and a half in extent." I spent four hours in examining every accessible part, and by permission of Mr. Henry Bingham, the owner, made a large collection of specimens, which were transmitted for the cabinet of Yale College.

The Natural Bridge.

2. My object in naming this celebrated curiosity, is not to give a new description of it, but merely to furnish a correct account of its dimensions. I visited it in company with the Rev. Mr. Huson, who had previously found its height, by a cord, to be two hundred and ten feet. We now found it, by the quadrant, to be two hundred and eleven feet, and the arch through the centre about forty feet.

Some have attempted to account for this great curiosity, by supposing that a convulsion in nature may have rent the hill in which it stands asunder, thus forming the deep and narrow defile over which the rocky strata were left, which constitute its magnificent arch. If so, the sides should have corresponding parts. At a distance from the base no such correspondence is perceptible. At the base, the rocks are more or less craggy and irregular. This led me to take the courses and distances of each side. The following was the result:

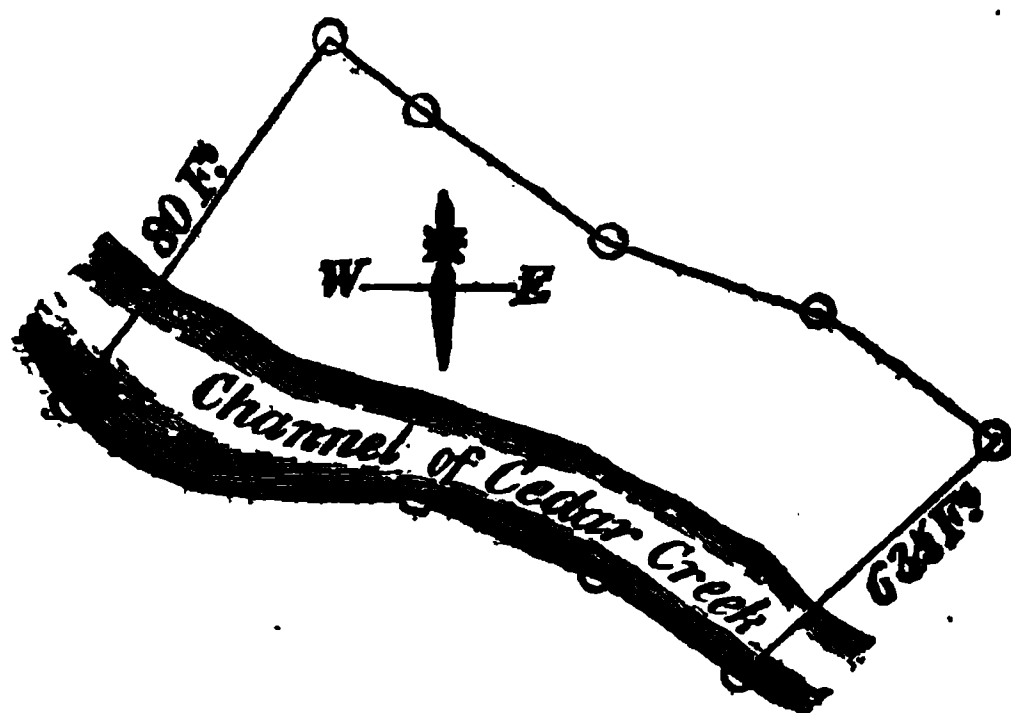
Eastern side presents 4 angular points.

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|----|----------|-----------|
| 1. | N. 55° | W. | 1 chain. | 09 links. |
| 2. | N. 72 | W. | 1 ——— | 05½ ——— |
| 3. | N. 57 | W. | 1 ——— | 12½ ——— |
| 4. | N. 50 | W. | 0 ——— | 33 ——— |

Western side presents 3 angular points:

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|----|-----------|-----------|
| 1. | N. 50° | W. | 0. chain. | 45 links. |
| 2. | N. 67 | W. | 1 ——— | 12½ ——— |
| 3. | N. 77. | W. | 1 ——— | 44 ——— |

The chain used contained 50 links, equal to 33½ feet. The distance between the abutments at the north end of their bases is 80 feet, at the south end 66 feet. As they ascend, the distance is greater. These data give the following diagram:—



Although considerable resemblance appears at the base, yet no such correspondence is visible forty feet above it, and the sides for the whole remaining distance to the arch, one hundred and thirty feet, lose their craggy appearance entirely, and present the smooth, irregular surface of the oldest rocks.

The following anecdote will evince the effect which the sight of the natural bridge produced on a servant, who, without having received any definite or adequate ideas of what he was to see, attended his master to this spot.

On the summit of the hill, or from the top of the bridge, the view is not more awful than that which is seen from the brink of a hundred other precipices. The grand prospect is from below. To reach it you must descend the hill by a blind path, which winds through a thicket of trees, and terminates at the instant when the whole bridge, with its broad sides and lofty arch, all of solid rock, appears perfectly in sight. Not one in a thousand can forbear to make an involuntary pause; but the servant, who had hitherto followed his master, without meeting with any thing particularly to arrest his attention, had no sooner arrived at this point, and caught a glance of the object which burst upon his vision, than he fell upon his knees, fixed in wonder and admiration.

A River flowing from a Cave.

3. I will next mention a singular cave, which I do not remember ever to have seen described. It is situated in the Cherokee country, at Nicojack, the north-western angle in the map of Georgia, and is known by the name of the Nicojack cave. It is twenty miles S. W. of the Look-Out mountain, and half-a-mile from the south bank of the Tennessee river. The

Rackoon mountain, in which it is situated, here fronts to the north-east. Immense layers of horizontal limestone form a precipice of considerable height. In this precipice the cave commences; not however with an opening of a few feet, as is common, but with a mouth fifty feet high, and one hundred and sixty wide. Its roof is formed by a solid and regular layer of limestone, having no support but the sides of the cave, and as level as the floor of a house. The entrance is partly obstructed by piles of fallen rocks, which appear to have been dislodged by some great convulsion. From its entrance, the cave consists chiefly of one grand excavation through the rocks, preserving for a great distance the same dimensions as at its mouth.

What is more remarkable than all, it forms, for the whole distance it has yet been explored, a walled and vaulted passage, for a stream of cool and limpid water, which, where it leaves the cave, is six feet deep and sixty feet wide. A few years since, Col. James Ore, of Tennessee, commencing early in the morning, followed the course of this creek in a canoe, for three miles. He then came to a fall of water, and was obliged to return without making any further discovery. Whether he penetrated three miles up the cave or not, it is a fact he did not return till the evening, having been busily engaged in his subterranean voyage for twelve hours. He stated that the course of the cave, after proceeding some way to the south-west, became south; and south-east-by-south the remaining distance.

Natural Nitre.

The sides of the principal excavation present a few apartments which are interesting, principally because they furnish large quantities of the earth from which the nitrate of potash is obtained. This is a circumstance very common to the caves of the western country. In that at Nicojack it abounds, and is found covering the surfaces of fallen rocks, but in more abundance beneath them. There are two kinds, one is called the "clay dirt," the other the "black dirt;" the last is much more strongly impregnated than the first. For several years there has been a considerable manufacture of saltpetre from this earth. The process is by lixiviation and crystallization, and is very simple. The earth is thrown into a hopper, and the fluid obtained passed through another of ashes, the alkali of which decomposes the earthy nitrate, and uniting with its acid, which contains chiefly nitrate of lime, turns it into nitrate of potash. The precipitated lime gives the mass a whitish colour, and the consistence of curdled milk. By allowing it

to stand in a large trough, the precipitate, which is principally lime, subsides, and the superincumbent fluid, now an alkaline instead of an earthy nitrate, is carefully removed and boiled for some time in iron-kettles, till it is ready to crystallize. It is then removed again to a large trough, in which it shoots into crystals. It is now called "rough shot-petre." In this state it is sent to market, and sells usually for sixteen dollars per hundred weight. Sometimes it is dissolved in water, re-boiled, and re-crystallized, when it is called refined, and sells for twenty dollars per hundred. One bushel of the clay dirt yields from three to five pounds, and the black dirt from seven to ten pounds of the rough shot-petre. The same dirt, if returned to the cave, and scattered on the rocks, or mingled with the new earth, becomes impregnated with the nitrate again, and in a few months may be thrown into the hopper, and be subjected to a new process.

The causes which have produced the nitric salts of these caves, may not yet have been fully developed. But it is highly probable they are to be ascribed to the decomposition of animal substances.

It is reasonable to suppose, that in an uncultivated country they would become the abodes of wild animals, and even of savage men. That they have been used by the natives as burial-places, is certain. In one which I entered, I counted a hundred human skulls, in the space of twenty feet square. All the lesser and more corruptible parts of each skeleton had mouldered to dust, and the whole lay in the greatest confusion. I have heard of many such caves, and to this day some of the Indians are known to deposit their dead in them. From the decomposition of such substances, it is well known the acid of the nitric salts arises, and it would of course unite with the lime every where present, and form nitrate of lime.

Mounds.

4. I have but one more article of curiosity to mention under this division. It is one of those artificial mounds which occur so frequently in the western country. I have seen many of them, and read of more; but never of one of such dimensions as that which I am now to describe.

It is situated in the interior of the Cherokee nation, on the north side of the Etowee, vulgarly called Hightower River, one of the branches of the Koosee. It stands upon a strip of alluvial land, called *River Bottom*. I visited it in company with eight Indian chiefs. The first object which excited attention was an excavation about twenty feet wide, and in some parts ten feet deep. Its course is nearly that of a semicircle;

the extremities extending towards the river, which forms a small elbow. I had not time to examine it minutely. An Indian said it extended each way to the river, and had several unexcavated parts, which served for passages to the area which it encloses. To my surprise, I found no embankment on either side of it. But I did not long doubt to what place the earth had been removed; for I had scarcely proceeded two hundred yards, when, through the thick forest-trees, a stupendous pile met the eye, whose dimensions were in full proportion to the entrenchment. I had at the time no means of taking an accurate admeasurement. To supply my deficiency, I cut a long vine, which was preserved until I had an opportunity of ascertaining its exact length. In this manner I found the distance, from the margin of the summit to the base, to be one hundred and eleven feet; and, judging from the degree of its declivity, the perpendicular height cannot be less than seventy-five feet. The circumference of the base, including the feet of three parapets, measured one thousand one hundred and fourteen feet. One of these parapets extends from the base to the summit, and can be ascended, though with difficulty, on horse-back. The other two, after rising thirty or forty feet, terminate in a kind of triangular platform. Its top is level, and, at the time I visited it, was so completely covered with weeds, bushes, and trees of most luxuriant growth, that I could not examine it as well as I wished. Its diameter, I judged, must be one hundred and fifty feet. On its sides and summit are many large trees of the same description, and of equal dimensions with those around it. One beach-tree, near the top, measured ten feet nine inches in circumference. The earth on one side of the tree was three and a half feet lower than on the opposite side. This fact will give a good idea of the degree of the mound's declivity. An oak, which was lying down on one of the parapets, measured, at the distance of six feet from the butt, without the bark, twelve feet four inches in circumference. At a short distance to the south-east is another mound, in ascending which I took thirty steps. Its top is encircled by a breast-work three feet high, intersected through the middle with another elevation of a similar kind. A little farther is another mound, which I had not time to examine.

On these great works of art, the Indians gazed with as much curiosity as any white man. I inquired of the oldest chief, if the natives had any tradition respecting them; to which he answered in the negative. I then requested each to say what he supposed was their origin. Neither could tell; though all agreed in saying, "they were never put up by our people." It seems probable they were erected by another race, who

once inhabited the country. That such a race existed, is now generally admitted. Who they were, and what were the causes of their degeneracy, or of their extermination, no circumstances have yet explained. But this is no reason why we should not, as in a hundred other instances, infer the existence of the cause from its effects, without any previous knowledge of its history.

In regard to the objects which these mounds were designed to answer, it is obvious they were not always the same. Some were intended as receptacles for the dead. These are small, and are distinguished by containing human bones. Some may have been designed as sites for public buildings, whether of a civil or religious kind, and others no doubt were constructed for the purposes of war. Of this last description is the Etowee mound. In proof of its suitableness for such a purpose, I need only mention, that the Cherokees, in their late war with the Creeks, secured its summit by pickets, and occupied it as a place of protection for hundreds of their women and children. Gladly would I have spent a day in examining it more minutely; but my companions, unable to appreciate my motives, grew impatient, and I was obliged to withdraw, and leave a more perfect observation and description to some one else.

Alluvial Formation.

I will now call your attention to the last geological division which came under my observation. It is the alluvial tract extending from the Dividing Ridge already mentioned, to the Gulf of Mexico. This ridge is the last range of high land which I crossed on the journey to New Orleans, and lies about six hundred miles north of the Gulf of Mexico. Its course at the place I crossed it, is a little south of west. It divides the waters of the Tennessee from those which proceed directly to the Gulf. Travellers always observe it. They often mentioned it to me as the southern boundary of the *stony country*. After crossing it, you see no more limestone; and, which excites more joy in the traveller, no more of the silicious gravel with which it is associated, and which is so troublesome to the feet of horses. The soil consists of a soft clay, or light sand, on which you seldom meet with a stone of any kind. The surface of the earth is undulating and hilly, but not mountainous. The water-courses do not move rapidly and tumultuously, as in the limestone country, but form in the soft earth deep trenches, through which they glide smoothly and silently along. The smallest rivulet often has a trench ten feet deep; and the earth over which it passes, is continually yielding to its gentle attrition.

The only minerals which I observed, are sandstone, common and ferruginous; silicious pebbles in beds of creeks, and occasionally on the uplands; earthy ores of iron, particularly red oxides, and petrifications of shells, wood, &c. In addition to these, it may here be mentioned, that galena has been found in small quantities at Gibson's Port, and at Ellis's Cliffs, in the state of Mississippi: a crystal of amethyst, in the same state, by Mr. Blannerhasset; and a great variety of useful ochres, in many places on the banks of the Mississippi.

In the geological map attached to Professor Cleaveland's Mineralogy, the alluvial country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico is represented as terminating at Natchez. But why its termination is placed here I am unable to understand. The country above and below Natchez, so far as it has come under my observation, presents no difference of appearance in its geology or mineralogy. I am aware that at Natchez, when the water of the Mississippi is lowest, a soft rock is seen, from which lime has been obtained. But this rock is two hundred feet below the surface of the adjoining country; and admitting that it is a limestone rock, there is no difficulty in supposing it may constitute the basis of the alluvial deposit which rests upon it. That the incumbent earth is alluvial, can be doubted I think by no one who has had an opportunity of examining it. By means of a road, which has been cut obliquely down the side of the bluff, distinct layers of clay, sand, and pebbles, have been exposed for the whole distance from the summit to the base. The same character is observed at a distance from the river, where the earth has been excavated by washing, or digging. In the vicinity of the town there is a curious exhibition of the fact. A stream of water has worn away the earth to the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, and is continually lengthening the chasm, in the direction opposite to its own course. Thus, as the water flows from the town, the chasm approaches it. In examining the cause of this fact, I perceived it was owing chiefly to the difference of cohesion in the alluvial deposits, of which the earth is formed. That at the surface, being a thick loam, wears away with more difficulty than the deposit below it, which consists of a loose sand. The consequence is, that the water, which has once obtained a perpendicular passage of a few inches through the first, washes away the second with such rapidity, that it is constantly undermining it. This occasions a perpetual caving in of the surface, in a direction opposite to the course of the stream. The same fact is observed in many parts of the country for a great distance above Natchez. If there be wanting any other fact to prove that the earth on which the town of Natchez

stands is alluvial, it is found in the effect which the Mississippi has upon the base of the Natchez bluff. In consequence of a bend in the river, the whole force of its current is thrown against this base. If it consisted of solid rock, the river would probably have no effect upon it; but of such loose and friable materials is it composed, that the river is continually undermining it, and producing effects not less to be dreaded than those of an earthquake. Several years ago, a great number of acres sunk fifty feet or more below the general surface of the hill; and, in 1805, there was another caving of that part directly over the small village at the landing. Several houses were buried in consequence of it, and strong fears are entertained by the inhabitants, that the same cause will yet submerge in the Mississippi the whole of the present landing-place.

These facts, I think you will say, furnish satisfactory evidence of the alluvial character of the country at Natchez. The same character belongs to the whole extent south of the Dividing Ridge. This may be safely inferred from the general features of the country. But I have two facts of a geological kind to mention, both of which go to confirm the opinion.

1. A well was dug in the Choctaw nation, at the agency of the United States, in the year 1812 or 1813, under the direction of Silas Dinsmore, Esq. the agent. The excavation was continued to the depth of one hundred and seventy-two feet. No water was found. At no great distance from the surface, marine exuviae were found in abundance. The shells were small, and imbedded in a soft clay, similar to marine earth. This formation continued till the excavation ceased. Dispersed through it, were found lumps of selenite, or foliated gypsum, some of which were half as large as a man's fist. Specimens of the earth, the exuviae, and the selenite, have been transmitted for your examination. This excavation was made one hundred and twenty miles north-north-east of Natchez. The Pearl River is four miles to the east of the place, and is the only considerable stream in this part of the country.

2. In the Chickasaw nation, one hundred and seventy miles north of the Choctaw agency, commence beds of oyster-shells, which continue to be seen at intervals for twelve miles. Four miles from the first bed, you come to what is called "Chickasaw Old Town," where they are observed in great abundance. They are imbedded in low ridges of a white marl. They appear to be of two kinds. Specimens of each, and also of the marl, you have received. "Chickasaw Old Town," is a name now appropriated to a prairie, on a part of which there formerly stood a small village of Chickasaws. The prairie is

twenty miles long and four wide. The shells occur in three places as you cross it, and again, on two contiguous hills to the east of it, at the distance of four miles. They do not cover the surface merely. They form a constituent part of the hills or plains in which they are found. Wherever the earth has been washed so as to produce deep gutters, they are seen in greatest abundance. Nor are they petrifications, such as are found in rocks. They have the same appearance as common oyster-shells; they lie loose on the earth, and thus indicate a comparatively recent origin. They occur three hundred miles north-east of Natchez, and but sixty miles south of the Dividing Ridge.

If the country north of Natchez is alluvial, no one will doubt it is so from this place to the Gulf of Mexico. At Baton Rouge, one hundred and forty miles north of New Orleans, you meet the first elevated land in ascending from the Gulf. The banks of the Mississippi are higher than the interior, and would be annually overflowed by the river, but for a narrow embankment of earth about six feet high, called the Levee. By means of this, a narrow strip of land, from half a mile to a mile in width, is redeemed, and cultivated with cotton and the sugar-cane, to the great advantage of the planter. Generally, within one mile from the river, there is an impenetrable morass. The country has every where the appearance of an origin comparatively recent. Not a rock on which you can stand, and no mountain to gladden the eye, you seem to have left the older parts of creation to witness the encroachments which the earth is continually making upon the empire of the sea; and, on arriving at the mouth of the Mississippi, you find the grand instruments of nature in active operation, producing with slow, but certain gradations, the same results.

A destructive Insect.

But I will not enlarge on a fact already familiar. I will ask your further indulgence only, while I communicate an authentic and curious fact for the information of the zoologist.

In the Choctaw country, one hundred and thirty miles north-east of Natchez, a part of the public road is rendered famous on account of the periodical return of a poisonous and destructive fly. Contrary to the custom of other insects, it always appears when the cold weather commences in December, and as invariably disappears on the approach of warm weather, which is about the 1st of April. It is said to have been remarked first in the winter of 1807, during a snow-storm; when its effects upon cattle and horses were observed to be similar to those of the gnat and musqueto, in summer,

except that they were more severe. It continues to return at the same season of the year, without producing extensive mischief, until the winter of 1816, when it began to be generally fatal to the horses of travellers. So far as I recollect, it was stated, that from thirty to forty travelling horses were destroyed during this winter. The consequences were alarming. In the wilderness, where a man's horse is his chief dependance, the traveller was surprised and distressed to see the beast sicken and die in convulsions, sometimes within three hours after encountering this little insect. Or, if the animal were fortunate enough to live, a sickness followed, commonly attended with a sudden and entire shedding of the hair, which rendered the brute unfit for use. Unwilling to believe that effects so dreadful could be produced by a cause apparently trifling, travellers began to suspect that the Indians, or others, of whom they obtained food for their horses, had, for some base and selfish end, mingled poison with it. The greatest precaution was observed. They refused to stop at any house on the way, and carried, for the distance of forty or fifty miles, their own provision; but, after all, suffered the same calamities. This excited a serious inquiry into the true cause of their distress. The fly, which has been mentioned, was known to be a most singular insect, and peculiarly troublesome to horses. At length it was admitted by all, that the cause of the evils complained of could be no other than this insect. Other precautions have since been observed, particularly that of riding over the road infested with it in the night; and now it happens that comparatively few horses are destroyed. I am unable to describe it from my own observation. I passed over the same road in April last, only two weeks after it disappeared, and was obliged to take the description from others. Its colour is a dark brown; it has an elongated head, with a small and sharp proboscis; and is in size between the gnat and musquito. When it alights upon a horse, it darts through the hair, much like a gnat, and never quits its hold until removed by force. When a horse stops to drink, swarms fly about the head, and crowd into the mouth, nostrils, and ears; hence it is supposed the poison is communicated inwardly. Whether this be true or not, the most fatal consequences result. It is singular, that from the time of its first appearance, it has never extended for a greater distance than forty miles in one direction, and, usually, it is confined to fifteen miles. In no other part of the country has it ever been seen. From this fact, it would seem probable that the cause of its existence is local. But what it is none can tell. After the warm weather commences, it disappears as effectually from

human observation, as if it were annihilated. Towards the close of December it springs up all at once into being again, and resumes the work of destruction. A fact, so singular, I could not have ventured to state, without the best evidence of its reality. All the circumstances here related are familiar to hundreds, and were in almost every man's mouth when I passed through the country. In addition to this, they were confirmed by the account which I received from Colonel John M'Kee, a gentleman of much intelligence and respectability, who is the present agent of the general government for the Choctaw nation. He has consented to obtain specimens of the insect for your examination, when it returns again; and will, I hope, accompany the transmission with a more perfect description than it has been possible for me to communicate.

In concluding this narrative of facts, I should be glad to take a comprehensive view of the whole. The bold features in the geology of the United States, as they are drawn by the Blue Ridge, the Cumberland, with its associated mountains, and the Dividing Ridge, deserve to be distinctly and strongly impressed upon the mind. Such is the order and regularity of their arrangement, that they can hardly fail to conduct the attentive observer to important results. What has now been said of them, is but an epitome of the whole. I trust the public will soon read, in the pages of your journal, a detail more perfect and more interesting. And allow me to suggest, whether, under the auspices of our learned societies, some men of science might not be employed and supported in exploring the country, with the prospect of greatly enlarging the science of our country, and of enriching our journals and cabinets of natural history. Tours of discovery have often been made for other objects, and with success. Our country yields to no other in the variety, or the value, of its natural productions. We owe it to ourselves and to the world, to search them out with diligence and without delay.

SOMERS, (*N. Y.*) *Oct.* 1818.

END OF CORNELIUS'S TOUR.

TRAVELS
IN
AFRICA,
TO THE SOURCES
OF THE
Senegal and Gambia,
IN 1818.

capt. de l'Armée
BY G. MOLLIER.

WITH A MAP, AND OTHER ENGRAVINGS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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PREFACE.

BEFORE the end of the 18th century, the Europeans were but little acquainted with the interior parts of Western Africa, comprised between the 20° and 8° of north latitude. They had only explored its coast, and ascended the Senegal and Gambia, to points where cataracts obstruct the navigation. They had made less progress in ascending the other rivers.

It would appear, nevertheless, from the accounts given by Portuguese travellers, that their countrymen had an intercourse with Tombouctou, Tocrour, and other towns of the interior, before the latter end of the 15th century; but owing to the want of positive information on the subject, it cannot be ascertained whether they visited themselves these cities, or knew their names from the negroes with whom they used to trade. It is probable, however, that the Portuguese traders had often crossed the country situate between the Atlantic Ocean and the great markets of the interior, but their travels have been of little use for the progress of geography; and, if we except the coast, the entire of the country remained unknown, till the other nations of Europe carried thither their navigation and commerce.

The French settled more particularly at the mouth of the Senegal, where they established the principal trading place; they possess on the African coast from Arguin to Sierra Leone.

Father Labat, in a work published in 1728; under the title of "*Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale*," has furnished an excellent account of the country, composed principally on the memoirs of Andre Brue, Director of the African Company, and an accurate observer. Several other French travellers have also given accounts, containing information more or less instructive: Father Alexis de St. Lo, in 1637, Jannequin, in 1643, Villaut de Bellefond, in 1669, Father Gaby, in 1689, Lemaire, in 1695, Adanson, in 1757, Demanet, in 1767, Praneau de Pommegorge, in 1789, Lamiral, in 1791, Sauguier, in 1791, have published the result of their observations.

The English had directed their attention towards the Gambia, long before the French had formed any settlement in Senegal. Several of their travellers, whose accounts were not consulted by Hakluyt and Purchas, such as Jobson, in 1623, Moore, in 1738, Smith, in 1744, Lindsay, in 1757, Matthews, in 1788, had described the part of the African continent lying between the bounds already mentioned.

All these accounts contain positive information on the productions of the country and manners of its inhabitants ; but throw very little light on the physical geography of the region extending beyond the cataracts of Felou, in the Senegal, and those near Baracouda, in the Gambia. The greatest part of the travellers have called the Senegal, *Niger* ; have given it a very extensive course, and, as usual, said it rose from a lake, and that the Gambia was one of its branches. The European geographers, deceived by the identity of name, have represented on their maps, and in their works, the Senegal as the Niger of the ancients, which irrigates the interior parts of Africa. D'Anville, had nevertheless, proved in a memoir published in the XXVIth vol. of the "*Recueil de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*," that these two rivers were perfectly distinct ; and he would have removed for ever the doubts of geographers, had he added to his memoir a very simple remark. The travellers gave to the Senegal, the name of Niger, because the greatest number of the negroes residing on its banks, used to call it *Ba-Fing*, or Black river. They had probably enquired from these Africans, what was the meaning of this appellation, and being struck with the analogy, they thought to behold the Niger of the ancients. It was then supposed, that the ancients had been mistaken in giving it a course from W. to E. ; and no serious investigation was made to ascertain this pretended error. Notwithstanding the memoir of D'Anville, and his fine map of Africa, upon which the Niger is represented as having a different course from that of the Senegal, many have adopted the contrary opinion in their books and maps.

In 1794, the interior part of Africa began to be a little better known. Two English travellers, Watt and Winterbottom, departing from the borders of the Rio Nunez, proceeded to Timbo, which is only 60 leagues distant from the coast, but they succeeded in acquiring new information.

At last, Mungo Park, undertook, in 1797, the voyage in which he discovered the real Niger of the ancients, known to the negroes by the name of *Dialli-Bá*, and running from W. to E. After having followed his course for some time, he returned to Europe, and published an account of his successful journey. The fatigues he had experienced, could not deter him from returning to the banks of that river, and of forming the resolution of embarking and descending to its mouth. He perished in this undertaking, and his name is inscribed on the long list of generous men who have sacrificed their lives for the progress of science. A part of his journal has fortunately been preserved ; and is the more precious for geography, as he was furnished with all the instruments necessary to determine the position of different places : he has thus rectified the course of the Gambia.

Several travellers and authors, since the first voyage of Mungo Park, have given details on the Western part of Africa ; Golbery, in 1802, and Durand, in 1807. They had visited this continent at the latter end of the 18th century ; and the atlas prefixed to the narrative of Durand, contains many maps upon which the latest discoveries are to be seen. La Barthe, published in 1802, "*La Navigation de la Jaille en 1784, depuis le Cap Blanc jusqu'à Sierra Leone*." The London African

Society has printed, since 1792, collections containing the transactions of its agents, their letters, together with those of its correspondents. Dr. Leyden has written an History of the Discoveries in Africa, of which a second edition was published in 1817, by M. Murray.

We shall presently expose the result of the observations of all these travellers.

The African coast, lying between the bounds already mentioned, is low and sandy; its uniformity is only interrupted by the heights at Green Cape, and some hills near Joal; and on the left or southern bank of the Sierra Leone, there is a very considerable elevation, or prolongation of the mountains coming from the interior. Proceeding from the coast towards the east, the country exhibits three distinct divisions. The first, which is 37 leagues in breadth, opposite Arguin, stretches as far south as the coast of Cacheo, and consists in a flat sandy soil, with few stones, as if the continuation of the Sahara. The second, 40 leagues in breadth, terminates at the mouth of the Rio Nunez. Its soil is half sandy and clayey, pretty uniform, and mostly without stones. The third, extending to the first range of mountains, and finishing at the Sierra Leone, is 60 leagues in breadth; and its soil is clayey, rugged, and stoney.

From this line, which inclines to the west as it extends northward, the country is mountainous during ten degrees of longitude, and swells into parallel ridges, forming ranges of mountains, the height of which increase as they approach to the south, or 7° of west longitude. More to the east, their height lessens, and they are most elevated between the 8° and 10° parallels of north latitude. It is a little above this last, that M. Mollien discovered the sources of the rivers he intended to explore. The inclination of the mountainous region, as is indicated in the travels of Mungo Park, is generally more steep to the E. than to the W. as also in the southern part. Its extent to the south is unknown: one of these ridges finishes on the coast near Sierra Leone, and the steepness, on the western side, is considerable to the south of the 10th parallel. The entire country abounds with metals, especially iron and gold. The courses of the rivers are often obstructed by ledges of rock, which form cataracts; and perhaps higher up, falls of greater extent.

Mungo Park, having generally followed a direction parallel with the equator, crossed the rivers that wind through those mountains; but not being able to discover their sources, he was obliged to have recourse for information to the natives; and has placed them in the following manner, viz.: that of the Ba-Fing, a middle branch of the Senegal, in 10° N. and $6^{\circ} 40'$ W. (9° W. from Paris); that of the Falémé, in $11^{\circ} 25'$ N. and $8^{\circ} 10'$ W. ($10^{\circ} 30'$ from Paris); and that of the Gambia, in 11° N. and 9° W. ($11^{\circ} 20'$ O.)

The sources of these rivers are placed more to the west, on the map of the travels of M. Mollien. The Ba-Fing, on Senegal, rises in $10^{\circ} 6'$ N. and $13^{\circ} 35'$ W. from Paris; the Falémé, in $10^{\circ} 14'$ N. and $13^{\circ} 20'$ W.; the Gambia, in $10^{\circ} 36'$ N. and $13^{\circ} 38'$ W.; and the Rio Grande, $10^{\circ} 37'$ N. and $13^{\circ} 38'$ W.

The sources of the rivers discovered by M. Mollien, are, as may be

seen, not far from each other, and situated in a cluster of hills to the N. W., at a short distance from Timbo. Watt and Winterbottom's not being acquainted with the rivers, ought not to be a matter of surprise, as the intention of these travellers was not to explore their sources. They probably made no questions on that head to the negroes, who are very little inclined to give such information, when not required from them; and who, as may be seen by the account of M. Mollien, take great care to keep as secret as possible, any thing concerning the sources of those rivers. Besides, there are to be found on the map of their journey, contained in the atlas of the voyage of Durand, indications of streams, the position of which agrees with the course of those in the environs of Timbo, marked on the map of M. Mollien. They crossed the Ba-Fing, which is figured on their map; but as they travelled before Mungo Park had ascertained the identity of the Ba-Fing and Senegal, they could not possibly suspect it.

The intention of M. Mollien's voyage was to discover the sources of the Senegal and Gambia, as also those of the Dialli-Bâ. He was prevented from accomplishing that part of his mission by insurmountable obstacles; but he has fulfilled the others. Guided by a faithful African, he directed his course, according to the direction of the negroes, which he found to be correct. It was, nevertheless, with the greatest diffidence, he received whatever information they gave him on the most remote parts. He knew that, like every other ignorant people, the negroes were generally fond of marvellous things, and wished to appear acquainted with facts they are totally ignorant of; and that even when they have not been in a place, they are never at a loss to find pompous expressions to describe it. But M. Mollien, was also confident, that they could furnish him with information, concerning countries they had only once visited, and especially that next to their own; the exactness of which would surprise Europeans themselves. For example, they very seldom are mistaken in pointing to what part of the horizon a place is situated; as for the distance, no confidence can be placed in their assertion, for some may have made the road on foot, others gone on horses and camels, and one might be induced into enormous errors by determining it according to their report, as they never think of mentioning particulars so essential to be known, if not asked. This is one of the reasons why the distance from one place to another, as given by several individuals, is so materially different.

A great number of the inhabitants of Fouta Diallon, whom M. Mollien consulted on the respective position of the sources of the Senegal, Falémé, Gambia, and Rio Grande, having agreed in their reports, he thought it was but natural to confide in them, as these sources were only at a short distance therefrom. Their answers, beside, were conformable to those of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country.

The Gambia (Bâ-Diman), and Rio Grande (Comba), rise from the same cavity, in the midst of elevated mountains. These two rivers, after emerging from this narrow basin, flow in a contrary direction, and empty themselves into the same sea, at the distance of fifty leagues from each other. M. Mollien, on his return from Timbo, crossed twice the Rio Grande, and kept, during all the time, in sight of its course.

which is impeded by the spires of the mountains, and forms numerous bends. His route was nearly parallel to that followed by Watt and Winterbottom. The Rio Grande is known at its source by the name of *Comba*; but it assumes that of *Kabou*, after the junction of the Tomine, or Donzo; this accounts for its having received the name of Donzo.

M. Mollien, could not possibly confound the Rio Grande with the Gambia. This last was named *Bâ-Diman* at its source; it bore the same name where he had crossed it; and it is called *Bâ-Diman*, by Mungo Park, at a considerable distance below that point.

Beyond the mountains, where the Rio Grande and Gambia take their sources, are those of the *Falémé* and *Senegal*, but at a certain distance from each other, and separated by a ridge of the great chain of *Fouta Diallon*. M. Mollien could have no doubt on the identity of rivers whose source he had visited, with the *Falémé* and *Senegal* flowing at some distance therefrom; the first being called *Bâ-Fing* in that spot, as well as at its junction with the *Falémé*, and the latter bearing at its source the name of *Téné* (*Tenyah*, of Mungo Park), as also during a great part of its course.

The map of the second voyage of Mungo Park, and the Itinerarium of M. Mollien, have served to trace the course of the Gambia. The English traveller having ascended this river as far as *Keyi*, began his journey by land on the 27th of April, 1807. He arrived on the 15th of May following, at *Tili-Corra*, on its banks; and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther to the E. he discovered it again from the top of a hill. It came from the E. S. E. formed a curve, and afterwards took a S. S. W. direction. The hills extending along its right or northern bank, prevented those who remained in the plain from perceiving it. The next day, he crossed the *Niolico*, which was then nearly dry, and on the 18th, the *Nerico*. He ascertained by barometrical observations, that he was then in lat. $14^{\circ} 4' 51''$; and on the 21st, he found the *Tambico* to be in $13^{\circ} 53'$. He crossed on the 23d the *Niolo Koba*, whose bed was only covered with water, at intervals. On the 25th he entered the wilds of *Tenda*, and after having passed a river similar to the *Niolico*, he perceived the first range of mountains stretching from S. S. W. to N. N. E. and stopped at *Soutitaba*, situated at their base, in lat $13^{\circ} 33' 38''$ N.

He crossed the first range of mountains, and discovered a beautiful valley, through which flows, towards the N. a stream, that empties into the *Niolo Koba*. On the 26th, after having travelled through a broken and rugged country, he came to the bank of a small river, known by the name of *Bay Creek*, in lat. $13^{\circ} 32' 45''$ N. and long. $10^{\circ} 59'$ W. ($13^{\circ} 19'$ W. from Paris). On the 28th, he reached *Badou*, in lat $13^{\circ} 32'$ N. Two of his party perceived from the summit of a hill the *Gambia*, four miles to the south, directing its course from S. E. to N. W. towards the mountains in the vicinity of *Badou*, where it takes a southern direction. The negroes call it *Bâ-Dima*, that is, river which is always a river, or never dries. Mungo Park proceeding eastward, lost entirely sight of the *Gambia*, and some days after stopped at *Mambari*, situated between two branches of that river, in lat. $13^{\circ} 22' 40''$ N. From this spot, he ascertained the position of several moun-

tains. The Meianta was 16 miles to the S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. the Sambakalla, to the S. and those of Fouta Diallon to the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. to the S. W. and to the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. of the compass. "The Gambia," says he, in his narrative, "runs to the S. W. and escapes through an opening between the Meianta and Fouta Diallon mountains. These resemble the mountains of Madeira, but are less acute."

This is the reason why the Gambia has been placed one degree more to the north, than it has been represented on any maps heretofore published; and that the part of the river situated between Nittakora and Badou, has been otherwise figured than on the map of Mungo Park. This traveller did not perceive it between those two points, and proceeded through a mountainous country irrigated by some of its branches. But M. Mollien, who crossed the route followed by Mungo Park, in $13^{\circ} 40'$ N. and $14^{\circ} 27'$ W. only remarked the Gambia in $11^{\circ} 51'$ N. and $13^{\circ} 17'$ W. where he passed it. It ran from N. E. to S. W. and was imbedded in rocks. The negroes name it Bâ-Diman; so that it was evidently the same river perceived by Mungo Park, at Badou. On passing afterwards through Niebel and Landonmari, M. Mollien was apprised that the Bâ-Diman was at a day and half's march to the left, or E. of each of these two places; and it was consequently thought proper to represent it as being very winding, though it be not so on the map of Mungo Park. M. Mollien crossed the Niolo-Coba, and entered afterwards on a wild country, bordered by mountains; and whilst he was proceeding through the barren platform (*plateau*); he often heard the negroes mention that the Bâ-Diman was not far; but they never spoke of the Gambia. This platform may be compared to that which in France, compels the Doubs to fall back, and follow a course nearly parallel with its primitive one.

On the map of the voyage of M. Mollien, the Nerico forms a communication between the Senegal and Gambia. Father Labat had long ago mentioned that junction: the Mandingues, says he, report that the Niger, (Senegal) on arriving at a place called Baracota, divides itself into two branches; that the one named Gambéa, or Gambia; after having followed a long course to the S. crosses a marshy lake; covered with weeds and canes, so strong and so thick, that the passage through it is impracticable, that it emerges from it at last, and assumes the appearance of a fine deep river, such as it is seen at the village of Baraconda. It is navigable from thence to this lake, for canoes; but barges cannot ascend, even during high water, on account of a ledge of rocks, which borders the stream in these two places, forming several narrow channels, admitting scarcely the passage of a canoe, although it be sufficiently deep to carry barges*.

D'Anville did not think this information positive enough to notice this junction on any of the maps he had made for Labat's work, or on those published separately; it is only indicated on the map of Laborde, prefixed to the voyage of M. Brisson, by a small line, above which are engraved these words: "*supposed communication.*" The two extremities of this line come in contact with one of the branches of these

* Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale, t. II. ; p. 161, et t. IV. p. 10.

river, and it passes through a lake called *Niert*. The new map has confirmed what was before considered as a mere conjecture.

The inhabitants of Timbo told M. Mollien, that the source of the Dialli-Bâ, which is perfectly known to them by that name, is situated in the mountains that separate the Kouranco from the Soliman, at 11 days march from that of the Senegal, and 8 from their town. It is to be hoped, that a more fortunate traveller will at last be able to decide a point of such importance for geography.

Timbo is also placed more to the W than on the preceding maps, because M. Mollien having enquired from its inhabitants how far it was from Sierra Leone, they unanimously answered that it was eleven days march on foot from it. These marches could only be estimated at seven leagues each, for it would be difficult to travel more than seven leagues a-day, in a country so mountainous as Fouta Diallon; and it may be seen by the account of Watt and Winterbottom, that the mountains to the W. and S. W. approach very near the coast.

M. Mollien, during his travels, did not remark the Shea, or Chi (butter tree); the negroes, whom he questioned on the subject, informed him, that it was only to be found to the E. of the road he was following. Mungo Park met with the first tree of the kind, three miles to the E. of Sibikillim, at a short distance from Badou, and M. Mollien, when at the nearest point of that place, was still 16 leagues distant to the W. of it.

TRAVELS
IN
SENEGAL AND GAMBIA.

CHAPTER I.

*Arrival and Shipwreck of the Vessel—Description of the Moors
the Desert—the Marts for Gum, &c.*

IT was in the year 1816, when the Medusa frigate was wrecked on the coast of Africa, that I, with a number of others, was fortunately enabled, in a boat, to gain the shore in safety. The wild aspect of the country, and the toilsome marches I made from the south of Cape Blanco, to reach the river Senegal, could not damp the ardour which I had ever cherished of penetrating into the interior of Africa.

But my astonishment was extreme, at discovering an extensive space with all the marks of sterility, in regions, where, according to Leo Africanus, I might expect considerable cities and cultivated districts; more especially as the discoveries of Mungo Park seemed to corroborate the accounts of the Arabian writer. My notion was, that a degree of civilization would be found among the original inhabitants, as conceiving them to be the relics of Carthaginian or Egyptian colonies.

The English ministers appeared to act rather tardily, in restoring to us our settlement of Senegal, and this served to delay the execution of my projects; but it could not prevent me from eagerly exploring every avenue of information that might throw light on the interior of the country, and facilitate my means of entering into it. We were encamped in the territory known by the name of Cape Verd, and from my perambulations and visits among the neighbouring negroes, I hoped to meet with hospitality.

VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

B

In the year 1817, I undertook a journey to Podor, and there had an opportunity of studying the manners of the Moors, and the result tended to confirm my original design. These Moors are in habits of frequent intercourse with the negroes, and more especially with the Jolofs, a people that are almost constantly at war with the blacks.

With my numerous companions, I had already traversed some part of the Sahara, but the means of providing for our common safety, had so engrossed all our attention, that we had no leisure to investigate the manners of the natives, who go by the name of Moors, and retain a truly original character.

In the course of the same year, I had an opportunity of proceeding up the river Senegal, as far as to the stations or markets for the gum trade, that stretch along the banks of the river; these stations are known by the name of the Trarsus and the Braknas, who constitute, in fact, the two most powerful tribes of all that part of the Sahara.

The desert of Sahara, may be considered as extending from the foot of Mount Atlas, through a prodigious range of territory, to the river Senegal. From east to west, it appears that Egypt and the Atlantic Ocean are its proper boundaries. The soil throughout is of a reddish hue, apparently unsusceptible of vegetation, except in the vicinity of wells or fountains, where a few thorny shrubs, with a scattered growth of purslain and asclepias may be discerned. In those parts which border on the Senegal, and in the proximity of the ocean, are the three large forests of *Acacias*, which produce the gums.

The tribes of wandering Moors that range through this desert, will frequently, for a short time, fix their tents close by these natural springs, which lie, at immense distances from each other, in the plains or ravines. There are wells also, occasionally, formed by human hands. They are often in danger of being buried in large masses of moving sand, which, in a manner, overspread the vast expanse of the desert, and when raised by the wind, choke up the springs, obliterate all traces of the paths, and overwhelm whole caravans.

However, it is not on the banks of the Senegal, nor within a moderate distance from the sea, that these accidents are to be dreaded, although here, too, phenomena of a terrible description will occur. When the wind blows from the East, a malignant kind of sirocco prevails along the coast; the horizon has all the appearance of a heated furnace; a wasting flame seems to be blended with the air we breathe, and the water drunk to quench a continual thirst, adds a fresh provocative to it. Desolation and silence appear then to pervade all nature, which the lingering groans of the panting herds, interrupt, at intervals, and the soli-

tary Moor buried alive, as it were, in his tent, can only assuage the tormenting heat which envelopes him, by sinking into a state of complete torpor.

These Moors, originally expelled from Spain, and finding no rest in the more northerly parts of Africa, were compelled to pitch their tents in the desert, where they procure a precarious subsistence, scattered about in small numbers.

On the return of the dry season, they will come as far South as the banks of the Senegal, but the setting in of the rains will drive some of them back even to the foot of Mount Atlas.

These people appear to be of a cruel and perfidious temper, though incessantly in danger of being devoured by wild beasts, of being hunted down as enemies, or of becoming the prey of famine. The ungrateful soil seems to tinge them with a gloomy and savage cast of character; a barbarous cupidity of plunder seems impressed in their nature, and the hapless victims which their ferocity impels them to immolate, constitute the only harvest which man can reap in these desolate regions.

These Moors seem endowed by nature, with all that hardihood of mind and superior strength of constitution, which are requisite to brave the horrors of so frightful a country. In general, they are of a middle stature, with all the advantages of a corporeal agility scarcely to be equalled. If about to cross a river, their ease and masterly movements would set at defiance the most skilful European swimmers. Their features may be considered as regular and even handsome, but indications of perfidy are strongly painted in their looks. Their hair falls in natural curls, with all the gracefulness that distinguishes some Europeans; they can well sustain the fatigue of long journeys, the better from their unincumbered frames or spare habit of body, but they appear unfit for the labours of agriculture.

The gold which they may possess, seems chiefly valuable in their estimation, for the purpose of adorning their wives; and like the African tribes, in general, barter is the kind of commerce which they like best to traffick in.

From their tender years, they are taught to manage a horse and use a musquet; hence, at the age of ten years, this race of Moors are led out to the wars, and the sons of their princes are usually the most distinguished for their audacity. One of them, named Alycoursy, though scarcely nine years of age, ventured to go alone and carry off a sheep from the midst of a body of shepherds that were tending their flocks; he sprung upon his horse, with the stolen beast across, and levelling his musquet at his pursuers, intimidated them from making further efforts to stop him.

This stripling, Alycoursy, was generally naked, but I observed him one day, clothed in a beautiful white tunic. As I was with-

dering at this change, I overheard a person saying to him, "where are you going?" to which he instantly replied, "to my camp; my tributaries seem inclinable to be refractory, but my presence will make them return to their duty." An European education would, in the course of some years, perhaps, render this child a consummate hero.

Their weapons of war appear to be the same as ours, but the want of discipline or of military knowledge, makes them inferior to Europeans in combat. Being inured to travel from station to station, at immense distances, in quest of their enemies or their prey, their force is that of cavalry, and they possess horses that for swiftness, may be deemed unequalled. Nor are they destitute of camels, oxen, and sheep, which supply them with flesh and milk, and with hair to employ in the manufacture of their tents. Their camels carry the baggage and merchandize, and it is these also, which convey to the European marts, the gums collected in the forests, from the trunks and branches of the *Acacia Senegalensis*.

The name of station (*Escale*) is given by the Europeans, to an assemblage of tents, which the Moors erect at points where the river forms an elbow; such a position serves as an indication that this part of the river-side is habitable. Wherever an European fixes his abode, though his stay be short, he must have a garden and marks of cultivation around him; but where a Moor pitches his tent, he creates a wilderness, even in spots which Nature had, in some measure, adorned. Nothing therefore but desolation and sterility must be looked for around the precincts of a Moorish camp, even where the soil is susceptible of culture. However, a degree of activity will be found to prevail in the *Escale*, when you enter it, and you will there witness a bustle and hear a lowing of the herds, similar to a town in Europe, on a market-day.

As a panorama to depict the busy scene, imagine on one side, the caravans which arrive to fetch away the gum; then, on another, long rows of camels at the river side quenching their thirst. At some distance in the rear, appear a herd of oxen, mounted by Moors, and advancing slowly to plunge into the river. Here a Moorish merchant is in earnest conversation with a contractor from St. Louis, to bargain previously for the gum which his slaves are collecting in the forests; there the *pourogues* or female children of Negresses by Moors, are carrying calabashes filled with milk, on board the vessels. These they will frequently exchange for a few handfuls of gun-powder, while others of mature age, but in the flower of youth and even beauty, make a tender of their milk to the merchants, without setting a price, but their receipts will far exceed what they could have demanded; and if fame doth not lie, they enhance, by certain favours, the value of what they thus distribute.

To complete the picture, conceive the sun already at his meridian altitude; then you behold, on all sides, the priests striking the earth with their foreheads, and in the act of invoking Mahomet; their ejaculations are a signal to old and young, men, women, and children, to fall prostrate before the flaming orb of day, and address their prayers to the Supreme Being.

The king of the Trarsas, resides in a camp fixed in the interior of the desert, but in the vicinity of the forests which yield the gum. When he makes a progress to the banks of the river, to visit the shipping and receive the customary presents, it is usually in the company of other princes, all unarmed, for all the gum merchants are *Marabouts*, or of a cast who never fight; so that no one appears with arms at the *Escale*. The king here alluded to, is about sixty-five years of age; he has an imposing air and presence, which his white locks and beard, with the long white robe that involves his body, render almost patriarchal. An opening appears in the cloth for his arms and legs, which developes a degree of muscular force that seems to rival that of the young men who attend him. It is the white colour of his garments that forms the badge of his supremacy, but this does not hinder him from smoking with the same pipe as those who are in his retinue.

Wonderful are the effects of climate. The Moorish females will become mothers at the age of twelve, and they are frequently affianced at the age of six; their beauty is coeval with their maturity, which is very short lived, for at the age of twenty, a European would consider them as superannuated. It is mostly caprice that regulates the choice of a wife, and the same caprice will as peremptorily repudiate her.

We cannot refuse the praise of hospitality to these wandering children of the desert; it is a virtue which they exercise promiscuously towards strangers, without distinction of rich or poor, the Christian only excepted, who is, *ipso facto*, a kind of outlaw among these people.

Flesh and milk are the only articles of sustenance with these Moors; habitually temperate, they will, at times, undergo the privation of either food, or water to quench their thirst, for a week together. During these fasting seasons, they draw tighter and tighter, each succeeding day, the girdle fastened round their waist; and, strange to tell, this operates as a preservative against the excess of privations and fatigues they have to encounter in the desert.

Wretched is the lot of their captives. The Moors have among them a race of tributaries, the remains of conquered nations, that are indeed *servants of servants*; their wives, their flocks are at the mercy of these oppressors, and the punishment of death would avenge the slightest act of disobedience.

These vagabonds of the desert, prefer a shifting, idle life, to the cares and comforts of cultivation. If they scatter a few seeds on the banks of the Senegal, all attention to their growth is left to Nature alone.

Their music is somewhat like the Spanish, in a languishing strain; they have songs which they chaunt to a rudely-fashioned guitar, and their musicians are not subject to the severe laws of Mahomet against intoxication.

Among other races mingled with the Moors, the Ouladahmed, on the confines of the Senegal, are the relics of an Arab tribe of Bedouins, driven originally from the banks of the Nile, in Egypt. As they had attacked the Marabouts, an unpardonable crime in these parts, the king of the Braknas vowed vengeance, and these Bedouins have been nearly extirpated. They retain all their primitive ferocity, but are surpassed, even in this respect, by the tributary tribe of Ouladamins, of Portendie, whose haggard eyes and menacing aspect, seem like the tyger, to pant for blood. An Ouladamin wears but one tunic, which he fastens round his loins with a girdle; in other respects, he dresses like a Moor. When plundering another camp, these cannibals, as they are said to be, set up a death yell, like the roaring of wild beasts, inspiring all around with horror.

The two grades of pre-eminent distinction among the Moors, are the warrior and the priest. The latter, are, in a manner, despotic. Wars are incessantly carried on in Africa, just as in Europe, and feats of valour, stained by cruelty, are of daily occurrence.

CHAPTER II.

The Author, after a short Absence in France, returns to Africa—Particulars of his different Excursions—Notice of the Joloff Country, and the Kingdom of Cayor.

IN the course of the year 1817, I returned to France, to solicit permission to execute my original project. Unable to procure a definitive answer from the Minister, I embarked again for Senegal, in the expectation of meeting with a patron in M. de Fleuriau, the new Governor of the Colony. This officer entered, with uncommon ardour, into all my views; my plans were approved of, and he ordered all the preparations necessary for such an enterprisc. In vain, he represented the dangers I might be exposed to; my resolution was not to be shaken. Dispatch was

requisite, as the rainy season was coming on, and secrecy was no less so, to prevent the jealous suspicions of the Moors.

With a pretended hunting party, I repaired to Gandiolle, a village in the kingdom of Cayor, about four leagues to the S. E. of St. Louis, and opposite the mouth of the Senegal. The Damel or king was then in the village, which was full of his troops. As I needed his protection, I took with me an interpreter, who carried presents of brandy, tobacco, and beads.

In our way, we had to cross an uncultivated plain, replenished, here and there, with ponds of salt water; these, when evaporated by the sun, leave a whitish dust that dazzles the eye. We soon arrived at the village of Gandiolle, which was then a scene of pillage and plunder. Most of the huts were destroyed; the Damel had exacted a contribution of 83 slaves, which he could only enforce by violence, and many of the inhabitants had removed to Babagua, to avoid the vengeance that was impending.

In passing through the streets, a number of *griots* or public singers, were in the train of the princes and horsemen, chanting their praises. After scaling a sand hill, we discovered some princer and warriors ranged round a hut. All was gloomy silence, for the tyrant's orders were very often so many death warrants. On my interpreter announcing that two white men requested to see the Damel, we had to wait a full half hour, when I signified to the chamberlain, that white men never waited, and we departed, but we were almost instantly recalled; a porter received us at the first door, and we next entered a court, where the horses of the Damel were kept. These are thorough bred Arabians, the price of one being as high as 15 captives. We were desired to sit down on a bed, in a hut, which was full of guards. As white men, we retained our arms, those of every one else being deposited elsewhere, previous to an audience of the king.

After passing through several courts, we arrived at the royal hut, of an oval form, and with a door so low, that we must crawl on hands and knees. With our hats on our heads, and musquets in our hands, we advanced, and reported the object of our visit. The Damel made us a sign of protection, and assumed a mild demeanor. He is very corpulent, about 26 years of age, with an insinuating voice, but a look rather turbid and wild. His fingers were studded with silver rings; his dress was like that of the negroes; he had a blue cotton cap on his head, and he was seated on a mat, cross legged. The Moors beside him appeared to great advantage, and they very often obtain the favour of the princes, from their superior talents and address.

The palace and huts of a negro king and his subjects are similar in their construction. The wall and the roof are of straw and reeds; the ground floor is the only one, and a great number of

anulets hung about the walls, are an exclusive indication of a royal residence.

Some bottles of Bourdeaux wine were ranged before the Damel, to which he frequently applied to, and there were calabashes filled with palm wine, for the courtiers and attendants. When my presents were brought, he distributed the tobacco among those who were around him, the beads he reserved for his wives, and the brandy was laid aside, for the use of some particular favourites.

Our interpreter paid his majesty some compliments, which he listened to, with complacency, and he then dismissed us. In retracing our steps, we passed by several negro princes, that were either waiting for an audience, or for orders to commence some predatory expedition. A certain degree of consideration was the result of our introduction to the sovereign, and from that moment we enjoyed the title of his friends. After this, we were secure from all insult, throughout his country. As before intended, I now purchased an excellent horse, at the price of 12 guineas, and we then repaired again to our boat, without the slightest molestation or insult from the unruly soldiers that crowded the streets of Gandiollé.

At St. Louis, I made every preparation for my departure, and was authorized by M. Fleuriau, to take from the government stores, whatever might be helpful to the undertaking. I calculated on providing for the wants of fifteen months, and the following was what I received from the government store-houses:—Two double-barrelled guns, ten pounds of gun-powder, fifty gun flints, fifty musquet balls, three pounds and a half of coral, two pounds and two ounces of unwrought yellow amber, eighteen packets of beads, fourteen pounds of tobacco, one hatchet, and one-third of a yard of scarlet cloth.

I also took care to provide myself with a blanket, two leathern bottles for water, a powder-horn, and a portmanteau. I had two daggers by my side, and three pocket compasses, to ascertain the direction of the routes I might proceed in. An ass also was purchased to carry my baggage. I had instructions from M. Fleuriau, but they were mostly a repetition of the particulars which had entered into the plan of my own projection.

A Marabout, named Diai Boukari, a native of the Fouta country, was to serve as my interpreter, at a salary of one hundred and eighty francs per month. This man evinced a cordial attachment to Europeans, and was in repute for his integrity. He spoke the Arabic, Poola, and Joloff languages; his age was about thirty-six; he was a negro in colour, but his features seemed cast in a European mould. He brought with him his son, aged fifteen, and a slave, named Messember, of the same age, both of whom I was afterwards obliged to send back to St. Louis.

N° II Vol III.

DIAI-BOUKARI.

in the costume of a Marabout of Foutators

Diai Boukari having emphatically announced the 28th of January, as a lucky day, and that we must depart before sun-set, at two in the afternoon, I sent my horse, ass, and baggage, to the main land, and without the knowledge of my friends, I set out at five in the evening. Before he embarked, my Marabout traced several Arabic characters on the sand, as if to presage the event of our journey; the answer being favourable, he gathered up a handful of sand into a little bag, esteeming it the palladium of his life and safety.

Accompanied by my friend, M. Mille, I entered a boat which had been previously conveyed to a retired place. The prayers addressed by my Marabout, to the Supreme Governor of the universe, and the affecting farewell which he took of his mother and wife, detained us a few minutes. At ten o'clock, we arrived at Diedde, a village in the country of Cayor, situated on the channel between the islands of Saur and Babagué.

Having sent back our boats, we began to load our beasts. I gave my European clothes to my friend, and put on the Moorish dress, but it did not sufficiently cover me against the musquitoes. My horse, tormented by these insects, ran off into the country, and my Marabout had trouble enough to overtake him. My friend and I separated, and we took the route to Leibar, after having passed Toubé. Being in the dark, and fatigued, we returned to Toubé. All the inhabitants were in bed, nor could we obtain hospitality from the chief of the village. My Moorish costume, which he perceived through the reeds that formed his door, suggested that I might be a partisan of the Damel. We took up our quarters in the open air, which was so sharp and cold, that I had no sleep, especially as I thought myself obliged to watch for the preservation of my baggage, in a place open on all sides. When day-light appeared, the master of the hut, near which we had halted, enquired who we were, with excuses for having suffered us to pass the night, in such a situation; "but," said he, "I took you for a troop of Moors."

We departed, without loss of time, and we took the road to Gue; the soil all along consisted of a reddish sand, wholly destitute of culture. Our progress was tedious, till we came to Kelkom, where we arrived at noon, and found the Damel had been plundering the village. Some mutilated negroes that remained, reported the miseries endured by their families. Several of their relatives had fallen in the act of resisting the sanguinary orders of their king, but the greater number were in chains. Others, tranquil in their huts, and suspecting no danger, had been sold, without their knowledge, by this rapacious tyrant. The inhabitants of this village possessed a degree of industry; they

The description of the interior of this hut, and the manner of living adopted by this chieftain, may be considered as similar to that of the other free negroes. The same order, the same uniformity, are every where visible in other villages.

February 4th. News from all quarters, that the Damel and his emissaries seized or destroyed every thing that came in their way. On this, I felt apprehensive that my messenger had been arrested by these banditti. My agitation made me awake Boukari, in the night, and I told him we must go and meet his slave. Fali Loum lent his horse to my Marabout, and we were soon on the march. My horse, however, frightened by the scent or appearance of some wild beast, started, fell, and I fell with him. Some negroes passing by, afforded us assistance, and we reached a village. I presently awoke one of the inhabitants, to enquire if he had seen a slave, called Messember, whom we were seeking. "He is in the next hut," answered this negro. I hastened to the place, and there I found Messember. He had brought the bundle of European clothes for which I sent him, but the excuses which he made to justify his delay, far from proving satisfactory, made me determine to discharge him at the first opportunity. We then returned to Niakra. It was three o'clock in the morning, but the schools were already open, and the children round a large fire, were repeating their lessons aloud. While the Marabouts addressed their payers to God, the women were busily employed in pounding millet. At this early hour, all was bustle in the African villages, while stilness and repose shed their influence over those of Europe. The extreme difference in the temperature, creates a difference in the hours of relaxation and business. The coolness of night here invites to labour, the heat of day becomes a signal for rest.

I next put on my European dress, and found that my hat and shoes secured me a degree of respect of which my Moorish habit had deprived me, among a people who so detest the Moors. "Now," said Fali Loum to me, when he saw my changed exterior, "this is really a white man." I had some reason to be satisfied, not only as these clothes made me appear more estimable in the opinion of the negroes, but because I could henceforth travel without the dread of thorns or muskitoes. My Marabout did not fail to observe the admiration excited by his white companion; according to him, the price of a camel would not pay for my wardrobe, though it only consisted of four pair of shoes, two pair of pantaloons, two woollen waistcoats, two handkerchiefs, and a hat.

When about to depart, I enquired of my host what recompence we should make him for his kindness, to which he generously replied,

that he would only intreat one favour of us, which was to call at his house on our return. Such an answer surprised me from a negro, not so much for the benevolence it evinced, as for the delicate manner in which it was expressed. I pressed Fali Loum, to inform me what would please him, but on his hesitating, I was lucky enough to perceive, that he wished for some musket balls, to defend himself and friends, from the attacks of the Damel. With pleasure, I gave him six balls, six flints, and four heads of tobacco, with a few coral beads for his wife. On this, the thanks of Fali Loum were unlimited, manifesting an uncommon warmth of gratitude, combined with goodness of heart. He launched out in my praises, with expressions of regret at having given me a reception so inadequate to my presents. He moreover accompanied us, as our guide, for a quarter of a league. At the moment of parting, alighting from his horse, he raised his hands to heaven, and with impressive fervour, implored the divine protection on our expedition.

Scarcely had we quitted Fali Loum, when sentinels on the surrounding heights began to examine who we were, fearing lest we might belong to the Damel, and be sent to surprise the neighbouring villages. Our answer proved satisfactory, and we continued our march.

Our course this day turned towards the south, and after an hour's march, we stopped at Moslache, a large village inhabited by Poulas, and negroes. The night was dark, but Boukari conducted us, safely, to the hut of his aunt, who was a Poula woman. She threw some branches of trees on the ground, over which she spread the hide of an ox; my saddle, on this occasion, became a pillow, and recumbent about a good fire, we awaited the hour of supper.

The manner in which hospitality is practised in Africa, is truly commendable. While taking some rest on my mat, my Moslache host ran to procure grass for my beasts, his wife, at the same time, dividing with me the supper of her family.

February 5th. As a compensation to my host, I gave him two heads of tobacco, and was repaid by the benedictions of the whole family. So kind a reception for two successive days, and so little expected, emboldened me as to the fatigues and cares of the journey I had undertaken. I had calculated on encountering inconveniences quite different, from travelling through France, but to this I was resigned. These attentions, however, were highly gratifying, and I felt my ardour and courage rising in proportion.

Moving in the same direction as the preceding day, we halted, on our arrival at Teiba, a small village, to screen ourselves from the intense heat. There we seated ourselves under a tamarind tree, partaking of its acid fruit. Our breakfast consisted of some

sour milk, given me by my hosts the evening before, mixed with couscous. Here we joined company with a caravan of Moors, trading in gum, from the Joloff country. These merchants unloaded their camels, and their repast proved to be still more frugal than our own. The ass I had bought at St. Louis, being unable to carry his burden, I placed the baggage on my horse, and pursued my journey. I constantly made it my business to measure the depth of the wells, near the villages, as this would ascertain irregularities of the ground in the level country. That of Teiba presented a very striking singularity; in the whole space between the banks of the Senegal, opposite to St. Louis and the limits of Foutatoro, embracing a distance of fifty leagues, we had never met with any stone on the surface of the soil, but near the wells of Teiba, which are twelve fathoms deep, lay a heap of ferruginous stones, that had been thrown up in digging the wells. The water has a brackish taste, which renders it unpalatable.

We now resumed our journey, and, about four o'clock, entered another village. The proprietor of it, named Mactard Loo, was of a mild character and intelligent aspect; he invited me to remain at his house for the night, and even insisted on my accepting the present of a sheep; nor would he let me depart without promising to visit him on my return.

The village chiefs, in general, have an air and aspect that distinguishes them; more attention has been paid to their education than to that of the other negroes, and they possess a dignified ascendant over them, in every respect. Great affability and unbounded hospitality towards strangers seem imprinted on their temperament.

The sun had set when we arrived at Niamrei; I wished to remain here till I could procure an ass, but this was impossible. This village may contain about three or four thousand inhabitants; the activity, the opulence, and the crowd, passing to and fro, make it appear like a town. In the public place, we observed a large square enclosed with straw mats, which proved to be the place where the inhabitants assemble for prayer. One part of the population consisted of Poulas, whose flocks constitute their wealth. The well here is thirty fathoms deep, and twenty feet in circumference; an effort of labour which seems impossible to be accomplished by negroes, considering the tools they make use of. They go to work, in the following manner: the soil to the depth of ten feet consisting of very fine sand, they support and make firm the sides, with planks grooved into one another, at their edges; ladders made of bark ropes, are what the workmen descend by. On coming to the clay, which is generally about the depth at which

the calcareous and ferruginous stones are met with, they raise it with long wooden shovels of a semi-cylindrical form, and put it into leather buckets, which are drawn up to the top. The stratum of stone they work with an iron tool, not unlike a short broad spade. Every well* becomes the property of the person who, with his slaves, has taken the trouble of digging it. We found them for the most part between two hills, and shaded by trees, principally tamarinds.

On our arrival at Niamrei, we went as usual to pay our respects to the chief, for if this ceremony be omitted, you cannot appeal to his protection in case of insult. The chief desired us to excuse his inability to lodge us at his own house, but he gave instant orders to an old attendant to prepare a hut for us. We received here the same attentions as at Niakra.

Februray 6th. When taking leave of my host, I presented him with two heads of tobacco and a sheet of paper. In the course of the day we passed through Therina, where we had no small trouble to procure water. My colour and long face became subjects of occasional mirth to the negroes.

It was night before we reached Coqué. Our route was edged all along with gum trees, the yellow flowers of which arranged in circular bunches, diffused an odoriferous scent. We also saw many *rates*. The bark of this tree yields a yellow dye; its leaf is without indentation, and of a beautiful green; it does not grow very high; the wood is white, and the bark is easily reduced to powder. On this occasion too I first saw the baobab, that enormous tree which some years ago was described by Adanson, and still bears his name. I measured one that was forty feet in circumference. Stripped at this time of its foliage, it might be compared to an immense wooden tower. This majestic mass is the only monument of antiquity to be met with in these parts of Africa. I wonder the negroes have not paid to this tree honours such as the druids rendered the oak; for to them the baobab is a most valuable vegetable. Its leaves are used for leaven; its bark furnishes excellent cordage, and the bees form their hives in the hollow parts of its trunk. The negroes too, often find shelter from storms, in its time-worn caverns. The baobab may be termed the monarch of African trees.

We had some difficulty to find the hut of the chief. Coqué contains about five thousand souls. Situated on the frontier near the Joloffs, it is a constant thoroughfare for the Moorish caravans that visit their country to purchase gum, and a number of Moors have here fixed their residence. The streets are crowded with camels and oxen. We found the chief seated under some trees, enjoying the coolness of the night, and he kindly conducted

* The other negroes pay the proprietor for the right of drawing from his well.

us to a distant hut which belonged to him. It was soon filled by negroes, eager to see a white traveller, and it was midnight before they departed.

February 7th. My Marabout awoke me early to go and thank the chief for the friendly reception we had received from him. Most of the people were asleep, so that I was not annoyed by the curiosity of any crowd; but on approaching the hut of the chief I observed from ten to twelve hundred persons assembled to pay their respects; I would have returned, but it was too late. "There is a white man!" was the outcry; it was the first time these negroes had seen one. The hut of the chief was forsaken, and I found myself in the midst of an innumerable multitude. So eager was their curiosity, that most of them were thrusting one against another, with clapping of hands and exclamations, "The white man for ever!" but these clamours were mingled with others calculated to excite alarm. I distinctly heard, "Down with the Christian!" vociferated by the intolerant mob. My face and the length of my nose was a subject of ridicule. Nor did my dress escape their animadversion; one put his hands into my pockets, (which did not contain any thing) another surveyed with astonishment the stitching of my shoes, and the thickness of their soles. They offered me their hands, but ordered me to be silent. Attempts were made to disperse the crowd, for there was a tumult and bustle as if the whole village had been in a state of revolt. I could not refrain from laughter at witnessing such an excess of curiosity. This laugh drew another from them, while every mouth ejaculated; "He laughed! he laughed!" As the crowd kept increasing, and I overheard the Moors and some Poulas incessantly denouncing me as "A Christian!" I tried to escape, but every passage was obstructed. I was alone, and resolving to extricate myself from a situation that might become critical, I urged on my horse, and his impetuous movements quickly dispersed the crowd. The screams of the women and children, alarmed at seeing a white man on horseback, pursuing them with an angry look, frightened a beautiful Arabian mare that was fastened to the foot of a tree; she broke loose and began to run. With difficulty I could hold in my horse, which, full of fire, disdained the curb, and was ready to bear down whatever opposed his passage. At length, several servants of the chief stopped him, and conducted me to the door of their master. Here, again, I had to clear myself a way through the crowd. The chief desired me to sit down by his side, but the multitude, forgetting the bounds of due respect, violated the asylum he had given me. Weary of the numbers who entered at all the doors, he retired to another hut. I was fain to withdraw from the throng, by returning to my quarters, on horseback.

To the swiftness of my steed, I was indebted for escaping the fresh uproar which my re-appearance occasioned. Scarcely had I reached my hut, when a messenger from the chief came to dissuade me from going abroad, as by so doing I might expose myself to danger. Not content with this, the chief sent me my dinner, by his son; it consisted of couscous, with butter and tamarinds. This attention on his part appeased the ferment among the inhabitants. No longer an object of their view, I became the sole subject of their conversation. I could hear their remarks through the straw wall of my hut. My neighbours praised or censured my mode of life and dress. However, I soon forgot the inconveniences to which I had been exposed, as I was able to complete the business about which I had been so anxious: I bargained with a negro for an ass, for which I gave him forty-two beads of coral, in value about five francs.

After passing such a day as this I found myself not a little fatigued. However, it seemed that I was not to enjoy perfect repose in the village of Coqué. About midnight, I was roused out of my sleep, by the roaring of two lions, that were prowling about the village to seize an ox or a sheep. This being the first time of my witnessing so tremendous a report, I confess I was alarmed, and my companions were equally so. The door of every hut was now closed, mothers called in their children; the men heard in gloomy silence the voice of these animals, which appeared to be advancing. The consternation was general, though some armed themselves. The dogs howled out, were afraid to leap over the hedges which surrounded the courts. The oxen lowed, but their lowing was broken off, by fear, at every roar of the lion. The asses, the horses, in short every animal answered in sensible, but doleful accents, the horrid sounds which they heard. Whether the lions carried off some victim into the forests, or whether they retired without committing any havoc, on our no longer hearing them, the consternation which they had excited, subsided. My slumbers, however, were disturbed, when I began to reflect, that during my journey, I might often have to encounter such enemies. As our courage revived, I could overhear individuals boasting of their prowess. One had killed a lion, which was prowling round his hut. Another had rescued some animal which the marauder was ready to carry off. As I had been witness to their fears, in the moment of danger, I paid little attention to these boastings.

February 8th. When all was ready for our departure, my Marabout came to say, that we could not, at that hour of the day, traverse the forests which separate the kingdom of Cayor from the country of the Bourb-Joloffs: that the heat would oblige us to pass part of the day in the woods; and that we had better travel in the night. This intimation made me uneasy; I shuddered at the

idea of being at night, in forests inhabited only by wild beasts; and I was afraid, also, lest we should lose our way. However, I consented to delay our departure till evening. We were then busy in procuring water, and purchasing such provisions as we should want during the time it would take us to traverse the forests.

In the latter part of this day I received a number of visits, among others one from the wife of the chief. This woman was covered with rings of gold and silver; her countenance was animated with traits of dignity and grace. She seated herself on the ground, and I could not prevail on her to place herself on my couch, by my side, as she said women were unworthy of such an honour. At four o'clock, I mounted my horse, and, as I had foreseen, it was with much difficulty we could discover the traces of our way. The day was near its close, when we directed our course, east one quarter south-east. We proceeded till eight o'clock, when we halted under a goui or baobab, to which we tied my two asses and my horse. Having finished our supper, I fell asleep, but was soon wakened by the cries of my people. It seems that my horse, frightened by the approach of wild beasts, had fled into the woods. They set out in pursuit of him, and I was left alone. In an hour, they returned with him; his saddle, which he had thrown on the ground, indicated the route he had taken; but they could not find his bit. To prevent any fresh attempt at escape, we tied his legs with cords, as do the Moora. But we had reason to judge, from his uneasiness, that some ferocious beast was prowling about us, and we thought it high time to quit so dangerous a spot. Accustomed till now, to sleep in huts, I felt myself exhausted by the fatigues of this night. As we went on, I fell asleep on my horse, so as to be every moment in danger of falling. I tried to walk, to drive away drowsiness, but the thorns scratching my face, obliged me to remount my horse. We looked round on all sides to discern some village. As for me, exhausted by fatigue, hunger, and want of sleep, my eyes could no longer distinguish any object; every thing assumed an extraordinary form, and the bushes seemed to me like houses. This whole night, we neither saw nor heard any living creature.

February 9th. Day-light displayed to our view immense parched plains, without the slightest trace of habitations. About noon I directed Boukari's slave to climb a tree, but no village appeared in sight. We then lay down and slept under a tree, till four o'clock, and afterwards proceeded till sun-set, when we perceived the fires of Bahene, a small village in the kingdom of the Bourb-Joloffs, which we had entered. We there received hospitality similar to what we had experienced in the kingdom of Cayor.

This last-mentioned country, which extends from north to south,

from St. Louis to Rufisque, appears to be one of the most wealthy in all the parts of western Africa, comprised between the rivers Senegal and Gambia. Formerly Cape Verd was comprehended in the dominion of Cayor, but the people revolted, and the inaccessible nature of their country, which is overrun with rocks, has enabled them to maintain their independence.

The soil of the country is sandy, and of a reddish colour, but fertile; for it produces millet, cotton, and indigo in abundance. The tamarind, the baobab, the gum tree, and other species of mimosas, are the most common trees. But among the rocks of the district Cape Verd, the date tree, the papaw, and the pine apple are often seen. The coolness of the night appears competent to restore that vigour, of which the intense heat in the day deprives us.*

Horned cattle and sheep are numerous. The Poulas rear and sell them to Europeans with considerable advantage. At a marriage or funeral, they will sometimes kill ten oxen, which they distribute among their relations and neighbours.

Most of the village chiefs possess a horse. The other domestic animals are camels, pigs, dogs, fowls and ducks; but the Mahometans never keep pigs and dogs, as being unclean. In general, there are dogs to guard their flocks, but they seldom give them any thing to eat or drink; nevertheless there is no instance of the hydrophobia.

The ass of Cayor is strong, steady, and surefooted. Mine was of this country; the services which he rendered me were truly meritorious. He is an object of ridicule among the negroes, who, however, derive great advantage from his services. The Serra-colet alone knows how to appreciate the value of this animal.

I have seen my beast pass several days, without eating or drinking, but he never slackened his pace. A few dry bamboo leaves, or a handful of grass, parched by the heat of the sun, would renew his strength, after toilsome journeys, across sandy deserts, or over steep mountains. I frequently admired the agility with which he scaled the highest rocks. A large hole was at length worn between his shoulders, which we were obliged to fill with straw and mud. In despite of the pain which this wound occasioned, the courageous animal lost none of his vigour, when, after loading him with the baggage, I or my Marabout mounted behind it. Long privations, sickness and fatigue, broke his natural obstinacy, but not his spirit. At the passage of the multiplied arms of the Rio

* Flacour makes a similar remark on the temperature of Madagascar. "The heat here is not so violent as in France, for the days and nights being almost equal, it does not last so long: and the heat that begins here at nine in the morning, is over at three in the afternoon; and even in this time, a sea breeze so moderates the heat of mid-day, that we are little incommoded by it. This lasts about three or four months, but the eight others may be considered as a perpetual spring.

Grande he gave no signs of fear. For a month together, he subsisted only on grass which he browsed, as he trotted along. This quadruped should be preferred to the horse, by those who travel in Africa. The negroes value the small black asses most; but the red, of which mine was one, are very little inferior.

In the interior of Cayor, are many lions and elephants; there are also panthers, ounces, hyænas, and serpents of various forms and colours. The raven, the eagle, the witwall, the dove, the guinea-fowl, are very common. Large assemblages of sparrows and humming-birds of all colours flutter round the huts. The rocks of Cape Verd are an asylum to the rats named palmated, the flesh of which is excellent eating, like that of the hare. The monkey is not common, from the scarcity of water. Rabbits, partridges, lapwings, fill the *lougaus* or millet fields, and the immense baobab contains the nest of the pelican.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Cayor constitute a part of the Joloffs: they were subject to the Bourb-Joloffs, before the governor of that province made himself master of Cayor, and assumed the title of Damel.

The Joloffs are tall, and in figure and features have an air of regularity and dignity. Their diseases are chiefly the ophthalmia, the itch, and leprosy, which last turns them almost entirely white. The children often contract a swelling of the stomach, but this is only temporary not permanent. In the greater number, the navel runs to an enormous length. At the end of the rainy season, colds and pulmonary complaints are frequent. Inoculation, which is practised by the negroes, contributes to prevent the ravages of the small-pox.

The Marabouts alone practise physic; they have a few simple remedies, with certain charms written on paper, which the patients are to burn and drink the ashes.

The people of Cayor are lively, cheerful, and thoughtless, as to caring about future wants. Some are not insensible to gratitude; but their friendship appears to be cold or interested. The women rarely render a service, without the hope of a return. At the end of harvest, the Joloff negroes, for months together, are seen lying on their mats, the tongue only being employed. Fishing may be always resorted to, but idleness is honoured here, as much as ignorance was among our ancestors, in the dark middle ages. Necessity alone impels the Joloff to labour. The Africans in general know well enough the use of our fire-arms, at least all that we are acquainted with. Gunpowder is manufactured in the Bamharra country. The natives of Cayor, however, still retain the spear and the bow as the main weapons of their armies. Their warriors have added to these, the sabre and the dagger.

In their wars, they commonly wait for their enemy behind a

bush ; then they fire on him as he passes, and run away. Sometimes, whole armies engage in close combat, so as to exhibit proofs of true valour and magnanimity.

In the dominion of Cayor, the subjects really are as they call themselves, the slaves of the Damel. Nevertheless, the Damel's orders are occasionally resisted. One of his powerful subjects, knowing the Damel's intentions to take away his life, appeared before him with four hundred men. The tyrant had ordered a deep pit to be dug and covered with a mat ; he desired the chief to seat himself on the mat, but the latter guessing the malignant purpose, replied : " Damel, I am thy slave, and only worthy to repose in the dust on which thy feet have trod." He thus avoided the fatal snare.

When the Damel wants a horse of prime value, he sends for some principal officer of his army : " Go," he says to him, " thou knowest that such a village abounds with my enemies ; let fire and sword destroy them." The general plunders, lays waste, cuts down half, and brings away a number of captives, who serve to pay the price of the horse.

All the Joloffs who inhabit Cayor, have the head and upper lip shaved, but wear the beard long. As to their dress, two pieces of cotton cloth compose, in general, the apparel of a negro. One round his waist, hangs down below the calf of the leg ; the other thrown carelessly over one shoulder leaves the other uncovered. The chiefs wear wide breeches, of a yellowish colour, and a cotton shirt in addition to the two pieces of cotton stuff. The women are only covered from the knees to the bosom, the rest of their body is naked. If they throw a cloth over them, it is to enable them to carry their children at their backs. Necklaces and bracclets, of gold and silver, are the prominent distinctions of the opulent ; but whether slaves or mistresses, they are obliged to labour for their common master.

A similar frugality prevails in their cookery ; couscous, and occasionally milk, or fish, appear to be their only dishes. They make but two meals a-day, at sun-rise, and at sun-set, and in eating, they feed themselves with their fingers.

Riding, and exercising with fire arms, are very common, but dancing is their predominant amusement. No sooner does the *griot* sound his drum, than every one starts up and tries to keep pace with the movements of the instrument, by a thousand contortions. The dancers keep time, by clapping their hands. The spectators throw their garments at their feet, in token of admiration. A libidinous turn characterises these sports. The ball commences with moon-light, and day-break puts an end to it. A man here will forsake one day, the wife whom he has taken on the preceding. Modesty is not in vogue among the women, they

have hardly the slightest sense of it; they bathe in public, without covering, while the men perform their ablutions in private.

The education of the children must necessarily be vicious. There is more decency among the boys than the girls. The former are under their fathers, or in the schools of the Marabouts, while the others are left to the care of their mothers.

In Cayor, in almost the whole of Nigritia, uncles shew the same affection for their nephews as for their children; in some monarchies, the crown is conferred on them, to the prejudice of the latter.

Though the negroes endure, without complaint, the hardships attached to human life, they manifest extreme sensibility for the loss of their parents. For whole days, they utter lamentable groans, and to have merely known a person, imposes the obligation of weeping at his death.

The negroes of Cayor, when they lose their friends, endeavour to preserve their bodies from the wild beasts. Every grave is covered with thorny shrubs, which, in time, form impenetrable bushes. These verdant tufts become so many durable monuments of pious affection; and they prove beneficial; for under their shade spring up the seeds of trees, which, in the course of time, may produce a grove or a forest.

The Joloffs are kind to their slaves, providing for their children, as for their own; they are seldom known to strike them, and never impose on them tasks that would prove beyond their strength.

The slaves of the Damel, presuming on his favour, would often commit outrages on the other negroes, were they not obliged to place fetters over their beds as a warning, should they be guilty of any act of oppression towards free men.

The Joloffs, in common with most of the neighbouring tribes, have a thorough contempt for blacksmiths, weavers, shoemakers and *griots* or musicians. Even a slave will not marry a woman of a family which has been engaged in these professions. The *griots* are not buried among the Joloffs. Their bodies are laid in hollow trees; for if a *griot* were to be interred in the earth, the crop of millet, they say, would fail.

The negroes are proud of their origin, and never marry persons of inferior rank. Mahometans rarely unite with a Pagan family.

The huts of the Joloffs are compactly built, so as in general to keep out rain. They are constructed of rushes, with a door of straw. People may converse through the walls. The form is circular, and at a distance, the huts of the villages of Cayor resemble bee hives; you must always stoop to enter. Every Joloff has, at least, two huts; he sleeps in one, and the other serves for a kitchen. Fires are of rare occurrence, and these

pliant huts withstand storms, by yielding to their fury. The furniture consists of a few mats, to sleep on. A cauldron of iron, or more commonly, of earthen-ware, with a few calabashes, and a wooden mortar for pounding millet, compose the total of their culinary utensils.

Without the boundaries of their villages, the negroes have large rush baskets, raised on stakes; in these they keep their grain, and these stores are never known to be violated.

In their dealings by barter, cotton cloths and millet are in request, but the traders who repair to St. Louis and Goree, have learned the value of silver. For this metal only, they sell their cattle or horses to Europeans; they nevertheless, in general, prefer the English copper coin. The silver, which they carry into the interior, is used for making trinkets. For the cotton cloths made by the negro weavers, they pay in millet, and the blacksmiths are paid with cloths. Gold, amber, and coral, are the medium of exchange for slaves, and the latter are given for horses and oxen.

If any particular business requires long deliberation, or there is a call to try a criminal, the council of elders is convened, and the majority pronounce on the guilt or innocence of the person accused. They never punish, for the chief alone has the right of life and death.

A sort of ordeal prevails here; the blacksmith makes a piece of iron red hot, this is applied to the tongue of the accused party; if he betrays symptoms of pain, he is denounced as guilty; if the contrary, he is at once liberated.

When a free man violates a female slave, she thereby gains her liberty, and the offender must make retribution with the price of a slave to her owner.

Mahometanism will soon become the universal religion of the country of Cayor. The court indeed remains attached to Paganism, probably as more indulgent to the passions. Circumcision is practised among the Joloffs universally; this, with the public schools, kept by the Marabouts, and frequented by all children, and the persons of the Mahometan priests being sacred, even among the Pagans, must powerfully operate to extend Islamism among these people. The Mahometan negroes are devout votaries to the external forms of their religion. They will rise frequently in the night, to chant chapters of the Koran, and one part of the day is allotted to repeating prayers on a long chaplet, suspended from their girdle.

The Mahometan priests possess an authority almost unlimited. They alone interpret the will of heaven, and this they can well turn to account. The negroes have a blind confidence in certain papers, which they call *gris-gris*, on which are written Arabic

prayers; not an individual is without them. Before a man sets out on a journey, he applies for a *gris-gris*, and pays for the charm its weight in gold. This precious talisman is believed to be a safeguard against fire-arms, and it is every where introduced even into the crowns of their kings.

To procure admission into the class of Marabouts, an irreproachable character, and some knowledge of the Arabic language are requisite. The candidate must not only retain several chapters of the Koran in his memory, but must acquire the knowledge of certain Arabic books, which treat of the history of the world and of arithmetic. The Mahometan priests have alone the right to divide inheritances.

The Marabout who, with this erudition, can also compose in Arabic, for the negroes never write in their mother tongue, is privileged to wear a scarlet cap. The title of *Tomsire* or *Alpha*, which signifies doctor, in the Poular language, is then assigned to him, by common consent.

CHAPTER III.

In the Country of the Bourb-Joloffs, the Author waits on the King—He sends back two of his Companions and takes the Route of Foutatoro—The King procures him a Guide—Manners and Customs of the Joloffs and Laaubes.

FEBRUARY 10th. The chief of Bahené, previous to our departure, made it his business, according to the general custom, to enquire the object of our journey. I told him we were going to purchase gold in Oulli: on this he permitted us to continue our journey. In the village of Tiarkra, the inhabitants, who then, for the first time, saw a white man, examined my apparel with great attention; but their admiration was particularly excited by my double-barrelled gun, "We are only beasts," I heard them exclaim, in the fervour of their astonishment. The women were, in the meantime, surveying my features; some expressed a sort of admiration, but the major part evinced emotions of horror. One of them, notwithstanding the length of my beard, enquired if I was not a woman.

These circumstances so far engaged my attention, that I felt pleasure in observing the curious impressions created by the presence of a white man, and I fell into an amusing reverie on the subject. Resting a little during the heat, we hastened to resume our march. Happening to stop at a well which was digging, I was surprised and gratified to hear the workmen at the bottom

singing a song in my praise ; this being a very unexpected honour, it called for some remuneration. I presented a tobacco leaf to my panegyrist, a handful of gold could not have made him more eloquent in his commendations. As I galloped off to rejoin my people, who were a little before me, a shepherd cried out to me not to go so fast, lest I should be taken for a Moorish robber, and shot. Had I retained my Moorish costume, it would doubtless have exposed me to a world of dangers.

The village where we passed the night was inhabited by Poulas, whose astonishment at my appearance was also unlimited. One woman exclaimed that I must live at the bottom of the earth, "for," said she, "I have never seen men of such a strange colour," and with a shriek of horror, covering her face with her cotton garment, she hurried into her hut. Among the Poulas, however, I often met with men almost as white as myself. At this village, one was presented to me as belonging to our race. His features and complexion were similar to ours ; and from an attentive examination, I was fully assured that he was not an Albino.

February 11th. My departure was delayed, by a number of women, who by turns steeped the bit of my horse in water, which they made their children drink as a remedy to remove their coughs. After passing through several small villages, we arrived at Pampi, the residence of one of the sons of the Bourb-Jollofs ; but as his character was calculated to excite apprehensions, I began to make a circuit with my guides, for the purpose of avoiding the village.

We had not proceeded a hundred paces, before a message arrived that the prince wished to see me : all the reasons I could muster to elude this visit, were unavailing with these numerous envoys. Having therefore left my ass and my merchandize in the road, I reluctantly returned towards Pampi, accompanied by my Marabout. The prince expressed uncommon satisfaction at my compliance ; desired me to sit down on his bed, and placed himself on the sand at my feet. Having previously informed himself as to the objects of my journey, he sent for his wives to come and salute me ; he very earnestly intreated me to stay with him a few days, adding, that I should be at no expence. When he found that I could not delay my departure, he came and held my stirrup as I mounted my horse, and conducted me in person to the place where my baggage had halted. Four grains of coral, and four leaves of tobacco, composed the present which I tendered to this son of an African sovereign ; and my liberality was an unceasing topic of his praise. We then passed through Caignac, and in the evening were kindly entertained at Tioën, by the village chief, a friend of my Marabout's.

February 12th. For some days past the cold air had been very piercing ; and we now discovered that the variations of the climate

were to be dreaded here, as well as heat. The sudden check given to perspiration threw me into a violent fever, so that I was unable to proceed. Without physicians, or medicines, I placed my trust in Providence, but without neglecting certain means. Some bottles of infusion of tamarinds, I always found beneficial in such disorders. The attachment which my Marabout felt for me, made him very uneasy. He began to trace some magic characters in the sand, which proving to be a lucky omen, restored his usual equanimity. My host of Tioën threatened me with death if I did not eat; and his wife, in pursuance of his prescription, had been employed the whole morning in preparing for me a mess of boiled millet, mixed with sour milk and tamarinds. Every moment, some one or other came to my hut, to enquire how the white man found himself. The husband heaped clothes on me, whilst the wife kindled a fire in my hut. Nor did she confine herself to these kind attentions, for she even went so far as to offer me her daughter in marriage. The patient shivering with ague feels but little inclination for such a connection, and I thought proper to decline it. I was now somewhat puzzled how to proceed, for on every side there was apparent danger. On the route to the south-south-east, the sons of the king of Salum were a source of alarm, from their violent and rapacious characters. To the east, were deserts of five days journey, destitute of water; and to the south-east, the country was infested by wandering Poulas, ready to murder any traveller, to get at the cotton which forms his garment.

February 13th. I awoke my people before sun-rise, for their ablutions and prayers were sure to detain us at least an hour, every morning. I had already determined to make for Salum, but finding it led us to the west, and that we must lose time, in advancing, on this side, into Oulli, I retraced my steps, and began to turn eastward. Boukari and my host then represented the perils that would attend this route, "Thy life is dear to us," said they; "ours would be in no danger, but why wilt thou sacrifice thine." Moved by the affection thus evinced for me, I directed my course east one quarter north-east, intending to visit the Bourb-Jollofs, and from them to solicit an escort. We avoided entering some small villages, where there were no Marabouts, and, indeed, we seldom stopped in places where there were no Mahometan negroes, for the Pagan negroes in general, are far more addicted to plundering and drunkenness than such as have been converted to Islamism. It was near six o'clock, when we arrived at Pacour. This village belongs to one man, who has peopled it exclusively with his slaves, and their number is constantly increasing. In times of famine, he has made a purchase of these families with the produce of his lands, and under his pa-

ternal government, they all live in peace and prosperity. The produce of their labour enables him to double the number of his slaves every year. This village is one of the most beautiful that I have met with in Africa. Surrounded by quick hedges pruned with care, shaded by a small wood of mimosas, arranged in the form of diamonds. The contour resembled a park embellished with cheerful cottages. On making my appearance, the slaves were very anxious to render me all the services in their power. Their master was absent, but these negroes would lodge and feed me, expressing the regret their master would feel at having missed the opportunity of seeing and entertaining a white man, according to his rank. Their conduct, while it evinced a benevolent disposition in themselves, reflected immortal honour on their master. This must doubtless be a gentle sway, since the condition to which they were reduced, had not stifled the generous propensities of human nature.

February 14th. A few glass beads were a satisfactory compensation here, and we pursued our route to the north-east one quarter north, through a well-wooded country. The forests were full of gum trees. Every instant, we saw herds of antelopes, which fled from us in all directions, with incredible velocity; and we found the paths strewn with ostrich feathers. These woods invited us to take our repast in their shade; and I availed myself of a brief repose to arrange the materials of my journal. While thus employed, some travellers passed by us. Astonished at the presence of a white man, they seated themselves by my side, and began to enter into conversation with me on the subject of my journey.

In the interior of Africa, every traveller, whether a native or stranger, is asked his name, that of his family, and the place of his birth; this is the usual mode of salutation. By refusing to answer, he would create a jealous suspicion, and it might endanger his liberty. The Bible and Homer supply examples illustrative of this ancient custom.

Coming out of the woods, we perceived Ouamkrore, the capital of the Bourb-Jolloffs country. It forms a very large village, the most considerable, I believe, in the kingdom. One of the king's slaves eagerly offered me a lodging, desired his mother to prepare a hut for the king's guest, and went out. The old woman was attentively eyeing the stranger, so that the hut was not ready when her son returned. The freedom with which he discharged a volley of harsh reproofs, seemed to indicate that old age is often not more revered by these people, than it is among the polished Europeans.

The king was soon apprised of my arrival, and sent one of his aides-de-camp to request our attendance. We first entered a straw

hut, the door of which was made of planks cut with a hatchet; we then moved forwards to a court with a similar door, and thus had a full view of the king, seated under a tree, on a sheep skin. We found this sovereign, by way of passing the time, sometimes rolling small fruit between his fingers, at others, occupied in smoking. A slave was incessantly covering his expectorations with sand. I seated myself before him with my hat on, and my gun at my side. A numerous circle was soon formed around us; all was still, and every eye was fixed on me. The Bourb-Joloffs was old and of low stature; but his open countenance indicated a frankness and sincerity; there was little to distinguish him from other negroes, except the circumstance of his subjects saluting him on their knees. His white tunic, the sign of royalty, was almost worn away. He had no covering on his head, which was perfectly bald.

Among other questions, the monarch wished to know if I had brought any brandy; I answered in the negative. He then enquired the object of my journey. "There is no gold in thy country!" he exclaimed, when he found I was going to Oulli. "Thou wishest for a guide," added he; "shou shalt have one to-morrow." The visits paid by a European traveller to an African prince, are sure to be tiresome. A white man must keep at a certain distance from the prince. These kings very rarely address themselves to a stranger, who is supposed to be ignorant of their language. Their dignity requires them to employ an interpreter.

After some minutes spent in scrutinizing my person, the Bourb-Joloffs ordered me to be conducted back to my hut. In the evening, an ox was killed, and this good cheer, being on my account, it served to enliven the spirits of our hosts. I was the principal subject of conversation; they then talked of the Moors, whom I resembled. Each was eager to recount the dangers which he had escaped from these plundering people. The kingdom of the Bourb-Joloffs is very much exposed to their depredations. This nation treats the negroes in the Ouallo, and the provinces inhabited by the Joloffs, most cruelly, and when they want slaves, they carry them off, nor do the kings ever take vengeance on the oppressors.

February 15th. I repaired at an early hour to the king's hut, to apply for a guide. The Bourb-Joloffs was in bed. I waited till his sable majesty had risen. At length I saw him go out. He desired me instantly to attend him. As I had presents to offer, the door was latched. After the usual salutations, I seated myself on a plank, and began to contemplate the ceiling of this thatched place, overlaid with soot and cobwebs. Four muskets were the principal ornaments of the interior.

The Bourb-Joloffs was reclining on a bed of rushes; I presented him with a grain of amber and ten heads of tobacco. The king consulted with his favourite what present to make me; he then searched in his coffers for something to please me, and, at the same time, to display his munificence. At length, he presented me with a pair of stirrups, which I accepted. He gave me, however, no positive answer respecting a guide. The custom of these kings, and even of the negro chiefs, is to make those who solicit a favour, wait for their decision; hoping, thereby, to obtain fresh presents.

I returned to my hut, not a little chagrined at this delay. Some minutes afterwards, the king again sent for me: his court was this day more noisy than usual. The persons who were present, disputed; they even threatened one another; I did not know the meaning of this, and began to be alarmed, till I perceived the courtiers trying to divert the monarch, some by their jokes, and others by relating particulars respecting my mode of life. The king seated me by his side, and proceeded to examine every part of my dress, the seams of which, he could not comprehend. Sometimes he raised one of my arms, sometimes one of my legs; in short, he would have entirely undressed me, to satisfy himself that my clothes were not sewed to my skin, would I have consented. He then asked questions as to the king of the white men, enquiring, particularly, the number of his wives. "He has but one," I replied. "And thou boastest to me of his riches," replied he; "what is a sovereign who is not able to keep several wives?" His astonishment was extreme when I told him, that horses were so common amongst us, that the coverings for our legs and feet were made of their skins.

Notwithstanding the favour his majesty did me of pulling my hair, and taking me by the nose, to measure its length, I retired, not at all entertained with such liberties. During our interview, I endeavoured to shew the advantages he might derive from sending to St. Louis, on his own account, the gum which the Moors procure from his kingdom. He approved of the plan; but in Africa, as in Europe, a project relished and adopted with eagerness, is often as quickly laid aside.

February 16th. At sun-rise, the king's *griot* awoke us with his songs; he was accompanied by a number of female singers. I dare not repeat the panegyrics which they bestowed on me; they called me Son of the King of the Whites, they praised the beauty of my shoes and hat. All the negroes seemed enraptured with the honours paid me, as if intoxicated, their motions were convulsive; shaking their heads, shutting their eyes, in extacies they exclaimed: "Ah, how exquisite!" There are, perhaps, no people so fond of music as the negroes. To get rid of the minstrel

and his female companions, I gave them a few leaves of tobacco; this present appeared so inferior, that it made them lessen the praises of which they had been so lavish.

The affection of my Marabout for his son, rendered him timid, and he hesitated to expose himself to new dangers, for fear of involving his son in them. As this did not suit with my plans, I testified to Boukari, that he must chuse between his duty and paternal love; that he must either quit me, or send his son and slave back to Senegal. "Thou knowest," said I, "that no danger can stop me in my career; thy son may fall sick, and retard our progress; besides, too many in my train, from a notion that I possess great wealth, may rouse the cupidity of the negroes, and expose me to perils; depart then with thy son, or proceed alone with me." Several hours elapsed before I had a positive answer, but seeing me determined to adhere to the resolution I had taken, Boukari spoke as follows: "I will remain faithful to my oaths; my heart feels undescribable anguish at parting from my son. Who will nurse me, if I fall sick? But since thou insisest on his return, I consent." I then gave the two youths one of my asses and some merchandize, to enable them to return to St. Louis.

February 17th. There were now only two of us left to continue our journey; I mounted my horse, and Boukari drove the ass before him. According to the advice of my host, I went to take leave of the Bourb-Jolloffs, and called him my father, a compliment which was highly gratifying. One of his slaves was directed to accompany us to Medina, and an order was sent to the chief of this village, to furnish me with a guide into the Foutatoro country. This attention, on the part of the Bourb-Jolloffs, was very remarkable, as I had tendered him only a small present; another inhabitant of Medina, had an order to lodge me and supply me with provisions.

Our host, conceiving himself to be inferior to us in dignity, could not be brought to eat with us; for custom in Africa forbids the master of the house to eat with his superior, even when he entertains the latter. I passed the day at Medina, where I heard a *griot* chanting my praise, as follows: "Here is a white man, who has seen the greatest kings on earth, the Bourb-Jolloffs and the Damel; let his name be celebrated!" While the *griot* was playing on his guitar, Boukari and another negro, traced characters in the sand, to ascertain the issue of our expedition; the answer was in our favour. We intended to proceed to Foutatoro with a caravan of Jolloffs, which was to assemble at Medina; but it was not yet ready to set out, and this detained me two days in the village.

As I had now no slave to take my horse and ass to the water, I

went with them myself. After descending the little hill on which Medina stands, we crossed a wood of gum trees, whose flowers perfumed the air for half a league around; we next passed through some fields of millet; a thick wood which we entered, served to bound this delightful landscape. Having wandered, for some time, in the mazes of a sort of natural labyrinth, we espied a number of wells, round which various flocks were assembled. My unexpected appearance dispersed both the animals and those who attended them, so that I took quiet possession of one of the wells, and began to water my beasts.

My host, who was with me, recalled the runaways, and I soon saw myself surrounded by a crowd of Poula shepherds. Habituated to a rambling life in the woods, they seemed as if stupified at the sight of me. Every movement which I caused my horse to make, set them on a scamper, like so many antelopes.

The coolness of the place, and the abundant supply of water, were strong incentives with me to abide there the rest of the day. Large tamarind trees, and enormous baobabs shaded the wells, so as to render them impervious to the solar rays. The grass, of course, retained a beautiful verdure. The Poula shepherds, though less fair than those of Gessner, were equally gallant; for they filled with water the calabashes of the young maidens from the neighbouring villages, who were unable to draw it from wells of such depth. If these wells were nearer the villages, the inhabitants would destroy the trees, which are one of the causes of the abundance of water, from the humidity which they cherish in the ground. This may account for the distance.

February 18th. Many of the inhabitants of Medina, are dyers. They make ashes with millet, straw, and wood, put them into a vessel filled with water, then throw in the indigo, and when the mixture has been duly stirred, they steep in it the stuff they mean to dye. But this process does not produce a good blue. The Medina negroes also dye large quantities of cotton stuffs green.

The Marabout, Moutoufa, who was given me for a guide, could not depart on this day. Moussa, one of the sons of the Bourb-Joloffs, had carried off his sister, and insisted on making her his wife; but the disciple of Mahomet, fearing lest his future nephews might be brought up in Paganism, and learn to drink ardent spirits like their father, refused the honour. He went in quest of his sister, intending to conduct her into the Fouta country, but his efforts were fruitless, for incited by love or ambition, she would share the passion of the prince, deaf to all the representations of the Marabout. I received a visit from the latter, who remained some time in my hut. I made him a small present, which so much pleased him, that he offered me one of his

daughters, a girl of eleven years of age, for a wife. But he demanded a portion for her, and expected me to pay it, a barrel of brandy.

While at Medina, I received the visits of several Poulas. Spread through almost every negro state, they lead an undomesticated life, exclusively occupied in attending their flocks. They generally reside in the forests, where they have huts—nothing but mere sheds made of branches of trees, over which they throw some straw. Their astonishment at the contemplation of my figure was inexpressible. They thought me so unaccountable a being, that they even asked me whether I belonged to the human race. One enquired if I had a mother, supposing that I came from the bottom of the ocean; for the negroes would often distinguish me from the mulattoes, exclaiming, “This is a white man of the sea.” Another expressed his amazement that a white man could ride a horse. A third went so far as to declare, that nature had refused us the ordinary means of propagating our species.

The Poulas of the country of the Bourb-Joloffs, have all long hair, inclining to be woolly; their features resemble ours, especially among those who are of a copper colour, but their lips are somewhat thicker. The women are handsome when young, but grow even ugly after having children. The young boys in general have agreeable countenances. The men wear breeches that reach to their knees, and a cloth across their shoulders, with earrings, and necklaces of beads. Sometimes they put ostrich feathers in their hair, twisted in the form of a helmet. The dress of the females is like that of other negro women; their heads, necks, and arms, are loaded with glass beads. These Poulas possess and know the use of muskets, but they are commonly armed with lances, and poisoned arrows. They are all Pagans, and bear a violent antipathy to Mahometans and their religion.

February 19th. It was now high time for us to depart; for the people and mothers began to insinuate that my presence prevented the children from attending to their duties. I set out therefore early in the morning from Medina, accompanied by three Marabouts and some other negroes, who, as well as myself, intended to wait at the last village of the Bourb-Joloffs, for the remainder of the caravan, with which we purposed travelling. The way we took to reach Kaiai rose along the side of an abrupt mountain. In the bottom of the valley, were manifest traces of the torrents which had descended from the neighbouring heights. The sand which they had carried along with them was as red as fire. These valleys could boast of little verdure. On a sudden we saw a Joloff, employed in tilling the ground with his children, come running towards us, “My poor white man,” said he to me,

“ if thou art going among the Bambarras, persuade them to destroy the kingdom of Ahuamy, and the whole race of Marabouts.” My companions, though extremely exasperated at the exclamation of this Joloff, made no reply. When he was gone, they merely observed : “ This fellow is drunk ; his threats only excite our contempt ; we could easily have pierced him with our lances.”

The followers of Mahomet and of Paganism rarely intermarry, and never dwell under the same roof ; in the same village, they often place their huts at a distance from each other.

At Kaii, my arrival was the signal to kindle a curiosity of the most ardent description. The negroes quitted their work ; the women ran before my horse, crying, “ Here is a white man.” Some thought I had no skin, because they saw the blood through it ; others that I could not walk, from being on horseback ; while others again shook me by the hand. My horse was admitted to a share of their caresses. Several presented their children to me, and seeing that I treated them kindly, would frequently repeat ; “ It is not true then that you buy them to eat !” My Marabout was unable to answer their numberless questions, every thing about me appeared so strange. Sometimes, however, they would run away, at the sight of me, crying out : “ A Moor ! a Moor !”

Our host at Kaii, received us with extraordinary munificence. We were fifteen in number, and he supplied us with food till we were all satisfied. My companions were overjoyed on seeing the wooden bowl filled with fresh milk, which is very dear in Africa. Their constant topic was the generosity of the chief of Kaii. He furnished us all for our further journey with calabashes full of milk. As a recompence, I gave him two gun-flints, and my negro companions gratefully thanked him for his services. He was satisfied, no doubt, for he followed me on horseback for half-a-league, entreating me to remain with him. The path which conducted to Krokrol, the last village of the Bourb-Joloffs, adjoining the Fouta country, lies between two hills that appear to be well wooded. The soil is a red sand, calcined by the heat of the sun. We were all pretty much fatigued when we arrived at Krokrol, a little village on the summit of a mountain. Here our whole party was lodged for the night, and the chief hastened to welcome me to his own house.

February 20th. We made every preparation for entering, this evening, the deserts that intervene between the Bourb-Joloffs and Foutatoro. In going to the well, I was accompanied by a negro armed with a lance and a gun. The people here are obliged to adopt this precaution, as they are in danger both from the Moors and from wild beasts. The well of Krokrol is thirty-six fathoms deep ; it is dug in a soil every where interspersed with petrified

shells. The country of the Bourb-Joloffs is bordered on the East, by Foutatoro, on the South, by Oulli, on the West, by the States of the Bourb-Salum and of the Damel, and on the North, by those of Brack. It was formerly the most extensive empire in all this region of Africa, and the sovereign still enjoys a degree of pre-eminence among the other negro princes, who fall prostrate when they personally address him.

The Joloffs and Poulas were probably the aboriginal inhabitants of Numidia or Mauritania, prior to the invasion of the Saracens, who drove them across the desert, and placed the Senegal between themselves and the Mahometans. The country where they took refuge, though not very fertile, would furnish considerable means to a more industrious people. Their forests are filled with gum-trees, of which the Moors reap all the benefit. Millet, cotton and indigo, grow abundantly in their plains. From the sea coast, the ground rises imperceptibly, as you proceed eastward, to the frontiers of Foutatoro. No vestige of stone throughout this whole tract appears on the surface, as the soil consists of very fine sand; but at the depth of thirty or forty fathoms there is generally a stratum of ferruginous stones, resting on beds of others, which are calcareous. The ground ceases to rise, on entering the deserts which separate the Bourb-Joloffs from Foutatoro. The latter forms the first plain of this part of Africa, proceeding from west to east.

The government of the Bourb-Joloffs, like that of all the neighbouring countries, is feudal. The monarch, notwithstanding, appears to be a despot, which circumstance, as in the other African sovereigns, may be imputed to the great number of his slaves. The country, in general, has more Pagans than Mahometans. The latter are respected from the mildness and toleration which they affect; but they would probably grow intolerant, were their sect to become more numerous. The religion of the pagan Joloffs is pure fetichism; a tree, a serpent, a ram's horn, a stone, scraps of paper covered with Arabic characters, or any objects equally insignificant, are exalted to the rank of deities. The negroes in combat with negroes, will fight courageously, but the shadow of a Moor makes them fly. Their tactics consist chiefly in falling unawares on their enemy; each party retreats, after having carried off a few prisoners, for in their estimation, blood should never be shed wantonly. When I represented our fields of battle as covered with the slain, they wondered how Europeans could massacre men, since it would be both more profitable and more humane, to sell them. Wars between these African nations are rare. The kings alone make incursions into the territories of each other, to obtain slaves. There seems a sort of mutual compact to plunder the countries not under their own dominion, and by enriching

themselves with these depredations, to avoid an odium which might become dangerous, were they to ravage the possessions of their own subjects. The king, however, will occasionally plunder his subjects, or carry them off, and sell them, in exchange for arms and horses. Slavery is the punishment of theft; insolvent debtors are subjected to the same fate.

Love has little share in the marriages of the negroes. Wives are bought; and marriage is an object of speculation with parents. Slaves in the huts of their husbands, the women, nevertheless, make faithful wives; but the negroes accuse them of being cold and selfish.

In this part of Africa, both Pagans and Mahometans place their children under the tuition of the Marabouts. The reverence of children for their fathers is unbounded; not so with the mothers. The younger brothers are submissive to the elder. Children are never admitted into the presence of their parents, during meals. There are some, who, at a riper age, support their parents in the decline of life; without being compelled to do so, by any written law, they punctiliously fulfil this duty prescribed by nature.

Among the Joloffs and Poulas, on the death of the father of a family, his property is divided into eight parts, seven for the children, whatever the number may be, and one for the wives. If the deceased has no children, his property is divided into four parts; three for the collateral heirs, and one for the wives. On the death of the mother, they divide what she leaves into two parts, one for the children or collateral heirs, and one for the husband. When the king dies, public opinion will often fluctuate between his eldest son and his brother; but the latter is generally chosen, that the supreme authority may devolve on a branch less powerful than that of the late king, and whose despotism there may be the less reason to dread. The ties of friendship are rare; we find no example of a negro sacrificing himself for his friend.

Hospitality is so general among the negroes, that it is considered as a duty imposed on all mankind; they exercise it with a generosity which knows no bounds, and without pretending to make a merit of it. When a stranger arrives in a village, he applies to the chief, who lodges him in his own hut, or if that is too small, orders another inhabitant to receive him; it is seldom that he solicits any return. When a stranger has once supped in a hut, he may remain there a month, without receiving any intimation that his absence would be acceptable. If the chief is absent, the traveller goes to the market place; he is not long there, before an inhabitant comes to invite him into his hut, which he generally surrenders entirely to him. If so poor that he cannot make a separate provision for his guest, he shares his meals with the stranger.

Slaves are numerous among the Joloffs, but they seldom think of running away. Free men will sometimes eat with slaves; the latter, when born in the hut, are never sold, that is to say, unless they have committed some notorious crime. They are well fed, nor is there any labour required of them but what they can perform with ease. The women pound grain, spin cotton, keep the hut in order, and fetch water. The boys tend the flocks. The men cut wood, and only during three months of the year, are employed in the labours of the field, which, however, cannot be called toilsome. The soil is so light, that a spade is sufficient to turn it up; the end of this instrument is very narrow; the women alone are pretty fully occupied all the year round in their domestic concerns.

Scattered among the Joloffs, we find a people not unlike our gypsies, and known by the name of Laaubés. Leading a roving life, and without fixed habitations, their only employment is the manufacture of wooden vessels, mortars, and bedsteads. They choose a well-wooded spot, fell some trees, form huts with the branches, and work up the trunks. For this privilege, they must pay a sort of tax to the prince in whose states they thus settle. In general, they are both ugly and slovenly.

The women, notwithstanding their almost frightful faces, are covered with amber and coral beads, presents heaped on them, by the Joloffs, from a notion that the favours of one of these women will be followed by those of fortune. Ugly or handsome, all the young Laaubé females, are in request among the negroes.

The Laaubés have nothing of their own but their money, their tools, and their asses; the only animals on which they travel. In the woods, they make fires with the dung of the flocks. Ranged round these fires, the men and women pass their leisure time in smoking. The Laaubés have not those characteristic features and high stature which mark the Joloffs, and they seem to form a distinct race. They are exempted from all military service. Each family has its chief, but over all, there is a superior chief, who commands a whole tribe or nation. He collects the tribute, and communicates with such delegates of the king, as receive the imposts; this serves to protect them from all vexation. The Laaubés are idolaters, speak the Poula language, and pretend to tell fortunes.

CHAPTER IV.

Desert of the Joloffs.—Bala, the first Poula Village.—The Author is robbed.—Almany allows the Author to pass through his Dominions.—Hospitality of the Chief of Ogo.—At Senopala Boukari finds his Sister.—At Bania, the Author is arrested, but receives orders to return to Almany.—The Author obliged to follow the Foutatoro Army.—Communication of the Gambia and Senegal.—Foutatoro.

FEBRUARY 20th. In the evening, the sun had sunk below the horizon, when we entered the *mandingue* or forest, which separates Foutatoro from the country of the Bourb-Joloffs: we took an eastern direction. Our caravan enumerated sixty individuals, including women and children. Some of the negroes travelled on foot, some were driving their asses before them, laden with salt, cloths, and small millet, commodities destined for the countries more easterly. Others were conducting herds of oxen; and some, like myself, appeared on horseback. The horsemen were exclusively appointed to keep urging on the stragglers, or maintain a vigilant look out. Every one had his provision of water and dry couseous.

The Marabouts, previous to their march, solemnly invoked the divine protection, during the journey; every one cordially joined in their prayer, for, besides the wild beasts, we had cause to fear the Moors, who crossed the same forest, by a different path. When certain that none remained behind, a Marabout, named Ali, gave the order to march, requesting me to form the rear-guard, and to prevent any from halting. Lighted by the moon, we marched quietly on without fear of losing the path; when suddenly, in the thickest part of the wood, our ears were assailed with the roaring of a lion, apparently not more than a hundred paces distant. The silence which instantly pervaded our troop, permitted us to hear very distinctly the movements of this terrific animal, among the high grass which concealed him from our view; an enormous baobab, which a negro pointed out to me, was believed to be his retreat. This alarming cry produced an awful effect on the whole caravan; women, children, all ran pell-mell for protection to the horsemen, and with such precipitation as to overthrow one another. My post was not the most enviable, but I would not quit it; my arms were loaded, and I prepared for defence, in case of attack. I confess that from a certain impulse of fear, I looked, every now and then, to see if the formidable animal was advancing towards us, as he appeared

to follow us for a quarter of an hour together. The most courageous, when they hear such an enemy only a hundred paces distant, may well be ready to mistake bushes for lions. I could not give credit to the negroes, who assert, that the lion will not attack a man in the woods. After this, we all marched with unusual celerity; those who had been inclined to lag behind, recovered sufficient strength to keep up with the main body; and we only stopped every six miles, half an hour each time. We then kindled fires; there was no want of wood, we tore up whole bushes and threw them on the fire. Our beasts, meanwhile, were fastened to the trees. At our last halt, having taken our frugal supper, consisting of a few handfuls of cous-cous; the negroes brought me some of their small loaves of millet flour, others a little honey, and all of them assembled near my fire, to keep it up whilst I slept. A fire is indispensable in Africa, during the night, especially in travelling; it absorbs the dew which is very abundant, and helps to keep up perspiration, which it is dangerous to check. We now waited the return of day-light, when it appeared, I was surprised to see, for the first time, a soil entirely composed of ferruginous stones. *Sangras* appeared on every side; these shrubs were then stripped of their foliage, nor was there a blade of grass on the surface of the earth. I had expected to find in this forest, trees of a gigantic size, but the baobabs alone raise their spreading summits to any considerable height. They acquire vigour in a soil where other trees languish; the latter are small, stunted, twisted, and seem decrepid.

February 21st. Harassed, by our long march, the preceding night, we lay down at nine in the morning, under a few scattered thick bushes, which afforded some little shelter from the sun. A poor woman who was taking her three little children to Foutatoro, to place them out of the reach of the Moors, came and seated herself near me; she partook of my breakfast, and offered me, in return, a little water out of a calabash, less putrid than that in my leathern bottles. I had taken up one of her children behind me, who being unable to keep pace with the caravan, must have fallen a prey to the lions; the heat of the day and the fatigues of the night threw us all into a profound sleep.

When the east wind ceased to blow, every body rose to continue the journey; we then perceived that several of our companions were lame. A mother had given up her horse to mount her son who was hurt, upon it; but the husbands and fathers allowed their wives and daughters to trudge along, on foot; thus evincing, that in every country, maternal love is the tenderest of human affections.

We marched all night: at a little distance from our track, were a number of huts, which served as a retreat to the Poulas, when they took their beasts to graze in these woods in the rainy season. A few branches on which they throw a little straw, form this bird's nest, that is, a cabin three feet wide, and three feet high. Here the Poula squats. The ground over which he had to travel during the night was stony, and altogether destitute of verdure. Nothing can be more dreary than these deserts, where not an animal ranges, as not a drop of water is to be found there, and silence, like that of death, pervades them; not the eloquent silence which inspires pensive cogitations in the forests of the West Indies.

February 22d. When day-light appeared, we discovered a cheerful verdure in that part of the forest where we were; baobabs appeared on all sides, with an immense number of gum and ebony trees. After a march of nearly fifteen leagues, we stopped in an open place, where we found some tufted trees, which every one hastened to reach. While my Marabout was preparing breakfast, I went to cut fodder for my beasts, who had neither eaten nor drunk for two days. The grass was so dry that my horse refused it; this poor animal was so much fallen away, that, in pity, I divided the water which remained with him. Boukari declared that by this sacrifice, I exposed myself to the risk of perishing with thirst. I paid little regard to his remonstrances, but no sooner had my horse begun to drink, than I had well nigh been trampled under foot, by all the horses of the caravan, which ran to obtain some water also to quench their thirst. I was obliged to throw down all that I had left on the ground, to avoid their tumultuous pursuit.

Near the spot where we halted, either nature or the Poulas had scooped a sort of large cavern, which, in winter, served as a reservoir for rain, and formed a watering-place for the flocks; it was now dried up, but the ground still retained so much moisture, that our beasts threw themselves down and lay at full length on it, that their bodies might be refreshed by its coolness. Are these solitudes really destitute of water, or have the negroes, from fear of inviting the Moors thither, purposely abstained from the digging of wells? These are questions which I could not resolve.

The celerity with which my fellow-travellers, the Jokoffs, proceeded, greatly surprised me; for the Moors whom I had seen in the desert, and on the banks of the Senegal, travel but slowly. The abstinence to which their wandering life habituates them, enables them to stop in the midst of the deserts, where a few small balls of gum suffice for their subsistence. The negroes, on the contrary, leading a sedentary life, have more craving inclinations; they dread a long stay in these solitudes, where there is nothing to eat.

As we were very desirous of reaching an inhabited country, after reposing long enough to recruit our strength, we pursued our march. Proceeding a few leagues, we saw a hare and some doves, and were overjoyed at their appearance, which indicated the vicinity of a village. In these deserts, as at sea, the traveller anxiously looks out for the least sign of an inhabited country. Our horses had previously discovered the same, and, notwithstanding their fatigue, and our efforts to restrain them, they kept up a continual gallop.

At seven in the evening, we arrived at Bala, the first village of the Fouta country. No sooner had I entered with three men who would not quit me, than I was surrounded by a crowd of Poulas. I did not judge it proper to alight, but I was nevertheless groped and searched by these ragamuffins, who were more dangerous than those at Coqué. Some wanted to lead me into their huts; others seized the bridle of my horse to oblige me to enter; these offered me milk, those examined my gun, and in this scene of bustle, contrived to steal, unperceived by me, the poniard at my side. Having, at last, made our way through Bala, we halted at a little distance from the village. I was exhausted by fatigue and hunger; my fellow-travellers insisted on my partaking of their supper, which consisted of milk, and never did any repast appear so delicious. While I was feasting, one of the negroes asked for my poniard to mend his sandals. I then first missed the weapon. My comrades hearing of the accident, would immediately return to the village, and try to recover my poniard. I was not of their opinion, but yielded to their importunities. It was no easy matter to get back; all the roads were obstructed by the flocks, which the Poulas were driving home to the village. My companions informed the chief of Bala, that I had been robbed; these men were so much attached to me, that two remained near me, to drive away troublesome persons. The chief answered that we might, without fear, return to where we had halted, and that he would endeavour to recover what I had lost. I complied with this direction, and, in a few minutes, his son brought me my poniard, and presented me with a bowl of milk; desiring me to believe, that his father, as well as himself, had felt uneasiness, on account of it. He concluded with assuring me, that the thief should be punished. I learned from this young man that the culprit had been betrayed by one of his friends. The pains which the chief of Bala had taken to discover the robber, was well worthy of a reward; I therefore presented him with three charges of powder.

When all the people belonging to the caravan were assembled, we resolved not to sleep near this village, the inhabitants of which were reckoned inhospitable, and we proceeded directly to the wells,

which were only ten feet deep; the soil in which they are dug is clayey. Two men descended to fill my leather bottles, which they emptied into the wooden troughs that stood near; and men and horses drank alike at them, for we had not a vessel of any kind with us. It became necessary also to wash our beasts, to recruit their strength, for excessive thirst had almost disabled them. From the wells we repaired to Boqué, in a north-east direction, and rested in this village, under the *bentang*, which is a covered public place, not unlike our market-houses.

February 28d. The night passed away peaceably, but at day-break, the *bentang*, which was a common rendezvous of the inhabitants, was filled. My figure and colour were a source of laughter; my breeches, which were rather tight, were, above all, a subject for the pleasantries of these people. I endured them patiently for a time, but at length desired Boukari to conduct me to the hut of one of his friends, who was a Toucolor, that is a Mahometan priest. While my host made his wife prepare my breakfast, a Marabout brought me some milk and millet flour. I was gratified by this present, but conceived, I could not tell why, that it was offered from some interested motive, nor was I mistaken. He went out, and presently brought back with him his mother, who had a large abscess in her cheek. I proposed an operation, but this was opposed, both by the patient and her son. These people wanted some charm or other; nevertheless they did not ask me for any. I had not yet begun to sell amulets. During the whole of the time which I passed in the hut of this Marabout, the door was besieged by a crowd of curious people, and my host had no little difficulty to prevent them from breaking in. The population of Boqué is very considerable, and is partly composed of Joloffs. This village may be termed rich in flocks and in corn. When night approached, my host secretly saddled my horse, and when ready, came and told me that I must assume the Moorish dress to escape the Poulas of Boqué, who detest the whites. I did not follow his advice, but mounting my horse, galloped out of the village, and so escaped, with a share of hooting and abuse. My horse delivered me from this rabble, who pursued me, running as fast as possible.

We pursued our journey eastward, through a seemingly fertile and well cultivated country, with but little wood. At the decline of day, we halted at Longangi, a village inhabited by Joloffs. Through one of my fellow travellers, I obtained a hospitable reception from one of his relations, who lodged me in a spacious hut built of earth; within there was a granary, the ascent to which was by a ladder. Here, for the first time, I heard the hour of prayer announced by a blind man, a custom which is general in the Fouta country. Every one was eager to fill the calabash of the Muezin with millet or flour.

February 24th. We were on horseback before sun-rise. About a league from the village, we met a caravan of Moors, mounted on oxen. They had come to exchange the salt of Oualel for the cloths of the Fouta country. The land is in general well cultivated; what is untilled, is left for pasturage for the numerous flocks. Remnants of land are occupied as plantations of cotton trees, surrounded by hedges, kept in very good order; the plants are two feet asunder.

The rich country through which we had been passing since the preceding day, ceased at the village of Galo. We had afterwards sandy and uncultivated plains as far as Diaba, where we arrived at noon. The chief of this village invited my companions to dinner. I was excluded from this honour. He excused himself by alleging that the dishes which he had to offer were not to the taste of the whites, but Boukari informed me, that this zealot would have considered it a sin to admit a Christian to his table.

The river Saldé, so called, because it discharges itself into the Senegal, at the village of Saldé, passes a quarter of a league to the north of Diaba. It runs from north to north-west, and rises near Tionko, a village about a day's journey to the north of Diaba. This river, where I saw it, is about twenty paces broad; it is bordered, on each side, to the distance of half a league, by alluvial soil, which will bear a comparison with our richest lands. This space is covered with plantations of large millet, of the most flourishing appearance. The beautiful verdure of these fields refreshes the eye, fatigued by the view of sterile plains, parched with heat.

The amusing scenery on the banks of the Saldé, the thick shade of the trees which screened its current from the heat, the transparency and purity of its water, which proved delicious, compared with that of the wells out of which we had drunk, in our journey, induced me to bathe; I enjoyed this pleasure, for the first time, since my departure from St. Louis. My companions followed my example, and seeing me undressed, they were curious to ascertain whether I was circumcised. I was believed, however, on my word, and they did not carry their examination any farther.

It was three in the afternoon when we quitted Diaba, and we were at a little distance, when some men, sent, as they said, by Almamy, stopped us, saying that I must repair to their prince, and leave my arms, merchandize, and ass, at Diaba, under the care of Boukari. The countenances of these men made me suspect the truth of their assertions; nevertheless I prepared to obey; but a Toucolor, named Boubakar, galloping up to us, declared that these men had no other intention than to rob us of our baggage. A sharp altercation ensued between them and Boubakar;

and I was puzzled to decide into whose hands I should commit myself. I however thought it more prudent to return, than to enter into any dispute with these men in the middle of the country. The Marabouts who had accompanied me from the Joloff country, far from imitating the example too frequently given in Europe, of abandoning their friends when at variance with the agents of government, declared to the messengers of Almamy, that I had been recommended to them by the Bourb-Jollofs, and that they would never abandon a white man whom they had taken under their protection. Then placing me between them, they conducted me to the village.

Astonished at our sudden return, the inhabitants thronged to see us pass. I alighted at the door of the chief, and went to pay my respects to him; the council of elders immediately assembled, and I was desired to prefer my complaint against the pretended emissaries of the king. I found a zealous advocate in Boubakar, who had never seen me before, and also in Moutoupha, the Marabout with whom I had travelled from the Joloff country. I asked the chief for what reason Almamy should wish to see me, and refuse to let my merchandise proceed. "I know not," he replied, "the motive which has induced Almamy to act thus, but his orders must be obeyed; and remember," added he, "if thou art master on the sea, thou art not upon land; leave thy commodities here; count their number, and I swear by Mahomet thou shalt find every thing again in the same state in which thou hast left it." As I hesitated what course to pursue, he angrily exclaimed; "Dost thou think that we are robbers, and wish to plunder thee?" This decision was not satisfactory to the elders, but it afforded a triumph to the people, who saw that the pretended envoys had gained the cause. Boubakar, ashamed that his influence and eloquence had so failed, made every possible exertion to deliver me from the robbers into whose hands I had fallen. He soon came back to say, that my Marabout was permitted to depart with us, and that my effects were restored. I could scarcely give credit to this circumstance, for it did not seem probable that Boubakar should possess sufficient influence to procure it; but my doubts were quickly dispelled by the appearance of Boukari with my property untouched. The services of so zealous an advocate were not high-priced, a grain of coral paid for them. Boubakar was however a rich man.

Fearful of being exposed to fresh dangers, I resolved, when we were at some distance from Diaba, to travel alone with Moutoupha and his friends. I therefore desired Boukari to remain a little behind, till we had seen Almamy, and to say that the merchandize belonged to him; he having only undertaken to conduct me to Oulli. It was late when we arrived at Agnam, where we

were lodged by Joloffs. Our host had collected several of his friends, all Marabouts. The questions put to me, betrayed the mean opinion which the negroes entertain of our knowledge and our wealth. "Can you write? Can you ride a horse? fire a gun? Have you horses, flocks, water, stones in your country?"

February 25th. We departed before day-light, and soon passed Padé, a village inhabited by Joloffs. To draw the water from the wells of this place, a boy is let down by a rope, and fills the leather buckets. A very steep hill which we next had to climb was absolutely bare; its sides presented a surface which seemed to have been burned by the action of fire; and from which some scattered ferruginous rocks projected. But on the summit we had a fine view. Since I had been in the interior of this continent, I had not beheld so beautiful a scene. A spacious and well cultivated plain opened in front; the fields all around were interspersed with clumps of trees, several large villages were indicative of a general opulence, and in the middle arose Sedo, a town containing a population of six thousand individuals. Almamy, or the sovereign of Foutatoro, was then there. My fellow-travellers conducted me to their houses; the whole quarter of the town in which they resided was exclusively inhabited by Joloffs. It is difficult to describe the joy of these people on meeting again. The women threw themselves into the arms of their husbands, whom they strained to their bosoms, without kissing them; their cheeks were bedewed with tears. The children durst not appear before the travellers, who wished to embrace them. The neighbours eagerly ran to enquire concerning their friends, and the state of the Bourb-Joloffs country, which they still regretted as their ancient native land. Moutoupha, now my host, thus expressed himself severally: "Abundance reigns, each man now can *put his fowl into his pot*; the flocks are multiplying; every one possesses changes of apparel, and the people are happy, notwithstanding the incursions of the Moors." National predeliction had imposed upon this negro, or the real state of his country to me had appeared most miserable.

Moutoupha was rich, and had a number of slaves, some of whom unsaddled our horses, while others brought us drink. When the first transports were over, the eyes of all were fixed on me, as Moutoupha had seated me near him. "This white man," said he to his friends, "has been recommended to me by our king, and I hope you will show him the respect that is due to a prince of the whites." While he was pronouncing his panegyric I was busy mending my shoes and piecing my clothes; but in Africa, he must be a prince, who possesses a gun and a horse. After our dinner, to which every one eagerly contributed, bringing us butter and milk, Almamy sent for me. When we reached

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his residence, he was at prayer, and we were desired to sit down till he should be ready to receive us, on sheep-skins, spread on the ground. Curiosity soon brought a crowd around us, but I was treated with respect.

At length Almanay appeared. Mamadou, which is his name, was about sixty years of age, his countenance had expressive traits like those of a man of genius, but with features that denoted cruelty. In any other country than Foutatoro, he would be deemed a despot. As to his dress, he had on loose white breeches; over his shoulders was thrown a cotton tunic, with white sleeves; his head was covered with a scarlet cap, and wrapped round with a cloth like a turban. When he was seated, I gave him my hand, and we mutually enquired concerning the state of our health. He then demanded my name, and to what country I was travelling; I replied, that I was going to Oulli, to lament over the tomb of my father, whom the pagans had murdered there; that the object of my journey was to collect the remains of his property, and that I hoped, on my return, to be able to make a handsome requital for his kindness. He approved my resolution, spoke highly of filial piety, and granted me permission to depart. This prince disavowed the conduct of those who had stopped me at Diaba, and declared his intention to punish them; as well for the trouble they had given me as for their audacity in making use of his name. Profound silence pervaded the whole assembly, during our conversation.

The moment I rose, a sort of tumult prevailed. The government of Foutatoro is an oligarchy, and the very populace possess power; some were ready to censure, others approved the dismissal granted me, but no one attempted to stop me when about to retire. Scarcely had I quitted the house, when the crowd, eager to see a white man, escorted me back to my hut. However, I had no occasion to find fault with the behaviour of these negroes. Some took me kindly by the hand, or touched my beard; others, to express their high opinion of my character, insisted that I must be a Marabout, a learned man, and a doctor of laws, because I knew how to write.

February 26th. Almanay had come to Sedo, to recruit his army; he was then at war with Sembaiassin, king of Galam; several of his general officers were endeavouring to rouse his suspicions respecting my journey. Some came to ask me why I had not embarked in a vessel to go to Oulli? Why, with the riches I possessed, I had not remained at St. Louis, rather than expose myself to the heat of a sun, insupportable to Europeans? They probably suspected that I was carrying powder to the king of Galam. These questions, which I seemed not to understand, made me impatient for Boukari's arrival. I went in the evening,

accompanied by the brother of my host, and walking along the road to Diaba, my wishes were gratified, and I perceived Boukari advancing. He assured me that illness had detained him on the road. I expressed my joy at his return, or rather what I felt, for this faithful companion of my travels, who had now become a friend not to be parted with.

In the interim, a number of strangers had arrived at the house of Moutoupha, who requested me to take up my night's lodging with an Iman. The latter was invested with the ignoble office of executioner; but every one in these parts being liable to this duty, if directed to perform it by Almamy, the post is not accounted dishonourable.

February 27th. At sun-rise Almamy sent me a message, desiring to see me. It was some time before I could reach his presence, for a numerous crowd were about him, to hear judgment pronounced on one who had neglected to join the army. Though advanced in years, the culprit was condemned to have his legs fettered, and in this state to accompany the army. An Iman was also ordered to scourge him with a whip. This sentence was executed on the spot, in the presence of Almamy. The people crowded to witness the punishment inflicted, and as the man resisted, some seized him by the arms, others cried out "Obey Almamy!" while all uttered shouts of joy. After passing similar sentences on others, and dispatching some military business, Almamy admitted me to an audience. My interpreter began by whispering to him, that he had a present to offer him from me; he then went behind one of the walls of his court with us, and Moutoupha put ten grains of coral into Almamy's hand. We next sent for Aldondou*, the most powerful chief of Foutatoro, and as the confidential counsellor of Almamy, I gave him also ten grains of coral. I was surprised that they should accept so inferior a gift, but the people of Africa do not attach so much importance to the value as to the gift itself, which they consider as a homage paid to power. The two negro chiefs, on receiving my coral, promised me their support, with liberty to return to my hut, and depart when I thought fit. The consideration which I derived from this protection brought me a number of visitors. All were eager to see the king's white man. The Poula girls were not the most backward: Conquests in love are not difficult in Africa, but at Sedo, it must be for value received. Every time I looked at a girl, she was offered me in marriage, but my horse or my gun was expected as the price.

February 28th. The attentions lavished on me for several days, by Moutoupha and his family, and the earnest care which he had

* Ali Dondou, who was then chief of the great tribe of Bozeabes, died in the beginning of 1819.

convinced in defending me at Diaba and Sedo, called for some recompence. He was satisfied with six heads of tobacco, two sheets of paper, two charges of powder, and two grains of coral. He even insisted on conducting us beyond the precincts of the village, and sent one of his sons to assist me as a guide. I lost a sincere friend on quitting Moutoupha; he readily perceived my feelings, and unable to express his own emotions, he placed my hand on his forehead. This worthy character recommended to me to cover myself with my blanket, that I might be the less remarked: I adopted this precaution, and found the benefit of it.

At noon we halted at Mogo, at the hut of one of my fellow travellers. I received the same hospitality there, as at Sedo. Our host was a Joloff, and it appeared that this nation has more generosity than the Poulas; the latter do not manifest the same kindness toward strangers, nor indeed have they the same abundance of means. Of the inhabitants the greater part surveyed me with evident satisfaction, but one person exclaimed with emotions of horror: "This man's white face frightens me; I fear he would kill me were we alone." I had before remarked the strange impressions which occasionally the person of a white man produces on the negroes; for a young girl, examining me one day, and feeling my hair, cried out, "his hair is like a horse's mane!"

As soon as the scorching east wind had subsided, I mounted my horse. We marched till six o'clock before we reached the village of Amadi Chaumaret; when we applied at his house for lodging, his wives who were there alone, replied that they would not receive a Moor. I was the person meant by this appellation. This refusal now for the first time, made me fearful that I should hereafter encounter the like accidents. For this time, my fears were presently dispelled, for having sat down before a mosque, a Toucolor came after prayers and invited us to his hut. He spread a mat for us in his court, and though we could distinctly hear the constant roaring of the lions which prowled about the neighbourhood, we passed a tranquil night.

March 1st. Our road lay through a wood of gum-trees and baobabs; on the right, we saw a number of villages, all situated pretty near some hills of considerable height. The inhabitants appear to be assiduous in the cultivation of cotton. The roads were filled with people, going to join the army assembled against the Bambaras. To avoid their presence, we retired into a thicket at a little distance from the road, and seated ourselves under a *coss*, the thick foliage of which afforded us a very refreshing shade. The wood of this tree is used at Senegal for making oars. The place where we rested, though not barren, was covered with ferruginous stones.

In the evening we passed through the village of Senocaloabe, the inhabitants of which earnestly pressed on Boukari to pass the night

among them. As our arrangements would not admit of this, I was obliged to ride on the spur, among the negroes, to rescue Boukari. But I met with no resistance or signs of unkindness from them; they even furnished us with guides to conduct us to Ogo, where we arrived at sun-set.

The Iman Fonebé was the chief of this village. When told that a white man was at his door, "Let him alight," cried he, "and come and see me." To my great surprise, this chief addressed me in French with: "Bon jour, Monsieur," and added in the Joloff language: "Here is your house; if you are hungry or thirsty, you shall be supplied with victuals and drink; if weary, you shall partake of rest;" and without waiting for an answer, he took me by the hand, led me across several courts, and stopped in the last. Twenty slaves were all on the alert; he ordered my beasts to be conducted into the court belonging to his hut, which is a favour quite unusual, and he fed them himself. A slave then brought an enormous sheep-skin, and a mat, which he spread on the ground, and Fonebé begged me to be seated; he also sent for a cushion covered with Morocco leather to serve for my pillow. He drove away the negroes who thronged to see me, telling them I ought not to be disturbed. He then declared his high estimation of white men, because in a journey he had made to St. Louis, he had been kindly entertained by them. He next brought me a large vessel filled with honey and water, which I thought delicious, and seating himself near me, he took me by the hand, and kept constantly asking how I found myself. I was truly astonished at all this, as I could not have imagined that a black in the centre of Africa, could display such a fund of courtesy. Seeing a bunch of keys in his hand, I enquired the use of them; he immediately took me across several courts, in one of which were his wife and daughters, all very pretty, whom he introduced to me, and then opening his storehouses, shewed me a great quantity of millet. I could not but admire the construction of his locks and keys, the former of which were of wood, the latter resembled the picklocks of our locksmiths.

When the hour of prayer arrived, I accompanied Fonebé to the *diakra* or mosque, which I was curious to see. It was a spacious building of clay twelve feet high, with a roof and projecting gutters to carry off the rain. Not being allowed to enter this temple, I could only view the interior, through one of the doors, three in number, one in front and one in each of the adjoining sides. I could not perceive any niche, nor even any hollow along the wall which looked towards Mecca. The only prominent object was a little staircase of earth, for the blind man who performed the office of Muezin, to mount to the roof of the *diakra*. Earthen pilasters supported the roof of this temple, four on each side.

On leaving this place I met two aged Imans, who asked me why I was come to Foutatoro: why I wore such tight trowsers; why the chief of the village had lodged me: and why I had not gone to Oulli in a vessel; for these people do not think a white man can travel if he has not a ship under his feet. I did not think it expedient to answer all these questions; and my host came up in time to impose silence on them; he said to me in Joloff, "Do what you please; look about you, write, walk; these Imans are only old dotards." I accompanied him to his hut, but I remarked that he had been secretly listening to these Imans, for he made me several insidious offers. "If you wish," said he, "for a letter to Bondou or Bambouck, I will give you one; if you chuse to go into the Bambara country, I will lend you a slave, who shall conduct you thither." I answered that my business called me to Oulli. "I will not conceal from you," said he, "that my countrymen, the Toucolors, on seeing you, will insist that you are going among the Bambaras; therefore I advise you to assume the Moorish habit." To have followed such advice, would have been very perilous in my case, among fanatics, who, had they detected my disguise, would have compelled me to embrace their religion.

Our supper consisted of couscous and butter, salt, and two kinds of milk. My Marabout had never met with such good cheer, and his quarters appeared so comfortable, that he was ever asking if I did not intend to remain there some time. Our host rose in the night, and came to say that the weather was too cold to sleep in the open air; that we must therefore repair to his hut. We followed him thither; a fire was lighted; the mats and skins were spread out; and we all three passed the night very quietly, close by the side of each other.

March 2d. I gave my host a large grain of amber, and three charges of powder, and it seemed as if he never would have done thanking me; he mounted his horse, and conducted us a quarter of a league. Fonebé was the chief of several villages. Like other chiefs, he drew his revenue from the rent and sale of the lands which belonged to him. His frank and generous character had gained him high estimation; during a famine he alone had fed all Foutatoro. He has a great number of slaves, and a few years since he presented the king of Cassoun, with a horse worth thirteen captives. Fonebé is of ordinary stature, is very lively in his manner; speaks with inconceivable volubility, and never remains five minutes in the same place. To some he gives orders, runs and listens to others, and appears to be fully aware of his superiority over those of his own colour. A great admirer of the whites and their arts, he has a more discerning sense of the beautiful than his countrymen. His dress was much like that of Almamy, except that over his scarlet cap he wore a round hat, given him at St.

Louis. Fonebé had thoroughly studied the character of the whites, well knowing that by kind treatment, it is easy to obtain tokens of their good-will.

The country which we passed through this day was flat and interspersed with groves of gum trees. The uncultivated surface was entirely composed of ferruginous stones. At noon, we halted near four huts, shaded by an immense baobab; this hamlet was destitute of all provisions. Beyond it immense plains opened before us, entirely covered by a species of asclepias. The goats browsed the flowers of this plant, which is reckoned to be poisonous; but in Africa, as in Europe, they can feed with impunity on vegetables which are injurious to other animals. After traversing these flats, which are a perfect wilderness, we arrived at Senopalé. Night having overtaken us here, I desired my Marabout to seek a lodging. This village had the appearance of being illuminated, because it is the custom in Foutatoro to dress victuals in the courts; perhaps they expect the fire will frighten away the wild beasts, which not unfrequently prowl in the streets.

My Marabout entered a large hut, and I presently saw two women throw themselves about his neck, and clasp him closely in their arms; they were his sister and his niece. I also had a share in their caresses. They next took our guns, helped me off my horse, and unsaddled him, forgetting the prejudice, which in this country does not permit a woman to touch these two articles. Supper was soon ready; they set before us milk and couscous; and lighting a large fire in the court, made me a bed near it.

Among the rich, it is customary to rise during the night to eat. About two o'clock in the morning, agreeably to this custom, they brought us couscous and meat. Instead of taking any repose, our two hostesses during the whole night ran about the village, to procure from their neighbours fowls and other provisions, for the purpose of celebrating our arrival.

March 3d. My Marabout was cheerful and gay; he begged to remain with his family till the heat was over. I felt myself so interested in his welfare, that I complied. "All I wish," said he to me, "is hereafter to come and live in Foutatoro; we negroes when we settle in a distant country, hope to amass a small fortune, that we may return to the place where we were born, and where our relations reside." Thus the love of country is ever one of the strongest feelings of the human heart. The sister and niece of Boukari were richly attired to do us honour; their ears, hair, and necks, were loaded with gold, coral, and amber; they also wore many small silver bells. If diamonds draw attention in France, the women of Foutatoro attract no less notice by the jingling made by these bells when they walk. Boukari's two relatives were handsome; they had oval faces, fine features, delicate

shapes, elegant and graceful figures, and a skin as black as jet; for the Toucolors, the offspring of Poulas and negroes, are of a darker colour than the latter. The modesty of these women was such, that when I looked at them, they cast down their eyes, and covered their faces with their muslin veils. I thought it my duty, as a gallant Frenchman, to praise them, but my Marabout, like all African philosophers, whispered to me: "You cannot imagine how deceitful the women of our country are; this modesty which they affect, joined to the beauty of their features, and the lively passion they seem to feel for their lovers, inflames the latter to such a degree, that they eat them up," meaning that they ruin them. Notwithstanding the pleasure I took in the company of these two African women, I left them to view the environs of Senopaté, chiefly occupied with fields of rice, the quality of which equals that of Carolina. The heat soon obliged me to return to the hut, where I was beset by a crowd of Toucolors, who questioned me, for the first time, concerning my religious opinions. They seemed mightily shocked that I did not believe that Mahomet was the prophet of God. "Why," said they, "dost thou not respect our prophet as an envoy from the Most High, since we acknowledge Christ as such?" During this discussion, some children who had slipped in, having remarked the tenderness of the soles of my feet, amused themselves by tickling them. To deliver myself from all such importunities, I ordered Boukari to saddle my horse, and giving his sister a grain of coral, bade her adieu. We were obliged to go to the wells to fetch our clothes, which my Marabout's neice was washing; for, like Nausiccaa, the richest women here perform the humblest household duties.

The plain of Senopaté, through which our path lay, contains a number of villages, so contiguous, that they seem to form but one; the population of the whole amounts to about twenty-five thousand individuals. The fires from their huts might be mistaken for one of the conflagrations so common here in the deserts. The roaring of the hyænas, which seemed to be moving in the same direction as ourselves, made us halt at Setiababanbi. We should not have found a lodging, had not a Toucolor offered us his warehouse, and shared his supper with us. Without money, an order from the sovereign, or any recommendation, an inn is an accommodation ever afforded in the interior. You are sure to be treated like a friend; for half an hour at least your health is enquired after; you are seated by the side of your host, who apologizes for the homeliness of the repast: and it is in Africa that rude savages practise virtue without ostentation.

Near the village where we slept, resided a Marabout who had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca. I went with Boukari, to consult him respecting the course of the Niger. He answered, that on

this side of the river, and beyond Tombuctoo, there are countries entirely peopled by Poulas; that the Dyaliba discharges itself into the Nile, and that its waters, after mingling with those of the last mentioned river, pursue their course to the sea.

March 4th. The crowing of the cocks became a signal for our departure; our hosts were the guides. We had advanced a little when we were stopped by some men dispatched by the chief of the village of Banai, to which we were going, one of them seized my gun by the barrel; I had time to load it, and threatened to kill this negro if he did not desist. Seeing me determined, he relinquished the gun; he returned, however, to the assault, and I drew my dagger, and prepared for defence. Our two guides, who were a little behind, arrived soon enough to end this unequal combat, for our antagonists were six to two, and they advised me to repair to the chief of Banai. I accompanied them to him. This chief, seated under a tree, interrogated us; he asserted that we disguised the object of our journey, and that we were going to the Bambaras. I replied that I had seen Almamy, and that this prince had permitted me to pass through his dominions. "Why has he not given you a letter?" rejoined the chief. This observation proved, that in this part at least, the natives have correct notions of such regulations as travellers should be subject to. In Europe, the want of a passport would, in like manner, have arrested my progress. It was, at length, decided that my Marabout on my horse, should repair to Almamy; and till his return, that my goods should be laid up in a store-house, to preserve them from pillage. This shewed that Foutatoro is a regular government, calculated to promote the public welfare. The storehouse was thirty-two feet in circumference, and eighteen high in the loftiest part; the door formed an oval as large as the body of a man; it had a lock, which I fastened when I was within. However, all the children in the village, great and small, were at the door, pushing against it, so that I was obliged to support it against their efforts. I saw them through a chink stretching out their necks, making signs to me that my head would soon be cut off; others shook their fists, while some merely made grimaces. Wholly absorbed by unpleasant reflections, I waited for the hour of supper. In my adversity, I was made sensible of this attention, well knowing that in France, a mayor who stops travellers, never gives himself the trouble to supply them with food. The chief of this village, less civilized, but more humane, furnished his prisoner with an excellent repast, he even had the courtesy to cut down some straw for my ass.

The coolness of the evening invited me to go out to breathe more freely. I seated myself at the door, but unluckily there was a school in the neighbourhood. When the children had ex-

tinguished the fire which is kindled, that they may read by its light, they all came and seated themselves by my side. I must confess that, on these occasions, I have frequently trembled at the sight of women or children, who prove an incessant vexation to the traveller. These children going about in numbers, teased me in different ways; some took off my shoes, and almost flayed my feet by putting them on and pulling them off again; others tried on my hat, and were making merry in this covering; some unbuttoned my clothes, and but for three aged duennas, I suppose I might have been stripped stark naked.

March 5th. While busily examining the library of my host, which consisted of four volumes of prayers, my Marabout arrived with two men from Almamy. This king sent word, that I was wrong not to wait for the guide he had promised, and desired me to come back to him. A chief, whatever may be his colour or origin, is always right. I obeyed these commands, but nevertheless must declare that he never promised me a guide; regretting that he had so easily dismissed me, he expected some resistance to his orders, which would justify further arbitrary measures, in the opinion of the French governor. However, the prudent counsel of Boukari made me sensible, that patience and obedience were the only means left to ensure the success of my enterprise. I calculated on departing the same day, and asked Almamy's people if they did not intend to conduct me immediately to their king. They replied, that I should see him the next day. Enraged at this, I stormed and threatened, but the negroes only laughed at my menaces. A Toucolor gave me an emphatical answer, to which I could make no reply. "Thou complainest," said he to me, "of being unceasingly questioned; but how are we treated when we go to St. Louis? A soldier one day was about to kill me for not answering when he cried *ti vive*, (*Qui vive?*) words which I did not understand."

March 6th. When just ready to set out, a caravan of *Serra-colets* arrived; for notwithstanding the war between them and the *Poullas*, the merchants of the two nations traded securely; they were not subjected to those searches, which, in Europe, expose traders to much inconvenience. Relying on the probity of the merchants, the two governments protect them, and not a single instance had occurred of a caravan having been pillaged by the armies. The natural good sense of the Africans has consolidated institutions, which political science would never have procured for them.

Our host quitted us at a little distance from Banai, very little gratified with the present I had made him. We proceeded northward, and in passing by *Senopalé*, Boukari's sister perceived us, and ran to enquire the cause of our apprehension; when inform-

ed of it, she hastened to Almamy's brother, who accompanied us, and endeavoured to remove the suspicions entertained with respect to us. Boukari, moved by the affecting efforts of his sister, gave her his ring, as a pledge of his remembrance.

On reaching Canel, where we found Almamy of Bondou, an old man of sixty, I went to pay him a visit, but with difficulty could advance to his hut, from the number of courtiers and soldiers who crowded the avenues. This king was lying on a bed; he enquired after my health, asked whither I was going, and offered me his protection and a passage through his dominions. He then ordered a sheep-skin to be spread on the sand, and inviting me to sit down on it, entered into conversation respecting different persons at St. Louis, with whom he was acquainted. I received hospitality from the village chief. For some days past, I had been so ill with a fever, that I was obliged to be lifted on my horse. When leaving the village, a countless throng of young men followed, loading me with abuse; some even cried that I ought to be killed. These shouts, and the pain I felt, so exasperated me, that taking the bridle of my horse between my teeth, I galloped among their troop, ready to fire on them. The charge of a regiment could not have occasioned greater alarm; the multitude dispersed, and seeing myself at full liberty, I rejoined my companions, who approved my conduct.

The country through which we now passed, wore a smiling aspect; we entered a little wood, in which were a thousand odoriferous flowers, with a number of gum and ebony trees. The path was so overshadowed, that we seemed to be travelling under one continued bower; and notwithstanding the heat of the sun, which is most intense from three to four o'clock, we enjoyed a temperature like that of spring in France. On quitting this delectable scene, we discovered the village of Daudiolli, which we entered at sun-set. Here was the residence of Almamy; the number of persons in his retinue was so great, that we lost some time in finding a lodging; at last, an Iman offered us his hut, and I alighted. My fever was more violent than ever, but resigning myself to the care of Providence, I took the tamarind as a medicine, the salutary effects of which I had already experienced.

March 7th. While I was resting, a messenger came from Almamy to fetch my Marabout. This king was much surprized, when he learned that I had obeyed his orders, yet he seemed watching an occasion to find fault with me. Question after question was put to Boukari, on the subject of different charges alleged against us. "Why did you set off, without waiting for my further orders? It is forbidden to travel during the night; and ye left Senopalé, after sun-set. Was it your intention to

run away? Thy white man is highly criminal for defending himself against the people of the chief of Banai." "Almamy," answered my Marabout; "the very day on which we were introduced into thy presence, thou wentest without informing us of thy will, and the approbation thou hadst bestowed on the motive of our journey, made us think that thou didst not object to our departure. A native of Foutatoro, I respect its laws, but while we were gone to the fountain to fetch our linen, night overtook us, and we were nevertheless obliged to continue our route. If I neglected to inform the chief of Setiababanbi of our arrival, his absence, and the darkness of the night were the cause; for wherever we have slept, I have always performed this ceremony. The defence made by my white man was lawful; the people wanted to disarm him; no man has a right to disarm another before he is condemned, and moreover thou knowest, that white men do not patiently suffer themselves to be insulted." This address so conformable to truth, produced its effect on the mind of Almamy. "If thy white man," replied he, "wishes to return to Senegal, or to go into Oulli, I will give him a guide; I take him under my protection; he has nothing to fear." Some minutes after, Almamy set off for Canel, where he was to hold a conference with his ally, Almamy of Bondou.

After the departure of this prince and his chiefs, the village appeared to be abandoned, women, children, and cripples only were left, and these thronged round my hut. I was advised to mount my horse and accompany Almamy, whose pride would be flattered at having an European in his train. All the roads were covered with foot and horse soldiers, going to join the army. I was frequently exposed to their insults; but, when a chief passed by, they payed me all exterior respect. Some soldiers had leather boots without soles, others straw hats; all were covered with several cloths. Most of the muskets were in a very bad condition; the stocks of some had been made by the negroes themselves. Several were armed with lances, some with sabres; asses were loaded with the baggage of the principal officers, for the private soldiers carried all they wanted, including their provisions, which consisted of a small calabash of water, and a bag of dry couscous. Their powder-horns, in general, were nearly empty. In France, the soldiers spend their pay on their march to procure wine and liquors; in Africa, they pay with their powder for the milk which they drink, or the fowls which they purchase; so that when they come to action, they frequently have but one charge of powder remaining. Almamy had halted in the thickest part of a wood, and was resting at the foot of a tree. On alighting, I went, like the warriors, to shake hands with him; he granted me the favour to cause a sheep's-skin to be spread near him, on which I seated

myself. It was an unpleasant situation, for those who came to the prince, made me the butt of their laughter, although his presence laid some restraint on their rude jests. Almamy was at a distance from his subjects, who were resting under other trees, and conversing on the war they were about to undertake. At a given signal, every one was on horseback. All the children now ran to take Almamy by the hand, and he did not refuse this familiarity, in a single instance.

This little army had an imposing appearance, for the men of Foutatoro, in war, wear a dress like that of the Mamelukes. Their white turbans with robes of the same colour, and the horses, which, to the number of three hundred, marched in two lines, like our squadrons, produced a magnificent effect. Behind the cavalry marched the infantry, mostly armed with muskets. The whole body might amount to twelve hundred men. On approaching Canel, they saluted Almamy of Bondou with a volley of musketry. For my part, I kept at a distance, being afraid of the foot soldiers, who are the very dregs of the people. In the village, we repaired to our old quarters; the host would cheerfully have accommodated me and my Marabout, but refused to admit the Toucolors, who repaid his refusal with abuse. As I would not abandon my fellow travellers, we returned to the public place, and there saw the chief of the village assigning quarters to the soldiers; he had not time to answer us, but two of Almamy's aid-de-camps who were with me, desired him to provide us with lodgings. He immediately ordered an inhabitant to receive us into his house, and the latter obeyed. We formed a party of six; though exhausted by illness, and a medicine composed of salt and milk, which had been given me by a negro, I had spirits sufficient to keep up a conversation. I therefore consulted the Marabouts of Canel respecting the position of two rivers which I had seen. They informed me that the source of the Guiloum, a river which runs northward, and discharges itself into the Senegal, at Beldialo, is in the village of Ouanondé, a day's march to the north of Banai. At a little distance eastward of Canel, runs the Guiloulou; a small river, the source of which is a day's journey to the north, in a village of the same name; it falls into the Guiloum, a day's journey and a half from Canel, near the village of Ouaondi.

My fever, with the roaring of the lions, and the endless gossip of the negroes, kept me awake all night. Curious to learn the subject of conversation, I learned from Boukari, that Africans, like Europeans, will often talk about what they do not understand. These negroes affirmed, that Europeans live exclusively on the water, having neither land, houses, nor cattle, adding, that the rivers and great waters belong to us, while the earth is

their patrimony. They had no very high opinion of our courage, pretending that we did not know how to use a musket, and that this science was peculiar to the Moors and Poulas.

Whilst I was listening to their conversation, one of these negroes addressing himself to me, begged me to write for him the name of Jesus Christ, as by pronouncing this sacred name, we procured, he said, riches of all kinds. When I had done so, he enquired what he must do to obtain good things from Issa. I replied, that he must work hard and sleep little. This method did not appear to fulfil his expectations, for, placing more faith in amulets than in my advice, he asked me for another *gris-gris*; and I wrote him a prayer on a small slip of paper. The negroes would worship a straw, if they thought it had the power of enriching them.

March 9th. The infusion of tamarinds, which I drank copiously, proved highly beneficial to my health. Bounteous nature has multiplied this tree to infinity, in the sultry regions, where it becomes the panacea of the negro; as it also was mine. This simple and agreeable medicine carried off a fever which had threatened to cut short my journey. Feeling myself recovered, as if by enchantment, I set out to examine the environs of Canel, in company with one who had lost his hearing, in a very singular manner. A barbarous custom prevails in Foutatoro; a slave who wishes to change his master, seeks to cut off the ear of the man whom he fancies; if he succeeds, he becomes the property of that person; and his old master cannot reclaim him. To this practice, my fellow traveller owed his deafness; two slaves had cut off each an ear, close to the head, and the wound in healing, had obstructed the auditory canal. This man was unfortunate, from his reputation for good nature: he must now be careful of his horses, for it will be these animals whose ears the fugitive slaves will next attack.

If it were desirable to form a settlement in the interior of Africa, it would perhaps be difficult to select a more apposite situation than that of Canel, the population of which rises to five or six thousand souls. Bare and lofty mountains rise to the north, crowned with *sangras*; to the west, flows a river, concealed from the eye, by the trees that shade it; to the south and east, the horizon is bounded by a thick wood. After admiring the lively prospect presented by this very considerable village, I proceeded towards the bank of the river; to reach it, I was obliged to cross a spacious plain, composed of alluvial soil of inexhaustible fertility; it was then covered by large millet, which promised an abundant harvest.

The banks of the river are neither high nor woody, but on either side, to some distance, appears an enchanting verdure; a sight unusually grateful amid the parched plains of Africa. A

traveller might well imagine himself in the rich meadows of Normandy. In the day-time, the horses graze in these pastures: in the evening they are fetched away, to avoid the lions, which repair in troops to this part of the river to drink. It runs from north to south; it is narrow in the dry season, and the bottom is of clay. I allowed my horse to graze freely on the herbage, and having remained seated some time, under a tree, I could not resist the inclination which I felt to bathe, notwithstanding my late illness. The coolness of the water could not be productive of fatal effects; for in these burning regions it is always tepid; and if not very palatable, it is salubrious. This bath proved so refreshing, that on coming out of the water, I felt myself endued with new strength and spirits.

March 10th. On the banks of the Guiloulou, I had observed the remains of earthen furnaces, in which the Toucolors smelt their iron, in the manner described by Mungo Park. As the iron mine was only a league distant, in the hills to the west of Canel, I wished to see it, and set out early in the morning, on horseback, accompanied by a Marabout of the country, who was to receive two necklaces of glass beads for his trouble. After crossing a tolerably well cultivated country, we reached a wilderness tract, entirely covered with ferruginous stones. On each side were fields that appeared to have been inundated by the mountain torrents, and displaying great fertility; scattered gum trees extending to the foot of the hills, diversified the scene.

I scaled the highest hill, which was very steep; its side exhibited a mass of ferruginous stones, not adhering together, and very apt to roll down. At different distances white rocks with round tops, and nearly of a quadrangular form, projected from the midst of these stones; but the angles of these rocks were almost obtuse, as if worn away. On reaching the summit, the view commanded an immense extent of country. One solitary baobab became a remarkable object in this desolate plain.

The Marabout, whom I had left at the bottom of the hill with our horses, having fastened them to a tree, now came up, and seeing me examine the stones, he made a hole with his dagger, in a greyish earth lying beneath the first stratum of stone, seemingly mixed with ashes, and picked up some small yellowish stones, saying, "These are the stones which the Moors and Toucolors come in quest of; they dig holes the depth of my arm, from which, when they have taken a quantity, they load their asses with them, and then smelt them in their furnaces, so as to obtain much iron, and the deeper they dig the more they find." Having taken up a few of these stones we returned.

No sooner had we regained the village, than one of my friends came in great alarm, bringing tidings, which were not very en-

couraging. "The Toucolor, at whom you presented your piece at Banai," said this negro, "is just arrived to demand justice from Almamy, and he is supported by a powerful party. I think it right to warn you," added he, "that two Imans, Mollet and Bella-Pinda, have endeavoured to prevail on Almamy to go to Banai, intending, in his absence, to seize your property, and divide it between them, under a pretence that you are going to assist Sembaiassin. Mollet means to have your gun, and Bella-Pinda your horse; hitherto Almamy, deaf to their insinuations, has declared that you are under his protection, and may go to Oulli, as he places entire confidence in your word."

Dangers seemed to threaten on all sides; whom could I trust, since one of these very Imans, Mollet, had come the evening before, taken me by the hand, and enquired after my health? Then again the people, who are often more watchful over their interests than their chiefs, loudly and frequently repeated that I was going to join the Bambaras. Notwithstanding Almamy's favourable disposition towards me, it seemed improbable that he could long bear up against the torrent of public opinion. Having well considered every thing, I dispatched Boukari to solicit the passport which had been promised me; after many difficulties and objections, this faithful servant succeeded in obtaining it. To hasten the business, I was obliged to furnish the secretary who was to prepare the passport, with a sheet of paper, to which I added a present of two others. Lastly, to gain over all the agents of the government, I gave two necklaces of glass beads to Almamy's brother.

After two hours' solicitation, Boukari brought me this passport, with shouts of joy; to me it was virtually a pardon, since it entirely changed my situation, by restoring to me the consideration I had lost by my arrest. The following is a translation of this document, written in Arabic: "Almamy Mamadou, and the excellent personages who form his council, Aldondou, Eliman Siré, Sembaiéné, Boumandouet, Eliman Rindiao, Ardosambadadé, Dembanaiel; we have written this letter, that it may be read by all who may meet this white man, and that they may learn that he has visited us, and that we have allowed him to depart. The prince of the faithful, and all the grandees of Fouta have said to him, Go. All the villages shall afford him hospitality, and shall not stop him as far as the frontiers."

A negro who performed the duty of aid-de-camp, conducted me to Almamy Mamadou; we had to pass through a great crowd of warriors who came to pay their respects, or receive his orders. This prince was seated under a kind of gallery of straw, built in front of the hut for him to give his audiences; he was busily oc-

cupied making *gris-gris* for the war. Having approached to thank him for the permission he had given me to travel through his dominions, he desired me to sit down near him, and twice took me kindly by the hand; I then presented him with a cord of red worsted, which I had been told he wished for, and taking leave of him, I proceeded to the house of Aldondou. These were merely visits of ceremony, much as in Europe. Aldondou received me, with a cold reserve, escaping from which, I went to Almamy of Bondou, but he was not to be seen, and the audience was deferred till evening. The patience with which I endured all these rebuffs was palpable, but in my situation, I was to make a virtue of necessity. When night arrived, I returned to Almamy of Bondou, whom I found stretched out in his court on a little elevation, near a blazing fire. A large party of negroes sat round him smoking. Almamy of Bondou is a lively old man; to his apparel, he had a scarlet cap on his head, a cotton tunic, and Turkish slippers; his costume and complexion gave him a strong resemblance to the Moors. I saluted him, and seated myself by his side; a proceeding which he might deem rather too familiar, for he instantly ordered a sheep-skin to be spread on the sand for me a little below him. After various questions respecting my journey, and some warm eulogiums on Boukari, of whom he had a high opinion, it was agreed that I should go into Fouta Jallon with a guide named Maka. When following the Fouta army, exhausted by sickness and thirst, Maka had given me the water which he was carrying along with him; this act of humanity had so endeared him to me, that I claimed him in preference to all others, as the companion of my journey.

Every kindness demands a recompence, yet I durst not give Almamy my present openly before his people; perceiving my embarrassment, he desired me to step behind him, and I put into his hand my powder-horn, which was coveted, I doubt not, by many. Almamy returned me many thanks, with regret that he did not possess any thing worth my acceptance; he then dismissed me, but retained my Marabout with him. I was scarcely asleep before Boukari awoke me, saying: "Almamy of Bondou asks if you have nothing to give his children." I needed his majesty's consent to traverse his dominions; I sent back by Boukari four grains of amber to be presented to the little princes.

March 11th. At the moment of my departure, a number of people came to solicit rewards from me; for the same men who would have robbed me, if Almamy had permitted them, boasted of having accelerated my departure. To get rid of them, I threw some glass beads among them. We stopped, during the heat of the day, at Santiobambi, where we were entertained with couscous and milk. As I was preparing to eat out of a calabash

which had been used for milking the cows, I was prevented, by the assurance, that if I made use of it, the cows would all die.

At three o'clock we again set off, and proceeded southward. We had not gone far when Maka met his brother, who offered me a measure of millet, and whom I paid with a necklace of glass beads, as a present for his pretty daughters. He then held out his hand to me, as I thought to ask for something more, but it was to put my hand in his, which the rest did also. He then pronounced prayers for the success of our journey, when he had finished, each passed his hand over his face.

After quitting the brother of our guide, we travelled through an uncultivated country, but which appeared to be fertile. In the next village I came to, I had some difficulty to resist the importunities of a negro, who had been several times on business to St. Louis; he would have me remain at his house all night. At a little distance from the village where this hospitable man resided, we saw four furnaces for smelting iron; they were of a conical form, and six feet high. The iron manufactured here is of excellent quality; the negroes of the interior have it in abundance; they hammer their vessels, and do not cast them, which seems to prove the malleability of the metal, although the fact is doubted. The ore used in these furnaces is taken from hills situated near a village called Quiellom, which lies to the south-west. After passing through a small wood, we entered the village of Ouarenicour, where we halted.

March 12th. Accustomed to long journeys, Maka stimulated my Marabout by his railleries, so that we marched quicker and longer at a time. He had bought his accoutrements in Foota Jallon, and was enthusiastic in praise of that country. He had with him a bow made of a split bamboo, the bark of this plant formed the cord; his quiver contained thirty-four poisoned arrows, besides which he had a dagger and a pair of pincers for extracting thorns.* The African thus equipped, will travel fearlessly through his native wilds.

Maka called us up early, and we pursued our journey through a very woody country, the soil of which was sandy. Among the new species of trees, I remarked the *rota*, the flowers of which shed a perfume as delicious as that of the rose; the *beb*, whose foliage resembled that of our plane-tree; its bark is soft and white, its wood, which is red, is used for making the shackles which the traders put on the feet of their slaves. The incense-tree is also found there, it is thorny, and its bark is of a dark brown. The ebony and gum-trees were in the greatest number. It was common enough to see here trees of the same species, some

* One of the branches of this instrument is pointed, whilst the other, like the cutting knife of our shoemakers, pierces the flesh to come at the thorn.

in flower, others without leaves, and others covered with fruit, all at the same time.

Overcome by fatigue, I proposed to my companions to rest ourselves in the midst of the country, and Boukari went to the neighbouring village to purchase milk. We were soon joined by a caravan of Toucolora, conducting asses laden with cotton, and who came and shared our frugal repast. After dinner, as politics became the subject of our conversation, I learned that Foutatoro, Bondou, and Fouta Jallon, had formed a sacred alliance for extinguishing idolatry, and waging eternal war with the Pagans, who will not submit to the privations to which the law of Mahomet would subject them, if they were to embrace it.

When the east wind had ceased to blow, we resumed our journey. At the extremity of the wood which we had been passing through the whole day, we perceived an immense plain, encircled by ferruginous mountains. We then crossed the dry channel of a stream, and had sight of a number of villages built on small elevations, because, during the rainy season, the plain is inundated by the mountain torrents. The houses here were not surrounded by thorny hedges, which indicates that wild beasts are not very numerous in this part, otherwise they could carry off the cattle which are left out at night in the middle of the village. Maka conducted us to Aoret, where we paid a visit to the chief; his house was encompassed by a fortification of earth, which was falling to ruin. This man, who appeared to be unusually phlegmatic, after having some time considered whether he should receive us, at length told one of his slaves to give up his hut to us. We slept till eleven o'clock, without the house.

During the night, I heard my horse neigh, and supposing that he was attacked by some wild beast, I arose and took my gun. Imagining that I saw a hyæna prowling round him, I called Boukari, and told him to arm himself; we then cautiously approached the unknown animal, which proved to be a large dog, watching our movements; he began to bark, and thus dispelled our alarm. On our return, we had to encounter the jokes of a dozen traders, who lodged with us under the same roof.

March 13th. Notwithstanding a fresh attack of fever, I departed early with my people. Having gone, according to custom, to take leave of the chief, I presented him with a grain of amber, which so surprised him, that he could not utter a word, as he had not himself granted me hospitality. The heat having overtaken us in the woods, we rested in them, and as the trees afforded but little shade, Maka made me a tent with my blanket. I could not now mount my horse. The sight of this companion of my labours was so impaired, that during the night, he had two or three times run against the trees with me. We slept at Diotta.

March 14th. The country now being very woody, I was enabled to ascertain that at noon, the heat is more intense in forests, than in the open country. The tract through which we travelled, was also mountainous, and seemed to have been formerly convulsed by fire; the heat became so suffocating, that my Marabout thought it might proceed from some subterraneous fire. After a long march, we arrived at the well of a neighbouring village; it was almost dry, and it was only by dint of entreaty, that we could procure a little water from the women who were drawing it. After quenching our thirst, we sheltered ourselves at a little distance under some trees, whose foliage formed a roof impervious to the scorching rays.

For two days, Maka had suffered severely from the tooth-ache; to men who are fond of repose, it would have afforded an excellent pretext for not proceeding. The fear of stopping on the way made me turn dentist. Boukari wished me to use my ramrod, but I took a very strong piece of cotton thread, and having fastened it firmly to the tooth, though not without some fear for my fingers, it was out in a second; I was myself astonished at my success. The depth of the wells here, as in Bondou, equalled those of Cayor; it was about forty fathoms.

Eager to reach the frontiers of Foutatoro, I set off during the most intense heat of the day, from which I contrived to defend myself, by throwing over me the large blanket I had brought with me. The celerity with which we proceeded enabled us to arrive before night at Dendoudé Tiali, the last village of Foutatoro, on the side of Bondou. It is so called from a pond (in the Poular language *tiali*) in its neighbourhood. When swelled by the rains, its waters overflow on one side into the Gambia, at Kambia in Oulli; on the other into the Senegal, at Kougnem in Bondou.* The canoes of the Gambia then ascend as far as Dendoudé, the farthest point to which they can go; I saw the tree to which the negroes fasten them, for this spot was then dry. For the last two years these traders have discontinued their visits, from having thoroughly incensed the inhabitants of this village, by carrying away the son of a Marabout, to sell him for a slave.

It has been long maintained that there is a natural communication between the rivers Gambia and Senegal, in the upper part of the country; a communication certainly exists, but no vessel can navigate the water that runs from one river to another. It might be a practicable but a most expensive work to construct a canal forming a constant communication between the two rivers, for this lake would doubtless furnish water sufficient for the purpose.

March 15th. Having passed the night in the open air, the

* This communication between the Senegal and Gambia, is called *Nerice* in the maps.

cold awoke me at an early hour; I rose before day, and our host and an old Iman conducted us beyond the precincts of the village. At the moment of parting, they all put their hands in mine; the Iman then recited some long prayers, and having spit on our fingers, each rubbed his face with them; but though accustomed to conform to the manners of the country, I was content with slightly passing my hand over my face.

As soon as I had set foot on the territory of Bondou, I returned thanks to the Divine Providence for having preserved me from all dangers in Foutatoro. I began to breathe more freely, and the cheerful emotions which I indulged, on finding myself safe from the perfidy of the Poulas, made the distance to Boquequillé, the first village of Bondou, seem very short. I had a son of Almamy of Bondou for a fellow traveller. This prince not only lodged me in the best hut in the village, but he neglected nothing by which I might recognize the hand to which I owed a profusion of favours. The heat at Boquequillé was excessive; in these scorching countries, a stranger might imagine himself in a constant fever; it was impossible for me, about three in the afternoon, to handle the barrel of my gun.

When the air became cooler, we resumed our journey; after travelling two leagues, we stopped near a well, round which a number of women were assembled. One of them exclaimed, "there is a white man!" In a moment, they all scampered away, to the sad overthrow of their buckets and pitchers. One, however, who was bolder than the rest, came and took me by the hand; her companions then followed her example, with that sort of confidence which people sometimes affect, when they are overcome with fright. All these Naiads were young, handsome, and well proportioned, and notwithstanding their jet black colour, none but a stoic could have seen them with indifference. I quitted these damsels with regret, and their adieus proved that kindness and friendship had taken the place of amazement and terror.

Although my clothes, hanging in shreds, might well have excited pity rather than respect, Amadi, for this was the name of Almamy's son, said to me, when about to saddle my horse, to set off, "Let slaves do that, it does not become a prince like thee to work." At Doubel, where we passed the night, he insisted that I should lie in his hut, though his wife was there, a signal honour, which, till then, I had been a stranger to.

Foutatoro, which is one of the most extensive states in all this part of Africa, is bounded on the west, by the country of the Bourb-Joloffs, and the kingdom of Brack; the Senegal separates it on the north from the countries inhabited by the Moors; to the east it has Bondou, and lastly, Oulli lies to the south. The fertility of its soil is a source of great wealth to its inhabitants. The

country is watered by several small rivers, which might afford peculiar facilities to commerce, were they connected by canals. The lands along these rivers will bear a comparison with the richest in France. The inhabitants cultivate them with care, but neglect the planting of trees, so that wood is a scarce article in their country. For fuel, they burn cows' dung, either alone or mixed with millet straw; they might, however, have beautiful forests, if they would but second the bountiful dispensations of Nature, by a due forecast.

The crops here are large and small millet, cotton, which is very fine, excellent rice, indigo, and tobacco, which the inhabitants use for smoking only. Water is abundant in the wells, and it is not necessary to dig deep to find it. The most common trees are the *grède*, the bark of which is covered with sharp thorns: its leaves are opposite to each other, and arranged with great regularity, but grow only at the extremity of the branches; its wood is used for making porringers. The *krede*, the wood of which is white, serves for making bedsteads. The *deraboki* is a small tree, in colour and form resembling the baobab; its wood is soft, its fruit is put into water to poison the lions and hyænas. The *guian-dam* has a fruit resembling coffee, which the negroes eat roasted, in times of scarcity. The *dentaculai* is knotty, and of low growth; its fruit resembles the orange, and its flavour approaches that of vanilla; it contains a number of pips of a green colour, arranged like those of the gourd; the rind of the fruit is so hard, as to require being broken with stones; the fruit occasions cholic.

Lions, panthers, hyænas, and jackalls, are very common throughout this region, the elephant is more rare; of birds there is no great variety. Some ostriches are occasionally seen, and vultures in great numbers; also guinea-fowls, wood-pigeons, ravens, with white necks, turtle-doves, partridges, and parroquets with black necks.

Foutatoro enjoys the advantage of possessing excellent and numerous iron mines. The heat of this country is intense, the thermometer at noon often rising to ninety-six degrees in the shade. The population is very considerable, amounting to not less than two millions.

The inhabitants trade with the Moors of Oualet and Ludamar, with the Poulas of Fouta Jallon, and with the Europeans, at the isle of St. Louis. The first bring them salt, and in return take back cloths, cotton, and millet. Fouta Jallon furnishes them with slaves, and a little gold. The Europeans supply them with the blue guinea stuffs, which they use for their apparel; also with their fire-arms, and hardware, in exchange for millet and cotton.

Tradition relates that the Poulas formerly inhabited fertile regions in the northern part of Africa, perhaps Numidia; they

were shepherds and rovers. The form of their huts seems to prove, that they were accustomed, originally, to live in tents. The Jollofs also inhabited that part of the African continent, but appear to have been of a more sedentary character. When the Saracens subjugated those countries, the Jollofs and Poulas traversed the desert, and settled in the tracts which they now occupy. The Serreres, a negro nation, were then in possession of it. At the sight of men mounted on camels and horses, they fled towards the south-west, where they formed other states, which still exist under the names of Baol and Sin. The Moors, however, followed the Poulas to the south of the Senegal, and drove them from the countries of which they had become the masters. The Poulas, who had till then fled before their enemies, would not quit for ever a fertile tract to bury themselves in deserts. To recover the conquests from which they had been dislodged, they engaged to pay to the Moors a tribute of ten measures of millet for every chief of a family, and to embrace the Mahometan religion. This is now the only religion tolerated in the country, and the tribute is regularly paid every year.

This great nation of the Poulas, or men of red colour, is now almost extinct. These people having intermarried with the Jollofs and Serreres, have produced a race of mulattoes called Torodos, from whom the province of Toro in Fouta derives its name, which has even been extended to the whole country, because these Torodos have driven out the red Poulas, by whom it was formerly occupied. The latter, dispersed in the deserts of the Bourb-Jollofs, Cayor, and Salum, still lead the roving life of their ancestors; a very small number of them, however, retain their primitive colour. The red Poulas and the Torodos speak the language of their forefathers, but mingled with Serrere and Joloff words. The Serreres are the most ancient inhabitants of all this part of Africa. Their language, which is remarkably simple, is doubtless one of the oldest, and their wild manners have not undergone any change.

The Poulas likewise made an irruption into regions more to the east, for they occupy Massina, and several districts beyond Tombuctoo; Kassoun, where they speak the Mandingo language; in Ouassellon, they are Pagans; also Sangorari, Bondou, and Fouta Jallon; which is the extent of their conquests to the south. They have every where united with the conquered negroes, and thus their race has, in a manner, disappeared, and given place to another, composed of reddish or black men, who have fixed dwellings, and have partly adopted the manners of the blacks.

Foutatoro is now a sort of theocratic oligarchy, in which, however, the people are not without a due share of influence.

Aldondou, El-Iman-Siré, Sambaiéné, Boumandouet, El-Iman-Rindiao, Erdosambadédé, and Dembanaiel, are the chiefs; each of these is proprietor of a portion of the country, and they jointly exercise the sovereign authority. The first two always enjoy a degree of pre-eminence, for their two voices form a majority in the council; but to give their decrees greater weight with the people, they create an Almamy, (Iman) whom they select from among the common Marabouts. All the acts of government are performed in his name, but this Almamy can take no step, without consulting his council. When dissatisfied with this chief, they retire, during the night, to an elevated spot, and after deliberation, the Almamy is deposed, and another chosen in his place. They desire his attendance, and address him in these words: "We have chosen thee to govern our country with wisdom." The Almamy then takes the Koran, and says, "I will strictly follow that which the book of God prescribes; if he commands me to give up my wealth, to sacrifice my children, I will do it." Upon this, Aldondou on one side, and El-Iman-Siré on the other, present the new Almamy to the people, saying: "Here is your king, obey him." The people applaud, and the elevation of the new prince to the throne is celebrated by volleys of musketry. Almamy makes presents to the seven chiefs, and, in his turn, receives donations of flocks and slaves from the people. When the deposition of the Almamy is pronounced, the children proclaim it to him, uttering cries and throwing mud and stones at his hut. He then relinquishes the insignia of authority, and mingles with the class of private citizens. If he does not obey the orders of his successor, he renders himself liable to be scourged. Nothing is less durable in this country than the supreme authority; in 1818, there were successively three Almamys. Each of the seven chiefs at his death is succeeded by his brother.

In Foutatoro, and among the Moors, there exists a sort of freemasonry, the secret of which has never been revealed; the adept is shut up for eight days in a hut, he is allowed to eat but once a-day; he sees no person, excepting the slave appointed to carry him his food; and at the end of that period, a number of men in masks, present themselves, and employ all possible means to put his courage to the proof; if he acquits himself with honour he is admitted. In the villages where persons of this fraternity reside, they act as conjurors, and are called Almousseri. One day, Boukari told me, attesting the truth of what he was about to say, that being in a canoe with one of these men, there fell such a heavy shower of rain that he would not depart; yielding, however, to the wishes of the Almousseri, he set sail. "Torrents of rain fell on all sides," added Boukari: "but our bark remained perfectly dry, and a favourable wind swelled our sails. I asked

this Almousseri to explain his secret, but he answered, that if he revealed it, his brethren would destroy him."

Another class of persons acts a curious part in Foutatoro; these are called Diavandos. They inhabit the villages of Senopale and Canel, and are the *griots* of these parts. Though doomed, by their profession, to contempt, they have contrived to render themselves formidable by the ascendant which they have acquired over the public opinion, through the medium of praises or satires. They are proficient in the Arabic language, and zealous Mahometans. Their traffic in praises and invectives was a source of emolument. If one of these men demands any favour from the king, he will not refuse him. "Yes," said Boukari to me, "if a Diavande were to require my gun, I would give it him; for if I did not, he would injure me so much in the public opinion, that I should be abandoned by all. A Poula, however, will not give his daughter in marriage to a Diavando, but the line of demarcation here is not so strong as in Hindostan. The *griots*, blacksmiths, weavers, shoemakers, live and eat in common with the other negroes, but never intermarry with them.

The Poulas breed great numbers of horned cattle. Notwithstanding the high price of salt, they give it to their oxen, for the purpose of fattening them. The Poulas have also many asses; their horses are small, but excellent in point of speed.

All the Poulas are Mahometans, and rigid observers of the precepts of their religion; inflamed with a zeal for conversion, they carry their intolerance to fury. A most vain-glorious character is impressed on the whole nation. Foutatoro is the first country in the world, and the Poula infinitely superior to the native of any other region. The European possesses industry, but is weak and cowardly. The negro is destined to live in slavery, and after death to be plunged into infernal torments. The Moor alone is brave, and may be placed next after the Poula. Yet these people, though so haughty and presumptuous, have twice been completely beaten by the Joloffs. If they exercise hospitality towards a stranger, it is from motives of ostentation. Perfidious and hypocritical, the Poula, even when he offers you his hand, is perhaps laying a scheme for assassinating you. The Poula, whose colour is a deep black, is unsusceptible of affection. Like all the mulattoes, the Poulas despise the negro, and detest the red Poula, from whom they originally sprung. They are ever soliciting presents; and if denied, will load you with abuse, if not spit in your face. They possess, however, one great quality in perfection, national spirit. They never sell each other; and when one of their countrymen has been sold, they make it their business to rescue and liberate him.

The Poula is industrious; his hut is well built; his clothes are

woven with care, he ornaments them with figures in a curious style, but his productions of iron and leather, though well made, are unequal to those of the Moors. Every village has its weavers, shoemakers, and blacksmiths. These trades seem amply sufficient for a people whose wants are the simple requirements of nature.

I have seen sandals truly elegant, of a red brilliant morocco; and the mechanism of their locks is not deficient in ingenuity. Their stirrups, silver bells, ear-rings, and other trinkets, display some portion of talent. In the art of weaving, they have advanced to the manufacture of muslin of a coarse kind. The country is in general well cultivated, and on the banks of the Senegal, the Poulas carefully encircle each ear of millet with a wisp of straw. Without this timely precaution, the birds, especially the parroquets, whose number is infinite, would injure their crops.

Architecture is in its infancy among these people; their houses are constructed of earth mixed with the dung of cattle; the roof is of long poles. When the walls are quite dry, the roof is merely laid on them, without being fastened down; its conical form will prevent it from being overthrown; it is then covered with straw. These huts have but one door, and are much warmer than those of the Joloffs. When the door is shut nothing can be seen; this is not the case in the huts of the latter, as the light penetrates through the reeds of which the walls are composed. In the manufacture of their earthen ware, after having shaped their vessels, they place them one upon another in the middle of a field, covering the whole with straw. They set fire to this, and it suffices for the purposes of baking.

The black Poulas are of ordinary stature and well proportioned. Some wear their hair long, others cut it quite close; they wear very wide breeches and a long tunic, with large sleeves; their head is covered with a small cotton cap, and they generally go armed with muskets. The women are pretty, and well-shaped, with oval faces and delicate features; their long hair they braid round their heads. Their feet are small, but their legs seem to be somewhat bowed; they are not so stout as the negresses. They load their hair with ornaments of yellow amber and coral, and their necks with gold or glass beads. Over the head they throw a muslin veil; some wear a jacket with sleeves; like the negro women they have a cloth fastened round the waist. Lively, warm, and cheerful, they seem to sigh for nothing but pleasure; their virtue rarely resists a grain of coral, but the senses alone are concerned in the passion of these females. They all appear ambitious to obtain a share in the empire of the hut; they are, in fact, not slaves, like the Joloff women, but wives. They obey when they please, and their husbands must often give way to them. Sometimes they

threaten to go before the chief of the village, to obtain a divorce, and if matters are carried thus far, they have recourse to tears to influence their judge. "Why dost thou ill-treat thy wife?" he will say to the husband. "A woman is a weak being, whilst a man possesses all; go, invite thine back to thee, and to appease her just anger, make her a present!" Peace is never signed without costing the husband an ox or a slave. Such is the difference of manners between the Joloffs and Poulas!

The women are exclusively charged with the household labours; they sleep little, for during a great part of the night they are employed in pounding millet, which is a very fatiguing occupation. Nor are they admitted to share the meals or repasts with their husbands.

The Poulas, since they became Mahometans, have renounced dancing and music. I saw no other instrument among them than a kind of Jew's harp, the sound of which can only be grateful to an African ear. The *griots* confine themselves to the recitation of prayers, with a sort of melodious tone not unlike the chanting of our psalms.

When a rich youth wishes to marry, he acquaints his father, who repairs to the house of the girl's father to communicate the proposal. The young man then kills a bullock, and sends it to his intended father-in-law; if he eats of it, the indication is deemed favourable. From that time he does not again see his mistress or her mother; if he meets them abroad he even avoids them. Some time afterwards, he sends another bullock. When the wedding-day arrives, he presents his bride with three slaves, and his father and mother-in-law and their children with a bullock each. The parents of the girl give her three slaves, ten bullocks, and forty cloths for herself, with four pair of breeches, and four tunics for their son-in-law. In case of divorce, the woman receives back her dowry, which at her death devolves on her children, who, if she be divorced, remain with the father. One who has no slaves to pay the dowry of his wife must labour for his father-in-law; thus Jacob passed fourteen years in the service of Laban.

Let me here record a fact, which has given the Poulas of Foutatoro some celebrity in our establishments on the Senegal. Within the present century, M. Ribet, at the head of twenty-five European soldiers, and four hundred Senegal negroes, had, by way of reprisal, plundered all the Poula villages bordering on the river. Advancing to Gaet, one of their large towns, not a negro was to be seen; the inhabitants lay concealed behind their palisades, and thus intrenched, fired upon the enemy. In the mean time two field pieces made a great slaughter among the Poulas, but when victory seemed certain, a bull, leaping over the palisades, came furious-

ly rushing upon Ribet's men. A divinity from heaven could not have produced a more extraordinary effect. The negroes of the Senegal stopped our soldiers ready to fire at the bull, exclaiming if they killed the animal, that all sorts of misfortunes would overwhelm them. The Poulas had let loose the bull, and the stratagem was completely successful. The negroes fled in disorder towards the vessels. To run away from blacks, seemed infamy to the twenty-five Europeans who accompanied M. Ribet; unsupported they sustained the fire of six thousand Poulas, and fell victims to their pertinacity. This event has exposed the inhabitants of the Senegal to the most sanguinary outrages from them; while we have not hitherto attempted to restrain their incursions, by employing a force adequate to the purposes of hostility.

CHAPTER V.

In the Territories of Bondou the Author is kindly received.—The Guides appear anxious to abandon the Author.—His Quarrel with them.—He departs for Fouta Jallon.—Descriptive Particulars relative to Bondou and Bambouck.

MARCH 16th. After a toilsome journey through the woods, we sought repose under the shelter of a *coss*, the foliage of which was impervious to the solar rays. Boukari went to a neighbouring village to purchase provisions. As a crowd of children soon formed a circle round me, their parents could not but remark the uneasiness I felt, and made them retire, so that I was enabled to repose unmolested. The delicious coolness of this place made me regret that such spots were not in greater number, but they were represented to me as very dangerous, from the many serpents that are attracted thither by their humidity. I saw several muskets, which were covered with their skins. These enormous reptiles will grasp and devour both men and beasts.

Accustomed to dangers, we passed some hours in this meadow. Foukari was now very busy in making me a complete negro dress. I had long felt the want of loose garments, as well to protect me from the heat, as to render me less an object of derision. When I had put on my new suit, Maka, with admiration, exclaimed, "Thou art now dressed as a man ought to be: with thy European clothes thou resembledst a woman." Maka's observation was apposite and just. The Arab habiliments are more noble than ours, and make the negro appear to great advantage. A negro in a European dress looks like a clothed ape, but when covered with his tunic, his air and appearance seem dignified. A storm which threatened

us hastened our departure ; after passing the pond of Thiali, we arrived at a ravine called Tir, from the great number of wild beasts that frequent it. This place, hollowed out by the torrents, and shaded by lofty trees, affords a retreat to elephants and lions.

We did not care to stop long, for fear of unpleasant rencounters. We reached Diemore before sun-set ; here the water assumes the colour of the bottom of the wells, so that the same evening I drank red and yellow water, neither of which had any disagreeable taste. The heat was such, that my companions and I slept in the open air. Under the *bentang* of Diemore, there is a kind of alcove, raised three feet from the ground, of considerable width, and constructed of trees cleft in two ; this is the bed provided for strangers. Not being accustomed to repose on such a couch, I spread a mat on the ground in the court. No sooner had I fallen asleep than the hyænas, which always precede the lions, awoke me by their dismal howlings ; they were so near that I heard them walking in the midst of the sheaves of millet. The dogs sought an asylum behind me, and durst not bark ; every instant I was afraid these ferocious beasts would have rushed upon us to tear us in pieces, and I could not sleep till I ceased to hear them.

March 17th. We halted at Boqui, where we tried to procure provisions, but as a dearth prevailed in the village, I was about to leave it, when the chief begged me to rest there. Mats were quickly spread on the ground, and a shelter was made to protect me from the sun ; I could not refuse to comply with the invitation of this obliging old man. He was afflicted with elephantiasis, a very common disorder among the blacks. While I was writing my journal, he came with a piece of paper, and wished me to write him a charm. When it was finished, he told me, raising it to his forehead, that he would sew it in a piece of cloth, and hang it round his neck, till the charm should effect a perfect cure.

What a difference between the inhabitants of Bondou and those of Foutatoro ! Here I was no longer received with immoderate laughter, but was taken by the hand, and even admired. The children, nay, even adults kept at a distance, and spoke in a low voice. I was no longer harassed with unceasing questions ; here I found the kind hospitality of the Jollofs. A very general custom prevails in Africa, to shut your eyes, when you would rid yourself of troublesome people. If persuaded that any one is asleep, all retire.

When we resumed our route, the people, preceded by a singer, conducted us to the entrance of a wood at some distance, where we saw several herds of wild cattle. We did not arrive till sun-set at Goumel, a village chiefly inhabited by Jollofs. It being the hour of prayer, all the blacks were assembled before the mosque, a square building constructed of earth, and covered with

straw. When prayers were finished, a negro led us into his hut, where we passed the night. The frontiers of the kingdom of Oulli are half a day's journey to the south-west of Goumel.

March 18th. Our march was fatiguing; during the heat, we had to traverse a thick wood, in which the air could not circulate. Langué, a village where we halted, is inhabited by Jollofs, whom famine has driven from Oulli. The master of the hut which was offered to us, could not provide us with any thing to eat; and, for the first time, we were obliged to fast. The wealth of Langué consists in honey, which is abundant. Their bee-hives are shaped like ours, but placed lengthwise; the entrance is at the bottom, which is furnished with straw, and they are suspended from the branches of trees.

Flowers are very rare, yet there are innumerable swarms of bees. Their honey has a coarse and insipid taste, not pleasant to a European, and it is full of fragments of leaves, which tinge it with a black colour.

After having engaged Maka to serve as a guide to Fouta Jallon, the price ten grains of coral, I was preparing to depart, when Boukari was reproached by a negro, for not having taken leave of the master of the house. Boukari had given him notice of our departure; but custom requires that a traveller should go in person to thank his host for his hospitality.

Our route again led through woods, where I saw some butterflies, but not one deserving a place in a collection. The beautiful butterflies, so common in the American continent, are very rare in Negroland. The inhabitants were at supper, when we entered Bodé; men who had eaten nothing the whole day, arrived at a seasonable hour, and we were not long without our repast.

March 19th. We directed our course towards the south-east. After proceeding two leagues, we returned eastward, and passed through a large village. All the Poulas of Bondou dwell in the woods, attending to the culture of small millet and cotton. They have some cows and fowls, but no horses. Their villages are of a wretched description. We travelled, a long time, without seeing any habitations. At length we reached a little village, where we found only one man, who presented us with a calabash full of excellent honey, which he had been at the pains to clarify. As all the women were absent, we were obliged, notwithstanding the oppressive heat, to go as far as Medina*, which was also afflicted with famine. We seated ourselves under a *cobai*, a great tree, the broad leaves of which, without indentation, and having large fibres, afford a very cool shade; its fruit, of the size of a hazel nut, is reckoned so delicious, that the inhabitants want nothing else to eat when they can procure it. While we were resting, se-

* Other places bear this name, which signifies a town.

veral men came to ask permission to take my horse to water, for none of them had ever mounted, or even seen one, this part of the country not being frequented by caravans that travel with horses.

An inhabitant of Fouta Jallon, who had come to purchase cloths in this village, where great quantities are made, cheerfully offered me a share of his dinner, consisting of a small portion of couscous, mixed with honey and flour of pistachio-nuts. Here I learned that a short time before, a body of Englishmen (the expedition conducted by Major Peddie), being desirous of traversing Fouta Jallon, had met with a refusal. The number of persons composing this expedition excited a suspicion that they came with hostile intentions. This intelligence made me apprehend some obstacles to my journey; I nevertheless continued to pursue a southern direction. We arrived in the evening at Cognè-A-madi, where the chief of the village afforded us hospitality.

March 20th. Almamy of Bondou, whom I had seen in Foutatoro, had permitted me to pass through his country, in my way to Fouta Jallon. As this king had now returned to his dominions, I became uneasy lest he should order me to be stopped, for the purpose of extorting from me another and more considerable present. I therefore awoke my people before sun-rise. The surface of the country was unequal. At the foot of a rocky hill, which we descended, we found a small stream, the shallow current of which was almost stagnant. My ass stumbled into this with all my merchandize, and we had trouble enough to extricate him from this species of slough. The water of this place may be drunk by man, but is reckoned poison even to horses and cattle, from the vicinity of a tree called *tali*. It is one of the most beautiful trees I have met with in this part of Africa; it is very large and high, and its foliage very thick. The negroes make no use of the wood. It was noon before we could resume our route, and in a short time, we arrived at Cognède. As we could only procure, in this village, a handful of pistachio-nuts, I sent Boukari to purchase some in the neighbouring hamlets. Amber and coral were our only coin, and as nothing but scarlet cloth, muskets, and cloves, were of any value here, we were obliged to defer the hope of a dinner till next day.

Hunger drove us from Cognède before the heat had abated, and we set out in quest of better quarters. The curiosity of the chief of a village through which I passed, and where I remarked a number of papaw trees, occasioned an unseasonable delay. He stopped us, under the pretext of enquiring the motive of our journey; but a present, which I gave him, purchased the liberty of departing. It was already dark, when we perceived, at some distance, the fires of Santimatiou. On a sudden, my

horse, which through the last month, had been very peaceable, ran away with me. The noise which I had heard in a thicket, together with the start which he made, excited alarms that he was aimed at by some wild beast. The fear of lions, which are very common here, prevented me from checking my horse, which never stopped till he reached the village. My guides, who soon rejoined me, reported that an enormous vulture, lurking in the thicket, had, in flying out of it, frightened my horse. The chief of the village could neither lodge nor feed us; in fact, the people of this place, who wholly devote themselves to the culture of cotton, have but little millet, and I began to fear that I must go without my supper, as I had without my dinner, when we were recommended to a hut situated at a little distance from the road.

On entering it, I saw a number of people in motion; fires were lighted over the whole court, on which were enormous kettles. These were preparations for the wedding feast of the son of the proprietor; hungry people could not have arrived at a luckier time. The master of the house ordered us to be conducted to a distant hut; we lay down at the door, for in all this part of Africa, strangers rest outside the habitations. We could not sleep, as the firing of muskets by the people at the feast, disturbed a troop of large apes, which never ceased barking through the whole night. My horse was so tormented by thirst that he would not graze, and I was in danger of losing this valuable companion. No one would lead him to the water, for fear of the lions, who repair thither to drink. I soon slipped a few balls into my gun, and accompanied by Maka, went to the perilous spot. It was an agreeable situation, and but for the fear of wild beasts, I should have remained there longer, for the moon-light enabled me to contemplate the scenery. The spring issued from a rock, in the middle of a ravine, where the blossom of the gum-trees shed a delicious perfume. This spring formed a little rivulet, on the banks of which furnaces were constructed for smelting iron.

When I returned, a confused noise which I heard, made me suppose, that the bride was about to be delivered to her husband. I quickened my pace, and found this young female more plainly attired than her companions, and lying between the knees of her mother. The old men and women encircled them, and the grandfathers and grandmothers were seated by their sides. The girls danced, and repeated the scenes of the wedding night. The spectators encouraged these dancers, by clapping their hands, *griots* being rare in Mahometan countries. Other guests kept aloof, and conversed among themselves; all were dressed in white, and every one had on the best apparel, so that for merriment it resembled one of our village weddings. My presence interrupted their sports, and all the young females quitted the

bride to examine the new guest. A bullock had been killed, the arrival of a *griot* slave, (for a Mahometan would never take up a drum) and the good cheer, kept up a sort of ball, till day-light. We received a bowl full of couscous, and a piece of meat, so tough, that we could not touch it.

March 21st. We stopped, during the day, at Konomba, where we laid in a supply of millet flour, mixed with honey, and pounded pistachio nuts, being next ready to enter the deserts which separate Bondou, from Fouta Jallon. A black man with weak sight asked me for a charm, and I wrote it on a leaf of the *rondier*, which is used in Africa, where paper is not to be had. When the women had prepared our provisions, we resumed our route.

The country was very woody, and the surface of the soil, entirely covered with ferruginous stones, proved to be so hot, that it was supposed to contain subterraneous fire. It was midnight before we could reach Diansocone, then deserted, for all the inhabitants were in the woods hunting wild cattle. Obligated to sleep in the open air, we found the cold so sharp, that all the clothing I had could not secure me against it.

March 22d. Notwithstanding the desire my guides evinced to await the arrival of a caravan, I departed, and we came to Maramasita, which in the Serracolet language, signifies an elephant fastened with a cord of baobab. It was necessary, on arriving at this village, to receive a visit from one of Almamy Bondou's sons, whom all the people accompanied, in token of respect. How different this from Foutatoro, where I had seen the brother of Almamy confounded with the crowd of courtiers, and not treated with distinction.

At the moment we were about to enter the wood which is on the confines of Bondou and Fouta Jallon, Boukari, to my very great surprise, refused to advance further with me, unless I took two skins of water. This proposal appeared ridiculous, because in the deserts into which we were going, there are numerous springs, and my beasts would have sunk under the fresh burden with which I must have loaded them. Seeing the obstinacy of this man, till then so faithful, I dismissed him. His example seduced Maka, who also applied for his discharge. As I had no means of refusing, I dismissed them both.

Thus left alone, I unloaded my ass, put part of my effects on my horse, and distributed the rest among the villagers. I then took my horse by the bridle, and prepared to commence a journey which teemed with dangers. Before me deserts lay which it would employ three days to cross; without a guide, and not understanding either the Poula or Mandingo dialects, I resolved nevertheless to prosecute my undertaking. After moving on a few paces, I missed my powder, and presently called back my

guides, to know if they had taken it, with one of my guns, which I could not hinder them from carrying off. They returned and showed me my powder, at the bottom of one of my leather bottles. This circumstance served to produce an explanation. The inhabitants of Maramasita pitying me, reproached my guides for their unfaithfulness, unsaddled my horse and led him to the hut. Vexed at these disappointments, and at the forlorn situation in which I was left, by men in whom I had placed the utmost confidence, I seated myself under a tree, and there passed part of the night, overwhelmed with reflections, and not wholly free from a paroxysm of the fever, which had not left me. No sooner had I fallen asleep, than a negro came and awoke me, entreating me to enter his hut, and assuring me that I was liable to be assassinated by the Mandingo robbers in the place where I was reposing. I followed the advice of this good man, and in his hut I found my late guides.

March 28d. At sun-rise, I wished to depart, when Maka threw my merchandize on the ground, and swore that he would not suffer me to go, unless I paid him immediately. I gave him a string of coral: this man, whose probity predominated over the rage which then actuated him, took but five beads, and returned the remainder, saying, that as he had conducted me but half the distance for which he had engaged, only half the price agreed upon was due to him. His comrade, as before observed, had seized my gun; I would have taken it from him, but he threatened to fire at me. This action so inflamed my anger, that taking aim at him, I should have rid myself of this perfidious wretch, had not a caravan of Poulas, who arrived seasonably, separated us by holding their bows between us. My firmness, on this occasion, fixed the attachment of this guide, who the evening before would have abandoned me. Terrified at the dangers which I was determined to hazard without an armed force to protect us; apprehensive of perishing with thirst in countries, where we should meet with no springs, Boukari's head was turned. He had even forgotten his duty and the respect which he owed me, but he has since most amply repaired his errors, having contributed so much to my preservation, by entire devotion and kindness, that one act of momentary misbehaviour cannot prevent me from considering him as a friend to whom I am indebted for my life. Some calabashes of milk restored peace and harmony, and we presently forgot our differences.

The country of Bondou may be said to resemble a bow; we had passed over the cord. This kingdom is but one vast forest; it is only here and there we meet with spots that have been cleared, in which are a few small villages, wretchedly built, and often,

in a manner, deserted. The soil is mostly covered with ferruginous stones, and the country in general is mountainous. Water is found only at a great depth, but springs are pretty common, and the ground has a due share of verdure in the parts bordering on Fouta Jallon. The lands which are not covered with stones, are generally fertile; but the excessive drought will not admit of cultivation, except during the rainy season. Cotton, maize, indigo, millet, called *nieniko*, the straw of which serves to dye leather red, some calabash trees, and water-melons are seen to grow in the fields. The parching heat strips the trees of their foliage during the sultry season; that called *bani* forms an exception, but it is the only one.

The western part of Bondou contains iron mines, and the eastern, mines of gold. The districts watered by the Falemé are uncommonly fertile. The inhabitants there cultivate great quantities of tobacco which the negroes call *tankoro*, and the quality of which is excellent. To take it as snuff, the negroes make use of a little iron spoon. Wild beasts are numerous, and game affords the hunter an abundant booty. Some deer and wild oxen are met with, but few cattle; horses and asses are very rare.

The crown may be elective, but it is in the king's family only; the brother of the deceased is commonly preferred. The government is despotic. When the king goes to war, the proprietors of the mines are obliged to deliver to him the gold which they have amassed, and for which they are paid in flocks and slaves, at the end of the campaign. The drums give the signal for battle and retreat. During the combat, the warriors challenge each other singly. Each of the king's sons commands a detachment. Fire-arms are scarce, in lieu of which, the bow is used. The people are generally poor, and not very industrious; the cloths and other articles which they manufacture, in point of skill and ingenuity, are inferior to those of Foutatoro. Architecture has made some progress, for the entrances to the huts are more commodiously constructed than in the other negro countries, being as large as those of our apartments.

I have had reason to complain of the inhabitants of Foutatoro, but I gladly embrace the opportunity to admit the kindness of those of Bondou; they are mild, peaceable, possessed of great presence of mind, ever receiving the stranger with affability, and never molesting him with impertinent curiosity. However, we do not find such good living among them as in Foutatoro. When we consider the gentleness of the Poulas of Bondou, and the insolence of those of Foutatoro, we may distinguish the influence of a government on national character; the former is monarchical, the latter republican.

The Poul language, almost all the words of which terminate with *e*, or *a*, contains a number of Joloff and Arabic words, which the Mahometan religion has introduced.

The men of Bondou are not in general well-favoured; we find among them many deformed persons, but cutaneous disorders are rare. Their dress is much the same as in Foutatoro. The women are not so handsome as those of that country: in shape and colour they are more like negresses. They wear fewer ornaments, and their garments are not made with equal elegance; but if they have not their graces, they seem to be exempt from their vices. The contempt with which wives divorced from their husbands are treated, operates, no doubt, as a check to infidelity. The men, though zealous followers of Mahomet, have neither the fanaticism nor intolerance of their neighbours. In Bondou and Foutatoro, murderers are beheaded or shot, but in the latter country, it is not difficult, with the aid of presents, to escape punishment.

The commerce of the country consists in slaves, gold, ivory, tobacco, cloth, and cotton, which they export to the neighbouring states, in exchange for millet, fire-arms, powder and cattle. A slave costs a double-barrelled gun, and two horns of powder; this is the price of five oxen, and a hundred cloths. Nothing is given away; every article must be paid for. The following are the prices of necessaries which I had occasion to purchase: a calabash full of water cost a necklace of glass beads; a measure of millet two necklaces; a measure of milk one necklace; a bundle of hay one necklace. Notwithstanding the mildness with which the slaves of Bondou are treated by their masters, they frequently escape into the woods, where they assemble to the number of two or three hundred, and seek refuge in Bambouk, where the king is ready to receive them as his subjects.

The kingdom of Bambouk, the gold mines of which have so long been the object of research with Europeans, lies to the east of Bondou. The Portuguese, in their early discovery of Africa, built forts in Bambouk, but were obliged to abandon them, either from wars with the inhabitants of the country, or on account of the mortality among their people, occasioned by the insalubrity of the climate.

Bambouk has ever been reckoned the Peru of Africa, and the accounts given of it by Compagnon and different agents of the French companies, have tended to confirm the high wrought descriptions of the negroes.

The war carried on by the Poulas of Foutatoro and Bondou against the Bambaras and the Serracolets, not permitting me to proceed further eastward, I could not enter Bambouk. It was, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance, as the inhabitants might have plotted against my life, as a forfeit for my curiosity and boldness.

All such particulars as I could collect respecting that rich country, seem to me to agree in general with those furnished in an anonymous work published in 1789.

Bambouk is in a manner overspread with lofty mountains. Their elevation proves a defence to the country, constantly exposed to the invasions of the Poulas of Bondou and the Bambaras, ready to seize and carry off the wealth which it contains. This country abounds in gold mines, and produces very malleable iron. The working of the former is nearly checked, by an opinion that certain death awaits the proprietor, who after discovering a new mine, fails to sacrifice a black cow to the gold. Policy may have contributed to this notion, lest the riches procured should attract the ambition of the neighbouring states. The inhabitants pretend also that it is useless to dig further than twenty feet deep, when the gold ceases to be found in large quantities, its disappearance indicates that it has left its place, or is hiding itself.

The most important mine is that of Natacoa; it is situated, according to the work just mentioned, in a hill, the height of which is three hundred feet, and the circumference from a thousand to twelve hundred paces; its summit resembles a dome. The hill of Natacoa is in the centre of an immense plain, at a distance from the hills of Tambaoura. The pits dug by the negroes are to the number of twelve hundred, and from twenty to twenty-five feet deep; at the surface they are twelve feet in circumference. They are formed with a slope, and steps for descending; but the sides being unsupported, they sometimes fall and injure the labourers. At the bottom there remains an emery, which it is difficult to separate from the gold. The mines of Nambia, Semaylla, and Combadiréré, produce great quantities, which the Moors take in exchange for salt.

The climate of Bambouk is intensely hot, but the numerous streams cool the air, and favour vegetation. Rice, millet, maize, and pease abound, and also the baobab and tamarind tree. The inhabitants possess numerous herds of goats and horned cattle, but few horses.

The people of Bambouk are Mandingoes; they profess the Mahometan religion, but disregard its rigorous laws. Their cruelty and perfidy render them terrible to travellers; even the other blacks venture among them with emotion. Nevertheless, the Moors, the Serracolets, and the Mandingoes of Gambia, visit the country to purchase gold, which may be obtained at a very low price.

The king of Bambouk, when attacked, retires with all his treasures to a mountain commanded by a fort, the elevation of which is its only defence; continual invasions have rendered them so suspicious, that they seldom permit strangers to enter their rich country, especially Europeans, with whose cupidity they are well acquainted.

CHAPTER VI.

Route in the Desert of Fouta Jallon.—Banks of the Gambia,—Cacagné, in Fouta Jallon.—The Iman Ali and his Wife.—Boubou the Guide.—Arrivals at Bandeia.—Sources of the Rio-Grande, and of the River Gambia.—Boié—Source of the Falemé.—Entry into Timbo, and Description.

MARCH 24th. About four o'clock the caravan left Marama-sita; it was composed of fifty Poulas, inhabitants of Fouta Diallon, who carried their merchandize upon their heads in baskets of an oblong form. They chiefly contained cotton, and a description of cloth made of the same material, which these negroes purchase in Bondou, in exchange for oxen, goats, gold, lemons, &c. &c. Three merchants from Foutatoro, had asses laden with cotton cloth, rolled in large rollers in the form of cylinders, and leather sacks filled with salt. Each traveller had his own earthen sauce-pan, and in a leathern wallet his stock of provisions; which were either dried couscous or pistachoes. My companions were dressed in cotton cloth, which hung about them in complete rags, together with the bow and arrows with which they were provided, rendered their appearance truly savage. Two Poulas, from Fouta Diallon, took their wives with them.

We had scarcely entered the woods which are upon the confines of the Bondou and the Fouta Diallon, when we heard, at about two hundred paces distant, a troop of elephants advancing. Not feeling anxious to encounter these enormous animals, we hastened forward with redoubled pace.

The Poulas, notwithstanding they are generally of a sprightly disposition, cannot undergo the fatigue of walking, but are obliged to repose every hour. They have less vigour than the Joloffa, but they can better support hardships and privations.

At midnight we lay down near some Mandingues huts, previously attaching our cattle to some trees, and I went into the woods to seek some forage, for Boukari was so fatigued that he was obliged to take repose.

March 25th. The sun having risen some time, when we set forward the heat was insupportable, and we halted near a delightful spring of pure water, which ran through a rich and beautiful plain. Here my companions dispersed, some to seek honey-combs, which they immediately brought and presented to me; others to cut rushes, with which they made baskets. After a few moments repose, we continued our route; the roads were in many places

impracticable in consequence of the large holes left by the elephants' feet. On measuring one of these impressions, I found it was three feet in circumference; from the traces of these animals, their numbers must have been enormous.

At sun-set, our appearance was truly imposing; the whole company prostrated themselves, and the songs of praise these pious beings addressed to their God, filled my soul with a sentiment of true devotion. These simple and affecting prayers were offered to the deity in a place, where no sound, but the voices of these children of nature, broke the calm silence of this immense solitude. I must confess, that I blushed to see myself the only person, standing in the midst of a group of beings, who, in the humblest altitude of prayer, were gratefully returning thanks to God for his protection of them during their journey. When the prayers were finished, one of them came and asked me if I never prayed, I told him my journal was the book in which I wrote my prayers, and this stratagem, which I always employed, seemed to do away any suspicion they may have conceived as to the real purport of my voyage.

Our troop now advanced farther into the thickest part of the wood, to wait the rising of the moon, which was all we had to guide us during the night. The instant this planet appeared, an old Poula, named Boubou, gave the signal of departure: After a long and painful march, we stopped in the midst of a plain that appeared to have been desolated by fire, for there did not remain the least particle of vegetation. While some of my companions went in search of a few leaves to make me a bed; myself and the rest of the party, made the fires necessary to preserve us from the beasts of prey, as well as to prepare our supper.

March 26th. After prayers, we again set forward, and, on arriving at an open plain, one of our companions exhorted us to hasten our steps, as that part of the country was much infested by banditti of Mandingues, who frequently attacked the caravans. We had now to pass several torrents, most of which were nearly impassable. At length, after two days journey, we perceived to the south-east, the lofty mountains of Baden, whose summits seemed to touch the clouds. Here we found ourselves so overpowered by fatigue, excessive heat, and the want of food, that, notwithstanding the advice and entreaties of an aged Marabout, who dreaded our being attacked by robbers, we halted near two springs, situated between two enormous oaks. Some dried leaves served us both for beds, and forage for our cattle, that were fasting hitherto.

March 27th. My horse was so dreadfully fatigued, that it was not able to carry me any farther. It is impossible to give a just idea of our sufferings on this day, in consequence of the rocks we

had to climb being excessively steep and slippery. But how completely did I feel repaid for all my troubles, on perceiving, at a short distance before me, la Gambie, running from north-east to south-west. The Poulas, in this part, call it Diman; its banks were not high but steep. The plains through which it passed in this burning climate, were covered with the most beautiful verdure. The width of the river in this place, equalled that of the Seine, at the Pont des Arts. Its waters, which are extremely limpid, on rolling over the rocks, produced a noise which much resembled the murmuring of the ocean on its shores. The water was not more than knee deep, but the bottom of it was so full of sharp flints, that I was obliged to wear my shoes in order to save my feet from laceration, whilst crossing the river. We spent three hours in getting our asses over. Three persons were employed with each ass; this animal, so useful on the mountains, caused us infinite trouble in passing the rivers, from the obstinacy and timidity of their disposition. Impatient at this delay, I took hold of the two fore-feet of my ass, while two of my companions laid hold of his hind feet, and thus we conveyed him to the opposite side. Being now upon the territory of the Fouta Deallon, we began to ascend high mountains, composed of granite and ferruginous stones.

I was sensibly affected on arriving at the top of these mountains, to behold a considerable extent of country one scene of desolation. On descending, the first plain we came to inhabited by man, was Cacagné. The chief of this village received us into his house, and this mark of hospitality was a good omen.

March 28th. After so long a march, we were in great need of repose, I therefore determined to pass the day at Cacagné. Here they cultivate tobacco, rice, millet, and a little cotton. This place is a sort of depot, where the merchants of Bondou come to purchase the productions of Fouta Deallon. I passed the day in making *gris-gris*, (amulets) which the inhabitants came and begged, fancying that they would make them as rich as the whites.

Some of them paid me with honey, and others gave me milk. I was also consulted as to what part of the body they should be attached to. Whilst thus employed, a negro asked Boukari to write his prayers upon one of his feet, which had been hurt. It must be confessed, that this charm was sufficiently mysterious, for it would have been rather difficult to make out what was written upon a black foot with ink.

March 29th. We passed a narrow defile between two chains of mountains. We observed some small villages on their summits, composed of enormous blocks of iron-stones, whilst the base was schistous. This base formed an inclined plane, up which we proceeded. Numerous rivulets of cold and limpid water ran in these ravines, and to this water I attribute the bad teeth of the

inhabitants. At noon we ascended a mountain to reach Landieni. A crowd was assembled round a Mandingo, who was playing on a violin, the strings of which were horse-hair, as well as the bow, which the musician held in his left hand; the tones were as melodious as the flute. Although the ears of these negroes were sensible of harmony, yet their hearts were callous to our prayers for provision, which we could only obtain at an exorbitant price. Disgusted at their behaviour, I advised my companions to be gone, and I began to call my horse.

Quitting Landieni, we wound round the mountains until we ascended Niebel; the acclivity was so rugged that I was compelled to dismount and walk. This village, although so elevated, is surrounded by still higher mountains. Niebel, like all other hamlets in these countries, resembles a *camp*. The scattered huts are built of straw, in the form of a tent. There is, however, a mosque at the foot of a baobab. This village, situated in a desert district, was destitute of provisions; I was obliged to fetch water and cook for myself.

March 30th. We were ready to start, when Boukari met with an Iman of Timbo whom he had seen at St. Louis; they entered into conversation, and Boukari informed me it was the opinion of the Iman that I ought to remain where I was, until it was known whether Almamy of Timbo would see me or send me back. I thought it prudent to comply, and as to my fellow-travellers, they had left us without notice.

Seating myself under a tree, I reflected on this new obstacle to my hopes. Though almost close to the source of the Gambia, I found it impracticable to reach the spot. I suspected that this Iman was a rogue, who wished to make a property of me; his rank gave him the power to injure me, I therefore determined to make a sacrifice to continue my route. I called Boukari, and desired him to conduct me to the Iman, whose name was Ali. The latter, after making me wait his pleasure, at length came; for in Africa all business is transacted in public; but before he would listen to me, he sent for the chief, and the principal inhabitants. When they arrived, I told him that the village of Niebel was destitute of every thing; that water was scarce, and millet so dear that I could not procure any. "Thou art a just man," added I, "and desirest not the death of the whites. If I am obliged to labour here I shall die with fatigue; permit me to go to Labbé, where I will remain, and wait for the answer of Almamy. My chief ordered me to see him, afterwards I shall return to St. Louis." This Iman was a Poula, resembling the Moors. "The half of my countrymen," he replied, "detest Europeans; but the half who are merchants, like them much. Thou hast therefore a party against thee, determined to oppose thy

passage; remain here two days, and I will supply thee with guides who shall conduct thee safely to Labbé. Thou art at present in the territories of Almamy; thou canst not proceed without his permission and mine."

The wife of Ali, sister to Almamy, came to see me. Her dress was composed of a blue Guinea cloth; strings of yellow amber adorned her hair, she was constantly chewing tobacco; the imperious air with which she entered my cabin, gave me a bad presentiment of what was to follow. A sheep ran by her side; without hesitation she gave it that water to drink which I had taken so much trouble to fetch in the morning, and also the rice to eat which I intended for my dinner. Perceiving that I bore this patiently, she demanded my pocket-handkerchief and my blanket. I obeyed, flattering myself she would be content with these petty depredations. The princess then addressed my Marabout as follows: "In Fouta Jallon wives direct the affairs of their husbands; if they make war or peace, it is according to their advice: tell thy white man that I can send him to Timbo in safety." This address eased my apprehensions, and I clearly saw that by presents I should remove all obstacles. I therefore gave the princess three pieces of coral; she threw them on the ground with contempt, exclaiming, "that she was not come to receive such trifles." I added to the three pieces of coral, three pieces of amber. "How trifling!" cried she; "give me coral;" I was in an awkward situation. I perceived that she would by degrees rob me of all my merchandize; I however gave her two other pieces of coral. "This blanket," said she, "pleases me; make me a present of it." "But I am in want of it for the night;" replied I. "Thou wilt not go to Timbo then," rejoined she, in an angry tone. Trembling at hearing this threat, I gave my blanket to Boukari, and his to the princess; it was so dirty that she threw it at my head with scorn, saying: "I will return in the evening to know if the white man has reflected on his situation, and whether he intends to continue treating me in a manner so unworthy of my rank."

At four o'clock Ali sent his son, to tell me that Ali was waiting for me behind the mosque. I went to him directly. His people formed a circle round him, whose faces were sufficient to excite serious alarm. "I have been to St. Louis," said Ali to me: "I know that the white people are very rich, I expect, therefore, a present worthy of thyself and me." "What wouldst thou have?" answered I. One of his people, whose hideous features sufficiently displayed what part he played, cried: "let the white man first give thirty pieces of coral." "But if I give them," I answered, "I shall have nothing left to get provisions." Having said this, I offered him ten pieces of coral. When I spread them

before him, Ali's eye was inflamed, and his features, which denoted perfidy, were furious. "What," said he, "is this a gift worthy of my rank? I can offer thee one a hundred times more considerable." "What dost thou ask then?" cried I angrily. "Money," replied he. "I have none." "Powder." "I have no more than one charge." "Cloths." "I have none of them; besides," added I, "the presents I made to Almamy of Foutatoro, and Almamy of Bondou, were much smaller; they accepted them thankfully." "And what is Almamy of Foutatoro to me?" cried Ali; "I insist on having more. Thou art not ignorant that the white men pay tribute to Foutatoro and Bondou; I also require one from thee for thy colour." "But I am not a merchant." "That is not my affair; I am thy king; give me twenty beads of amber; ten beads of coral; some glass beads for my attendants, and eleven beads of amber for the chief." Resistance to these demands would have cost me my life; for at his command a hundred daggers would have entered my heart. I therefore obeyed, and as I produced my amber beads, the people burst out into shouts of laughter. "Now," said the Iman, "thou mayest depart; I will even find thee a guide. What hast thou? Show me thy cargo." Knowing that he wished to rob me still more, I instantly enumerated the articles. "I will write on thy passport," he replied, "and thou hast nothing more to fear." The Iman Ali is a tall thin man; his features are dignified, but his laugh is hypocritical; his eye is full of animation; and, though not forty-five years old, his hair is grey. He dresses after the fashion of the Moors, whom he resembles in complexion.

Aware of the perils to which I was exposed in these mountains, I sought to gain the attachment of Boubou, who displayed such zeal in defending my cause; but he could accompany me no further, as his business detained him at Niebel.

I returned to my hut, thinking of the means I should employ to reach the sources of the rivers, which I believed to be in the interior of the country. During the night, the son of Ali brought me a little calibash of millet as a present; as I scrupled to receive it, he assured me, in the country I was about to enter, which was in a state of famine, it would be impossible to procure any food.

March 31st. Just as Boukari and myself were about to depart, I was much surprised on seeing Boubou, who had previously refused to proceed with us, saying, that his own affairs at Niébel would detain him some few days, his determination to accompany us was, therefore, very pleasing to me, for I had observed he was very indignant at the conduct I had experienced.

We now directed our course towards the south; and on our way passed the ruins of a fort formed of stone, which had been

raised by the Pagans, who had been all massacred by one of the predecessors of the reigning Almamy. Towards the middle of the day, we reach Languébana, a village inhabited by the Sarra-colets, who had made choice of this position, on account of its vicinity to a small river; these people always preferring those places where there is an abundance of fish. The greater part of the inhabitants have iron furnaces for smelting iron, which employment they prefer to every other; and for the beating of this metal, they use pieces of granite, of a round form, covered with a band of leather, and which is afterwards attached to strings that the workman holds in his hands, he then raises the stone and lets it fall upon the anvil, which is very low, and driven into the sand. By this tiresome and awkward process, they forge iron, and make bars of eight inches long. We did not remain at this place but a very short time, notwithstanding the chief of the village treated us with the greatest hospitality; his dwelling, which was large, was made of bamboos painted inside with black and yellow stripes. After a most painful march across the mountains, we arrived at Landaumary, in the evening. This place is built upon the summit of a very high mountain, which is so steep and rugged; that the inhabitants have been obliged to form a zigzag path to it.

April 1st. We continued our progress towards the south; and were incessantly obliged to climb abrupt rocks, the heights of which seemed to increase the farther we advanced. The western breeze rendered the afternoon cool and pleasant; but the night was so cold among these mountains, that we could not sleep in the open air; we therefore rested at Nadelé.

April 2d. We arrived early at a village called Famére, situated on a mountain, and built entirely of bamboos. After refreshing ourselves, we descended the mountain, and crossing an immense plain, well watered, we slept at Kauta Tangué or Badon.

April 3d. We still kept proceeding southward, and took the path that had been formed by the rains in the side of the rock. The higher we ascended the more difficult was the path; had it not been for the trees which bordered it, we must have fallen down the precipice, the depths of which was terrific. At last we arrived at a place so steep, that Boubou led my horse whilst I endeavoured to push him forward behind. At length the poor animal's strength failed him; he fell, and pulled Boubou along with him. I had just time to step aside, to save myself from being crushed: fortunately the trees that grew on the side of the mountain had saved him from falling into the frightful abyss, but my horse had received so violent a blow by falling on the rocks, that I feared I must have left him to his fate; however, after great exertion we got him on his legs. Boubou was scarce able to walk; he was the

more hurt, as he was encumbered with a load on his head ; two leathern bottles and his quiver.

It was two o'clock before we reached the summit of Tangué, which is composed of a reddish earth, and of iron-stone. The Tangué mountains are very lofty, and present a most magnificent view. They are crowned by a peak which is frequently hid in the clouds ; to the south-east are vast rocks, and during the rainy season the clouds gather round them, the thunder is incessant, and deluges inundate the country. This chain forms a barrier which protects Fouta Jallon from its enemies to the north, as an army could not pass them without experienced guides. It was so cold on the summit of Tangué, that I was glad to sit in the sunshine. We then descended into a pleasant valley, from whence rises the source of the Coumba. This river issues from rocks of granite, and after meandering among these mountains, joins the Rio Grande to the west. The pure air which we breathed in this delightful valley, and the coolness of the water of the river, made us forget the fatigues which we had suffered. After we had rested and satisfied our hunger in this charming place, heightened by the varied plumage and melodious notes of numberless birds. We proceeded to Mali, where we saw a mosque built of earth ; our path led us over high mountains, which was agreeably intersected by streams of clear water.

April 4th. Boubou informed me that he must remain a day at Mali, having no alternative, I was compelled to submit to the delay.

April 5th. The whole of this day was passed in climbing mountains, at the foot ran several fine springs, which flowed into the Gambia. On following the course of one of these streams, I was in an instant covered with ants, whose stings produced such acute pain, that I was obliged to undress myself entirely. Leaving to the west a chain of very high mountains which are surmounted by the peak of Niomri, we arrived at Fobé, where we were treated with great kindness by the schoolmaster of the place.

April 6th. The state of debility in which I was for want of food, caused me to fall down several times in the course of the day. We had not proceeded five leagues on our way, when the bleating of sheep, and the crowing of cocks, inspired us with the hope of finding provisions at Jelata. We were, however, disappointed, for the Djalonkés who inhabited this village were not able to supply us. We were about to depart, when a Marabout, who had been to the market of Labbé, sold me a kid, and a small measure of salt. Impatient at the absence of my guides, I directed a Djalonké to kill the kid. A moment after Boubou and Boukari arrived. At the sight of the dead animal, they became very angry. " This animal has been killed by a Pagan," said Boukari to me,

“and we will not eat of it.” “Yet,” replied I; “you accept his dinner when he offers it, and you lodge with him; are you then less guilty in the eyes of your prophet?” “We should be guilty,” they replied, “if we touched this impure food.” What answer could be made to such superstition! As I was not so scrupulous, I desired the Pagan to cure a part by drying it, and make me a bottle of the skin. My guides, though pinched with hunger, suffered me to eat, without partaking, or shewing the least disposition to violate their oath. After this meal we resumed our journey. We crossed the river Jelata, which runs eastward, and discharges itself into the Gambia. The road was still very fatiguing. We arrived at Foundatani, and partook of a plentiful supper, but had no other lodging than the bare ground.

April 7th. The refreshment of the preceding evening restored Boukari and Boubou to their former strength; and we departed before sun-rise. We found the roads the more difficult, because the inhabitants of these mountains, instead of clearing away the stones, even leave the trees in the way which they have occasion to cut down. We forded the river Poré Coura; which joins the Gambia. The lofty thick trees that grow along the banks of this river, were full of large monkeys four feet high, which made a great chattering when they saw us; I was inclined to fire at them, but my guides prevented me, asserting that it was a crime to kill human beings who had been changed for their sins into monkeys. We then crossed a mountain which was entirely bare. It was composed of ferruginous rocks, greyish ashes, and yellow sand. From this elevated spot we discerned Bandéia, situated on the ascent of another mountain.

April 8th. Abdoul, chief of Bandéia, treated me with great civility, and offered me a guide as far as Timbo, for which I felt very grateful; for being better acquainted with that part of the country than my other two guides, he had it in his power to shew me every thing worthy of attention.

April 9th. Before my departure, a great number of women came to see me, and after saluting the persons inside the dwelling, knelt down at the door, where they remained until I permitted them to enter; and then they would only sit on the ground. One of them informed me that Captain Campbell, in his expedition into the interior of Africa in 1817, lost all his asses, and was obliged to throw the greater part of his baggage and merchandize into the river de Thomine ou Dunzo.

As a reward for this information, the woman demanded an amulet, which she afterwards paid me for, by presenting me with a dozen oranges. My joy at the sight of this fruit was equal to that of M. Bougainville's savage, on seeing a cocoa tree. Hoping very shortly to see them growing on the trees, made me wish to go for-

ward without delay ; but Ali, one of my guides, told me he was not ready. I was not accustomed to these delays, but on this occasion I had great difficulty to correct my dissatisfaction, for we had been warned of the approach of the rainy season by an immense column of sand which had appeared in the course of the day, and that seemed to reach the clouds. This is a certain indication of the near approach of the rains which generally last in the entire six months.

April 10th. Before we set out, my new guide demanded the recompence I had promised him in advance. I gave him three grains of amber, promising to fulfil all his wishes, if I had reason to be satisfied with him ; he on his side swore to conduct me, conformably to my desire. In a wood my guide pointed out a tree called *bori* ; by boiling its leaves, the people of the country extract a salt, which they use in their food. On quitting this wood, we went through some dry rice fields, on the slope of a hill, on which appears the village of Songui. We found only women there, the men were gone to sell slaves at Kakandé, on the Rio Nunez.

We were now in Fouta Jallon, properly so called. The districts of Niebel or Niokolo, and Bandéia, through which we had travelled, are under the same sovereign, but his power there is more circumscribed.

The mountains of Niokolo and Bandéia present volcanic phenomena. Earthquakes are frequent and violent ; one had been felt two months before, the shock of which had extended to Timbo. The inhabitants believed it to be the end of the world. The mountain to the north of Bandéia, which is covered with ashes, is often shaken.

My guide told me, that one night being seated under a tree with his companions, little flames issued from the earth, and burned the dry grass near them. " It is honey hunters," they all exclaimed *, but on the return of daylight the flames were found to have proceeded from a very different cause.

The mountains of Fouta Jallon, to the north, are very lofty, and in general exhibit granitoid diabase, and ferruginous rocks. We saw here and there milky quartz, whitish jasper, and schistous psammites. The blackish soil which in some places covers them, is composed of ashes, and the remains of plants. One part is covered with thick forests, containing trees of extraordinary beauty. Excellent wood for carpenters, &c. might be found among them ; but there are no means of conveyance, for almost all the rivers are obstructed by bars of rocks. Iron is obtained in this district which must also contain gold, for several rivers wash it down. The inhabitants have made no attempt to discover the ore. They have sought for

* As honey is found in the nests of termites, the natives set them on fire during the night, that they may secure it without being stung by the bees.

gun-flint, but in vain. From their ignorance they make no use of quartz, which would form a kind of succedaneum. The horizon is always foggy on these mountains. Their declivities are so steep, that beasts of burthen cannot reach their summits, and men must carry their loads. Almamy, sensible how prejudicial these difficulties are to commercial intercourse, has offered a considerable reward to any one who shall bring a camel into his dominions.

The fanaticism of the followers of Mahomet, has driven many to seek an asylum here. The fugitives have not fixed their abodes in the caverns of rocks, as report testifies; their huts are like tents, which the Poulas construct in every place where they settle. The Djalonkés, who have not yet renounced fetishism, have retired thither, and preserved the liberty of thinking on religious matters. Mingled with the Poulas, they have produced a race of mis-shapen mulattoes, little better than savages; the Mahometans, however, keep them in subjection to the laws; they secretly curse Almamy, whose duty it is to enforce them. They plundered me; I wonder they did not murder me too, for no one would have revenged my death. Obligated to remove the stones, before they can sow any seed, they take no farther trouble, but leave to Providence the care of its germination and growth. Their poverty is commensurate with the sterility of their country. With these people, the leaves of trees, the juice of wild fruits, a handful of pistachio-nuts, appease their hunger; sobriety with them is but a forced virtue. Salt is extremely rare; they wrap it in small pieces of cloth with as much care as if it were gold. The look of these people has something hideous; their features are coarse. They are not very hospitable, for they have little to offer, and the traveller must expect nothing but lodging, and very often not even that. I have occasionally offered amber for millet, but could not procure it. The women are ever demanding presents.

When a woman is asked for water or milk, if her husband is in the hut, she makes no reply; if he is absent, she receives the stranger with kindness. The power of the husband is absolute. The villages resemble camps. Sheep are rarely met with, and neither asses nor horses are to be seen. My ass spread consternation through a whole district. Neither the lion nor the elephant has scaled these abrupt heights; the former would not find prey, and the latter is too unwieldy to ascend them. Hyænas and panthers are numerous, and the forests swarm with monkeys; some antelopes rove about in the defiles of the mountains. The population is inconsiderable.

The mountains which overlook Niébel are inhabited by the Djalonkés, who occupy four villages called Tenda Niébel. They pay tribute to the chief of Bandéia. Like the rest of their na-

tion, they worship three pieces of wood tied together, one white, the other black, and the third red. The inhabitants of one village will plunder those of another, and friend will sell his friend.

April 11th. We entered a less mountainous and stony country; we saw, however, some high mountains to the west; the Rio Grande ran in the same direction. The town of Labbé was to the south-east. We proceeded, without stopping, till two o'clock, in order to reach Toulou; for in Fouta Jallon, travellers do not halt during the heat of the day, but at the village where they rest they remain for the night. Toulou is a cheerful and pleasant village; every one encloses his house and his field, if not too large, with a fence formed of large euphorbias, reported to be poisonous. Having broken off some pieces, I saw the milky juice run from them. These enclosures are separated from each other, by a space large enough to fill a street. The huts are regularly built, and six feet high; two doors opposite to each other admits a current of air, which cools the interior. The floor of earth, baked hard, as it were, by the sun, is variegated with ornaments, according to the taste of the proprietor; the hut is scoured every day, and no one is allowed to spit in it.

Grass is so rare in the environs, that in the cold season (as the blacks call it) they feed their cattle with the leaves of trees; they have no millet, but rice grows in abundance.

I found at Toulou, the companions who had travelled with us from Cacagné, and quitted us at Niébel; they begged me to wait for them that we might proceed together to Timbo. I refused their request, knowing that they would be of no use, in a moment of danger; I called to mind the pusillanimity with which they had abandoned me when detained by Ali. As I wished to take advantage of my vicinity to the sources of the Gambia and Rio Grande, I did not conceal from my guide the desire I felt to visit those springs. "Ah!" replied Ali, "the inhabitants will not suffer it; they imagine that the white men, in exploring them, is to acquire possession of the country." "But," I replied, "will three grains of amber satisfy thee?" This was an irresistible temptation, which dispelled all his terrors.

When we had taken our repast, we received a visit from a number of the inhabitants of Toulou, who expressed surprise at our departure. I desired my interpreter to tell them, that I was going to Satina to procure provisions, since none were to be had at Toulou; and I hastened our departure. I pulled Boukari away from a numerous circle, to whom he was relating the wonders of St. Louis, where he had lived; he seemed very unwilling to rise. During our journey, my heart palpitated at sight of any traveller, fearing lest he should penetrate my intention, and throw obstacles in the way of its execution. Our first guide led us to the

west, then looking around on all sides, to see if any observed us, he turned to the north-west, and took us to sleep at Rumbd Toulou. Such excursions must be made in the open day, not to awaken the suspicions of the Poulas.

April 12th. In the morning, making my guide eat a hearty breakfast to keep him in spirits, we pursued a western direction, taking bye-paths in the mountains called Badet. We at length arrived at the summit of one of these heights; it was bare, and we could plainly distinguish below us, two thickets, one concealing from view the sources of the Gambia, (in Poula, Diman), the other those of the Rio Grande, (in Poula, Comba). The moment Ali perceived the two rivers, he exclaimed: "I fear they will murder thee, if they learn where thou art going; nevertheless, since thou art determined, we will proceed towards them, as if we were hunting, and Boukari shall go to the neighbouring village." The Poulas of Fouta Jallon call this village, *the Sources*. Satisfied with this arrangement, I prepared to resist any attack, and loaded my guns. It would be difficult to describe the uneasiness of Ali; he looked behind him every moment; but his anxiety to fulfil his promises made him overlook dangers, the idea of which chilled him with horror. Moving in a western direction, we rapidly descended the ferruginous mountain, the summit of which we had been traversing since sun-rise, and arrived in a beautiful valley. On the right and left appeared small villages; the ground was covered with high and thick dry grass, with not a stone on it; two thickets, which shaded the sources, rose in the midst of this plain, which drought had despoiled of its verdure.

On my approaching that which covers the source of the Rio Grande, I was seized with a sort of reverential feeling, as if I was advancing to one of the sacred springs hallowed by Paganism, as the residence of divinities. Trees seemingly coeval with the river, render it invisible to all who do not penetrate into the wood; its source gushes from the bosom of the earth, and runs north north-east, passing over rocks. At the moment when I discovered the Rio Grande, it slowly rolled along with its turbid waters; two or three hundred paces from the source they were clearer, and fit to drink. Ali informed me, that in the rainy season, two ravines in the neighbouring hill, then dry, and which terminate at the source, conduct thither two torrents, which increase its current; at some leagues distance from the fountain head, and beyond the valley, the Rio Grande changes its direction, and runs westerly.

Proceeding south-south-east, through the same meadow, Ali suddenly stamped on the ground, when the earth resounded in a frightful manner. "Underneath," said he, "are the reservoirs of the two rivers; this noise is occasioned by their being now empty."

After walking about thirteen hundred paces, we reached the wood which concealed the source of the Gambia. I forced my way through the thorny bushes, and obtained a sight of it. This spring, like the other, was not abundant; it issues from beneath a kind of arch in the middle of the wood, and forms channels; one stream running south-south-west, stops at a little distance, as the quality of the ground will not allow it to go further, even in the rainy season; the other runs down a gentle declivity, and takes a south-south-east direction. At its exit from the wood, and about six hundred paces farther, it is not more than three feet broad.

After ascertaining the relative position of the sources of the Gambia and Rio Grande, so near each other, I hastened to re-join Boukari, who awaited us with a sort of timorous impatience. We rejoiced at not having met with any unpleasant adventure; in fact, we had only seen a number of oxen roving in the meadows contiguous to the sources.

The whole valley forms a kind of funnel, its outlets being the two defiles by which the rivers run off. The hand of man has never made use of the axe in the woods which overshadow the two springs, as the natives believe them to be inhabited by spirits. They are careful not to enter them, and had any one seen me penetrate within them, my life would have paid the forfeit. From the situation of these two sources, in a basin, between high mountains, covered with ferruginous stones and cinders, and almost destitute of verdure, they may be thought to occupy the crater of some extinguished volcano. The ground which resounded under our feet, may cover one of the abyasses whence the fiery eruptions issued.

Fearful of creating suspicion, we quickly left the village where we had halted, and marching to the south, soon arrived on the banks of the Gambia, which are here adorned with trees of peculiar beauty; on both sides, the soil is astonishingly fertile. Large fields of rice and tobacco, promised an abundant crop; the river meanders through this rich country; its numerous windings obliged us to ford it, several times, to avoid lengthening our journey. I had witnessed its progressive increase from its source ever since I left it. At the spot where we crossed it, for the last time, it was twenty feet wide, and its current scarcely perceptible; its bed was formed of granitoid diabase. On quitting its banks, we ascended mountains, the sides of which were enamelled with flowers of the purest white, which exhaled a perfume similar to the blossom of the orange tree. On these heights, we found three huts, in one of which we received hospitality.

April 13th. Our host was a shoe-maker, and we employed him in repairing our shoes, which were in a very bad state. We set off

rather late, and had to endure the heat of the day. I forgot this fatigue, on entering Cambaia. The streets of this village were shaded by orange trees, the blossoms of which embalmed the atmosphere. At first, I had conceived a favourable idea of this place, and indeed we found abundance of every thing. For a grain of amber, I received thirty pounds of rice, and thirty oranges.

We took a south-eastern direction, on leaving Cambaia, and at a little distance from that place, passed the night in a *rumbulé* near the road; these are villages in which the Poulas of Fouta Jallon assemble their slaves. They live there under the superintendence of one of their comrades.

April 14th. This day, we forded the Domba, a river which runs to the east, and discharges itself into the Falemé; we halted at Kala. As the length of my hair incommoded me, I set about cutting it off, when a Marabout eagerly picked it up, as an excellent talisman against head-aches. The change thus produced in my appearance, did not render me more agreeable to the negresses. I learned from their conversation, how much they disliked men with white faces. One woman said to her companion, "Wouldst thou take such a man as that for thy husband?" "No" replied the other, "he is too white, I should be afraid of that ugly, milk-coloured face." "But thou dost not know with what riches he would load thee!" rejoined the first. "Then one might accustom one's self to live with him," replied the other. After the heat had abated, we proceeded on our journey.

We crossed the Contari, a little river which falls into the Domba, and halted for the night at Fenolengué. The country, for the last two days, appeared fertile and well cultivated. The slaves, under a master, were busy, some digging, others sowing grain, while the children were collecting the dung of cattle, for fuel, during the rainy season. The negroes do not then go abroad, to cut wood in the forests.

About noon, we halted at *rumbulé* Gali, which may be known, at a distance, by two lofty trees of the species called *bentang*. The inhabitants, afflicted with venereal complaints, came in crowds to ask me for medicines; for the negroes take all white men to be physicians. I felt mortified at not being able to answer the high opinion entertained of my skill; the poor people were worthy of compassion, for some, in agonies of pain, uttered loud cries. A few sudorifics are the only remedies within the reach of these unfortunate beings, who know the use of them, but they do not appear sufficient for their relief. I was glad to quit a place, where my ears were so assailed by plaintive voices. We passed the night at Dongué.

I had promised my guide a kid to celebrate the discovery of

the sources; I performed my promise at Dongué. He was employed to kill the kid. According to the custom of some African butchers, he swallowed the spleen raw, and entire, without touching it with his teeth, but this was all that he tasted of the animal. When the feast had commenced, a dispute arose between Ali and our host; as I took the part of the latter, who was in the right, Ali swore by Mahomet, never to eat with me again, and to leave me, since I had sided with a man who had insulted him. I felt concern, as this intelligent guide was necessary to enable me to reach the sources of the Falemé and Senegal. Related to one of the first families in Fouta Jallon, the name alone of Ali procured me universal respect. The success of my enterprise required me to effect a reconciliation with Ali, but my European pride was an obstacle. However, I conquered my repugnance, and directed Boukari to give Ali two grains of amber. This produced the desired effect: Ali promised to accompany me, but he adhered to one part of his oath, by refusing to eat of my kid.

April 15th. Two leagues beyond Dongué, we entered Sèfoura, a large village with a mosque. It being too early for us to halt, we proceeded to a *rumbdé* at some distance. The orange trees here were so laden with fruit, that we could scarcely perceive the leaves. A few glass beads were sufficient to purchase a calabash full of oranges and bananas. From this village to Timbo, the country is covered with orange, banana, and papaw trees. It is easy to conceive the satisfaction a traveller must feel, after traversing regions that produce only bitter or tasteless fruits, to find himself in a country abounding in the richest gifts of nature. Fouta Jallon is indebted to the Portuguese for these valuable productions. The *sone* which I saw, for the first time, in this *rumbdé*, produces exquisite fruit, hanging in a bunch like grapes; it is an African tree.

No sooner had we left this *rumbdé*, than an old man came up and laid hold of my head with both his hands, rubbing them over his face, and testifying uncommon pleasure at having thus seen a white man. After crossing as a bridge, the trunk of a tree, over the river of Boié, which unites with the Falemé, we entered Boié, a beautiful village in a very agreeable situation. We were waiting for some one to offer us an asylum, when Boubakar, the chief, arrived, accompanied by his three wives. Seeing me, these women covered themselves with their veils. Boubakar desired them to uncover, and to salute me; he then conducted me into one of his huts. They all testified uncommon kindness, so that I was reminded of the civilities of Fonebé. They brought me two dozen of oranges, and spread upon the ground several mats, which made me an excellent bed.

April 16th. Early in the morning, Boubakar entered my hut,

and told me, that wishing me to stay, he should present me with a goat. I could not withstand his gracious manner. His presence protected me from importunity, but during his absence, the children of the village flocked to my hut, each bringing a little present of oranges; next came the old men, and lastly a crowd of women. They all took me by the hand, and solicited medical assistance for various disorders. Venereal diseases, the gout, and goitres, were the most frequent maladies. When these patients retired, a woman offered me a calabash full of oranges, intreating me to give her an herb that would make her have children. I answered, that she must address her prayers to the Almighty, to obtain what she wished for. Most of the women who consulted me were evidently in good health; the object of their visit was interested, for I saw them retire dissatisfied, because the white man had not given them amber or glass beads.

At two o'clock, I prepared to leave Boié, after making a present to Boubakar. This hospitable chief, whom I have since seen at St Louis, intreated me to pass the rest of my days with him. "I will give thee a wife," said he; "I will satisfy thy wishes; I will behave to thy children as to my own; my slaves, my house, all I have shall belong to thee." "I too have a family," answered I, "to whom I must return." He smiled, and admitted that he could not blame me for this refusal to remain with him.

Before we parted, Boubakar ordered his wives to salute me, and then conducted me beyond the limits of his territory. We soon arrived at Courbari; the chief who lodged us presented his two sons to me. Their skin fell off in scales, occasioned by the bite of a large snake, common in this country.

April 17th. At sun-rise, I started with the intrepid Ali, for the sources of the Falemé; we had told the inhabitants of this last village, that we were going a-hunting. After proceeding for an hour to the north-north-west, we arrived at the source of the Falemé, called Thené by the Poulas. I could not have ascertained it without a guide, for the water was very low; it is situated in a basin surrounded by mountains.

On returning to Courbari, we crossed the Falemé, on the trunk of a tree; the inhabitants who saw us come back, without a single head of game, accused me of want of skill. I was obliged to take these jokes in good part. I had still to visit the sources of the Senegal, to which Ali, no longer frightened, promised to conduct me.

April 18th My host at Courbari would accept of no presents. Boukari now brought me a supply of tobacco, which had been given him, as a reward for telling fortunes. Without seeking it, we profited by such credulity. We crossed the Falemé about a league from its source; it was nearly eighty paces broad in this

place, and ran over a bed of sand and flint. After a wearisome march, we arrived at Niogo. The streets of this village form covered alleys; each hut is encircled by a court, enclosed by a hedge of euphorbias, the entrance being through a hut of a square form and pretty large. The doors are as high as ours; some ornamented with a pretty kind of sculpture. The inhabitants are rigid Mahometans.

April 19th. We continued our course to the south, through a level country. Here it is enough to commit the seed to the ground to reap abundant crops. At Poukou, I saw an African parasite, but we were then approaching the capital. This man, named Alpha, came to partake of our dinner, without invitation.

April 20th. Anxious to arrive at Timbo, we started before sun-rise. On descending from the heights into a beautiful verdant valley, watered by a limpid stream, we perceived some country houses belonging to the inhabitants of Poukou. Almost all the richer Poulas build such houses in spots where there is abundant pasturage for their cattle. After crossing the Sama which falls into the Senegal, we came in sight of Timbo, a large city situated at the foot of a high mountain. We entered it by an avenue of bananas. Abdoulai, a common Marabout, who acted as viceroy, ordered a weaver, a slave of Almamy's, to give us lodging.

April 21st. Early in the morning we were told that we could not leave Timbo till the return of Almamy, who was not expected for twenty-five days. This would have obliged us to remain six months in the capital, for in the rainy season it is scarce possible to travel through a country where every little stream swells to a large river. When I was introduced into the audience chamber, and enquired the purport of my journey, "I am come," said I, "to salute your powerful king, and to offer him my gun as a present. The governor of St. Louis, having learned that your commerce declines in the stations of the Rio Nunez, has ordered me to repair to Almamy, to desire him to encourage his subjects to a more active intercourse with our colony, where merchandize abounds, and after they reach Galam, two months will be sufficient to proceed by the river to St. Louis. On undertaking this mission," I added, "I have determined to give thee two quires of paper." Abdoulai approved the object of my journey, and declared that no one had ever offered to Almamy so magnificent a present; he added that the inhabitants of Fouta Jallon would gladly go to St. Louis. When I expressed a wish to depart, he told me I was at liberty, and that he would give me a letter to the governor of St. Louis. After this, he dismissed us.

April 22nd. I had given away my gun, as I had reason to fear it would be taken from me, the negroes themselves who pass through Timbo being obliged to make considerable presents. Abdoulai made me a present of two bags of rice.

VIEW OF TIMBO

We passed the night in the country house of Abdoulai's son. Our host set before me sugar in a china saucer, with some rice rolls on a plate, and spread on the ground for my bed, a large mat of Liban, which might rival the most beautiful stuffs in the richness of the design.

Timbo contains about nine thousand persons; also a spacious mosque and three forts, in one of which is the palace of Almamy, comprehending five large huts, regularly built. The fortifications are of earth, and falling in ruins; in several places loop-holes are yet visible. Timbo must have been a very ancient city; all the neighbouring country retains its name. The king and the army reside here. I was informed that no fewer than a thousand horses are to be seen within its precincts. The inhabitants are rich. All the women have silver bracelets, and large gold ear-rings, and wear cloths of blue Guinea stuff, which is an indication of unusual luxury among the Africans.

In Timbo, when I was there, only old men, children, and cripples or infirm persons, with a very small number of women, were to be seen. The huts in general, are built with a degree of taste. The courts are planted with papaw and banana trees.

I did not experience any rough treatment from the inhabitants; they are in the habit of seeing strangers, having frequent communications with the Rio Nunez, and Sierra Leone.

CHAPTER VII.

Source of the Senegal.—Ali quits the Author.—The Rainy Season.—Boubou attempts to poison him.—Suadou attaches himself to the Author.—They escape to Bourré,—Not allowed to depart till Presents have been extorted from them.—The Serracolets.

APRIL 23d. The pleasure we felt at having escaped the dangerous presence of Almamy, made us double our speed on our return to Bandeia, so that we reached Poukou at an early hour.

Here they brought a young Albiness, to see what effect would be produced on me by her appearance. She had neither eye-brows nor eye-lashes; her colour was a chalky white, her eyes could scarcely bear the light of the sun, her hair and features were like those of the negroes, She walked with a slow step, and her whole exterior indicated debility.

April 25th. Our route was easy; we were traversing a very fertile plain, when I perceived near the road, three columns in a line, at equal distances from each other. Supposing them to be the works of man, I was curious to approach them; but was overwhelmed with astonishment on ascertaining that the artificers were the ants called termites. On quitting the plain, we left Sumbalako to our left,

and arrived on the banks of the Senegal. This river was broad, though we were near its source; we forded it on a ridge of rocks which crossed its bed. We halted for the night at Dalaba, a village inhabited by Mandingoes from Kankan.

April 26th. Ali had engaged to conduct us to the sources of the Senegal, but the obligation of keeping his promise so terrified him, that he lost his appetite. He dreaded every moment a messenger from Timbo, coming to apprehend us. The safety which I every where enjoyed demonstrates the sincerity with which the negroes observe their oaths. Ali, however, omitted no opportunity of collecting all such information as was necessary to enable us to accomplish this object.

We first proceeded north; then crossing a fertile plain watered by the Senegal, we forded this river, the shallow current of which flowed over a bed of sand and flints; we next began to scale a very steep mountain. We were still at some distance from the summit, when Ali discovered, on our left, a thicket of tufted trees, which concealed the sources. The Senegal here was hardly four feet broad. Ascending the stream, we perceived two basins, one above the other, from which the water gushed forth, and higher up, a third, which was only humid, as was the case with the channel that led to the basin below it. The negroes, however, consider the upper basin as the principal of these sources. The three springs were situated about the side of the mountain. In the rainy season, two ponds at equal distances above the upper source, supply it with water along two deep channels.

The Senegal, called Baleo (black river) in the Poula language, Bafing in Mandingo, which means the same, or Foura, that is, simply the river, runs at first from north to south, then passes at a little distance to the south of Timbo, and afterwards pursues a western direction. On one of the trees near its sources, I engraved the date of the year in which we made this discovery. Having rejoined Ali, who was on the look out, we ascended the mountain to Poré Daka, where I was lodged in the workshop of a blacksmith.

April 28th. We were detained at the passage of the Falemé; a narrow ridge of rocks formed a ford across this river, which was there very broad. The water reached up to our waists; I fell into a deep hole, and had nearly lost my journal. By the help of some underwood, to which we set fire, we roasted a handful of pistachio-nuts, and moving forwards, arrived, in the evening, at Rhumde Paravi, where the inhabitants were so terrified at our ass, that we were unable to procure a lodging.

April 30th. A singular circumstance marked this as an unlucky day. Ali left me; Boukari had accused him of telling the inhabitants of the different villages, that I had a great quantity of merchandize, thus making me pay very dear for our provisions. I endeavoured to re-establish concord between these two men, both

of whom were so serviceable to my expedition, but all my efforts were fruitless.

Being obliged to part with this faithful guide, who had explored for me the sources of four principal rivers, I soon felt the want of him. At a little distance from Lalia we could not discover any traces of our way; luckily we were joined by some Poula merchants, going to the market of Labbé, who offered one of them to accompany us as a guide, for six charges of powder. We then crossed the Gambia, and a storm made us hasten to a village where the poor slaves presented a ragout, composed of millet flour, mixed with a species of fly, called *betti*. I conquered my disgust, but the aversion I felt brought on an attack of fever.

May 2d. In this day's journey we could not reach Bandeia till dark. I repaired to Boubou's hut; he expressed great joy on seeing us again. At supper, Boubou informed us, that Ali had returned to Bandeia, two days before, and revealed to him the secret of my mission; Boubou also claimed merit for having defended me against two negroes from Bondou, who asserted that I had gone to Fouta Diallon, to visit the sources. This conversation could not but make me uneasy.

I passed the 3d and 4th of May at Bandeia, proposing to recruit my strength, and then proceed towards the Niger. My intention was to descend this river, in a canoe as far as Tombuctoo, where I hoped to arrive, by appearing as the slave of my Marabout. On the 4th, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a tremendous clap of thunder, which announced the approach of the rains, was a sure omen of the obstacle that would oppose this project. At the terrible sound, all the inhabitants rushed out of their habitations; we could see the storm in the east, like a thick fog, advancing and enveloping the mountains; the mass of water was prodigious, but from its slow movement, we had time to seek refuge in Boubou's hut, as being more substantial. Scarcely had we entered, when the frightful spectacle of a deluge presented itself; the rain came down in torrents, with hail to augment the horror of the scene. The cattle, not knowing where to find shelter, uttered dismal moans; in an instant the ground was quickly inundated.

I was obliged to stay at Bandeia to sell my horse, and procure a guide, and mental anxiety superadded to the dampness of my hut, into which the rain penetrated through the crevices, gave me a violent attack of fever.

On the 11th, on a bundle of straw, I wrote my will, believing that the next night would be my last. Boukari supported my head; this faithful servant shed tears, and when I put my journal and merchandize into his hands to be delivered to M. de Fleuriau: "Ah! my master," cried he, sobbing; "can I survive thee? No! thou canst *not* die, thy destiny forbids it; take

courage, the Sovereign of the universe will preserve thy life, trust in his power and willingness." "Boukari," answered I, "If any one ought to weep it is I, since I die in a foreign land, far from all that is dear to me; bury me in the neighbouring wood, at the foot of the great mahogany tree, where I rested, on my arrival at Bandaia, and turn my head towards the north."

After giving these directions, that the inhabitants, in their fanaticism, might not expose my body to birds or beasts, I fell into a swoon, so that I thought I was going to sleep for ever; but a salutary crisis had taken place. On the 12th, when I awoke, I was surprised to find myself nearly rid of the disorder. While rejoicing at being so delivered, I heard Boukari uttering deep groans, forced from him, by the cholic. Having made some figures on calabashes filled with cold water, he swallowed it, and the complaint left him. Magnetism may regard this as the effect of her power.

The relief I had felt for a little time made me hope that I had recovered my health, but I soon found myself afflicted with a train of evils, a dysentery, fever, and violent tooth-ache, with the stings of the sand-flea, (*pulex penetrans*). The crowds of people to see me breathe my last, made my sufferings still less supportable.

But when I thought I had surmounted these afflictions, I found myself involved in greater. Boubou, who seemed to think of nothing but the means of affording me relief, was planning to destroy me. Weary of waiting for the death of one whose property he coveted, he sent me a fowl, into which he had put poison. From the disagreeable smell of the broth, and its red colour, I could not take more than two spoonfuls. The poison produced excruciating pains in the stomach. Boukari, who only tasted the broth, suffered in the same way. Boukari having given me some milk, I was enabled to judge of my danger, by the vomiting which it occasioned. The wife of Boubou, to exculpate herself, alleged that, in mistake, she had dressed the fowl in a vessel in which she had just before been boiling herbs, to cure the cholic. The fowl had been thrown into the road, and a slave, who ate part of it, was at the point of death in the evening. An expression which escaped Boubou was decidedly convincing: "I must be out of the way, for I know that in a few hours the white man must expire."

June 1st. Boubou began to unmask his real character. He forbade his wives to give me any food. Boukari was obliged to dress my food, to wash the little linen which I had left, and to fetch water from a great distance. Boubou suspected that I had favoured the flight of one of his wives, who was gone to Bondou, to seek an asylum from the vengeance of her rivals. He ran over the whole village, threatening the inhabitants with his dis-

pleasure, if they furnished me even with water. I then found myself likely to want necessaries. One woman only, named Comba, bent with the weight of years, despised his threats, saying, that she would supply me with every thing I wanted. If Providence had not sent us this guardian angel, we must have sunk exhausted by hunger, fatigue, and sickness.

Boubou seeing his vile attempts frustrated, as this woman every day shared her frugal repast with us, entered my hut, and demanded payment for the attentions bestowed on me for a whole month. He added, that being acquainted with my secrets, he should inform the inhabitants; he even threatened to cut my throat immediately, if I did not give him what he claimed. I reminded him of the many rewards which I had given him at different times, the friendship he had professed for me, and asked how he could attempt the life of a sick man, who had never injured, and was unable to resist him. "When our enemy is down," answered he, "that is the time to fall upon him, besides, I am armed, and thou art not, it is for thee to ransom thy life." The menacing air which he had assumed, restored my vigour; mustering all my strength, I seized my gun which lay hid under my tunic; for, during a month past, I had slept in my clothes, completely armed, I then levelled it at Boubou. "Take that," said I, throwing him thirty-five grains of coral, and fifteen charges of powder, "take that, and if thou darest appear in this hut again, I will shoot thee. He retired, vowing vengeance. Boukari perceiving that there was a design against my life, intreated me to quit this place. The next day, contemplating my situation, flight appeared impossible; besides, the inhabitants of the village, certain that I should soon expire, sent their children round my hut, who threw stones at me, overthrew the water, or took away my provisions. One day I fired my gun among these wretches; the shot did not take effect, for I had not strength to preserve the level.

Ali, who came from time to time to sell me secretly provisions, told me news one evening, calculated to excite alarm. Boubou had been urging the inhabitants of Timbéré, a neighbouring village, to kill me, and seize the wealth which I possessed; but these worthy men drove him away, and upbraided him with his ingratitude, for seeking to assassinate a white man who had given him so much. Boubou, not discouraged at this, informed the chief of Labbé, that I had been to visit the sources; and this chief was to come and interrogate me on the subject.

The danger was imminent, and it was necessary for me to depart. On the 6th of June, I promised Ali a large reward, if he would conduct me to the Portuguese establishments; he consented, on condition that I should set off alone with Boukari, promising to join me out of the village. I seated myself on my ass, being unable to walk, and my faithful Boukari had to support me

The sun had not risen when we arrived on the banks of the river of Bandeia, which was considerably swelled by the rains; no one appeared, and we knew not where to find the ford. "Has Ali betrayed us then?" I asked Boukari. What was our surprise on seeing, instead of Ali, Abdoul, who falsely represented himself as the chief of Bandéia, advancing towards us, accompanied by the infamous Boubou. The latter reproached us with our precipitate flight; he then accused me of having been accessory to the escape of one of his wives; lastly, he imputed to me as a crime, not having apprized him of my departure, for it had been his intention to accompany me. Had my strength been adequate to the fury of my passion, Boubou would have fallen a victim to it; but there was a necessity to return, and wait a more favourable moment. I then presented Abdoul with my horse, now rendered useless by his wound: it was not without regret that I delivered this faithful companion of my travels into such hands, but I hoped to soften them by this gift.

A singular circumstance tended to relieve me, in the paroxysms of my affliction. Several women came, one day, into my hut, and offered me calabashes full of milk, to let them cut off a few locks of my hair, for talismans. If I had allowed them, they would have clipped it quite close; such was their desire to possess the hair of a white man. Ali came frequently, but this young man had lost my confidence. I thought him, however, rather weak than guilty, being intimidated by the threats of Abdoul and Boubou; besides, he had been in a profound melancholy, which disturbed his reason. His grief was occasioned by the perfidy of his mistress, who had carried off all the amber he earned in my service, and deserted him. This poor fellow passed whole days in the woods, without eating or drinking; it was an amorous despair, which I had thought incompatible with the constitution of a negro. Seeing that Ali could be of no service, I tried to gain over his brother Saadou, by the promise of fifteen grains of amber. Saadou consented; he swore to serve me as a guide, and to keep my secret.

June 12th. At sun-rise, Boukari and Saadou placed me on my ass, and we quitted Bandeia, directing our course towards the west. My joy was extreme, when I saw myself out of Bandeia; the appearance of the country too, enhanced the pleasure which I felt. The rains had restored all the verdure of spring. Every where the flocks were grazing in rich pasturage, over spots where nothing appeared before but desolation. I now felt the full value of liberty, and, notwithstanding my unpleasant condition, I confidently expected to reach the European settlements. I had, however, much difficulty to govern my ass, to whom six weeks liberty had restored his headstrong disposition. At an early hour,

we arrived at a hamlet, composed of a few huts. Saadou, who had property here, begged me to halt, whilst he directed his slaves what they were to do, during his absence. I was scarcely seated in a hut, when I perceived Boubou. This traitor was returning from Labbé, a large trading town, the chief of which, though the vassal of Almamy of Timbo, exercises a kind of sovereign power over a great extent of country. Boubou was conversing with the brother of the chief of Labbé. Some of the retinue of the latter came to me, saying, they were sent by the chief of Labbé, and ordered me not to leave the place where I was. I prepared, however, to depart; and if a storm had not prevented, should have put my design in execution. When I returned, Ali also came with a message from his brother Abdoul, forbidding me to stir. A moment afterwards, the latter entered my hut; notwithstanding his protestation of friendship, I was well acquainted with his perfidious disposition. Boubou also appeared, and told me, in the name of Abdoul, that I could not go, unless I took Ali or himself with me. At these words, looking fiercely at Boubou, and addressing myself to Abdoul, I said to him: "There is but one way to prevent me from pursuing my route, which is to fetter my legs. Why dost thou order me to stay, when yesterday thou gavest me leave to depart? Being at liberty to chuse, I have taken Saadou for my guide; he alone shall be paid; for he alone deserves my confidence. Ali and Boubou may follow me, but I will never pay traitors; if thou desirest my death, take my gun, and kill me." "I am not an assassin," answered Abdoul. "What then?" I replied, "since yesterday thou refusedst me a handful of rice for my supper, when I had just given thee my horse. If thou wishest for my merchandize, take it, it is thine; but thou never shalt prevent my departure." To secrete my amber and coral, I had the precaution to roll it round Boukari's waist. My firm tone intimidated Abdoul; he begged me to wait only till the next day, and I should then be free. When these banditti were gone, I endeavoured to tranquillize Saadou, who, having been present at my conversation with his brother, dreaded his vengeance; I succeeded so well, that he discovered to me the knaveries of my enemies. "Thou art ignorant," said he to me, "that Abdoul is not the chief of Bandeia; he only performs the functions, during the absence of his brother Mamadou. Boubou, who has sought to destroy thee, and who was driven from Bondou for his crimes, has gained his confidence. Ali is too young to resist their will. As to myself and Boubakar, we have ranged ourselves on the side of our brother Mamadou. They wish to draw thee back to Bandeia; to rob thee; but if thou wilt follow my advice, remain in this hut, as in a fortress where hospitality will prove thy salvation. This intimation was the more important, as this fami-

ly was then divided into two parties, and to gain over one of them would bear down all difficulties.

June 14th. On escaping from these snares, I hastened to profit by a decision which restored me to liberty, fearing lest they might repent having granted it to me. Had I not been flying from assassins I could not have continued travelling in my condition. When the sun had risen, I gave fifteen grains of amber to Mamadou, who had so well pleaded my cause in the council, and we departed. With great difficulty we scaled the mountains which surround Bourré; on their summit, enveloped in clouds, we found respiration somewhat painful. We halted at Pellalle, a village inhabited by Djalonkes. Though it was only four leagues from Bourré, the rains had not yet fallen in the district, which was destitute of vegetation; the western breeze still cooled the air here. In this part of Fouta Diallon, the negroes construct their habitations on the tops of the mountains. The traveller discovers cattle and houses, like so many birds nests on rocks. The village of Ardetenkata, to which we were going, is so lofty, and the roads so difficult, that if a storm had not drenched our clothes and cooled the air, we could not have reached it.

June 17th. In passing through some woods, we heard the cries of ourang-outangs, which made us stop to see some. Though common in these parts, they are so wild, that we could not obtain a sight of one; the cry generally resembles the barking of a small spaniel. This animal has no tail; it browses the grass in the meadows; at a distance it might be taken for a goat; every day it builds a new hut with the branches of the trees on which it fixes itself; it is dangerous to meet this beast, if a person be unarmed. The negroes hold that these apes manifest an ardent passion for black women. We were waiting until the heat of the day was over, when the chief of a neighbouring village arrived with his wives. My people turned their backs to let them pass, and then shook hands with the chief, who was so corpulent, that he could not walk without leaning on others. He seemed uneasy at my presuming to look at his wives, and my not kneeling to salute him. Having resumed our route, a storm overtook us as usual, at two o'clock. The rain fell with such violence, that I could not hear my people, who walked at some distance. I parted from them, not observing it, and lost the path. Coming to a river swollen by the rains; the trunk of a tree was the bridge, but it proved to be so slippery, that I placed myself astride upon it, and having narrowly escaped tumbling a dozen times, I arrived at the opposite bank, which I could not climb without using both hands. I was still at a loss which way to take, and not a creature was to be seen. Fortunately Saadou made his appearance, extricated me from my dilemma, and conducted me to Rumbé-Koukouma, where we passed the night. I was unable

to sleep, which so weakened me, that I was obliged to halt all the next day.

June 19th. We descended into a more level and less stoney country, leaving Cambréa, a large village of the Serracolets, to our left. We then reached Bentala, another village of that nation, after fording a river of the same name, the water of which came up to our chins. The current was so rapid, that Boukari supported me on one side, whilst Saadou, to whom I was fastened by a cord, dragged me to the opposite bank. The river of Bentala, which comes from the north, discharges itself into the Comba, (or Rio Grande) as well as the Tomine, (the Dunzo) which comes from the south. After receiving these two rivers, the Comba assumes the name of Kabou; it empties itself into the ocean, opposite to the Bisagos. Cambréa and Bentala are marts for such European merchandize as the Serracolets purchase among the Portuguese, to carry into the east, in exchange for gold and slaves. The Serracolets are natives of the country of Galam or Kajaaga; they appear to be the most intelligent and adroit of all the negroes in commercial affairs; their passion for traffic is such that their neighbours say, by way of derision, that a Serracolet would rather buy an ass to transport his merchandize, than have a wife, whose expences would diminish his income. All European travellers agree in describing them as remarkably hospitable. When a stranger enters the house of a Serracolet, the latter goes out, and says, "White man, my house, my wife, my children belong to thee." It is a fact that the guest then enjoys all the prerogatives of the master. When a vessel anchors before one of their villages, which are numerous on the Senegal, the whole crew are supplied with necessaries without paying for them. Gunpowder and fire-arms are in request with them, as they are great hunters: iron abounds in their country. Galam is one of the most fertile territories in Africa; millet (*holchus saccharatus*), rice, maize, tobacco, cotton, indigo, thrive almost without culture; milk, cattle, and fish, are the principal articles of sustenance. Camelopards are common in Galam; the Serracolets frequently offer their skins to travellers. Lions are numerous; the herdsmen, from reports, employ the whip alone to drive them away, and the king of animals will often run away from a child. The negroes assert, that if they have a gun in their hands, the lion will prepare for combat in a manner worthy of his courage. I was told by several that they had frequently passed near this terrible animal, without his deigning to cast a look at them. The forests are filled with wild boars of prodigious size; the waters of the Senegal also nourish enormous beasts. Woe to the canoe which disturbs a sleeping hippopotamus; the furious monster wakes but to destroy the bark. This animal, however, is herbivorous: the crocodile, with no less strength, is far more dangerous. I was assured that a sailor leaning over the side of a boat,

was suddenly seized by a crocodile, and dragged to the bottom of the water, where he was devoured.

The trees which shade the Senegal in Galam, serve as a retreat to a multitude of apes, which perch on the extremities of the branches, as if to survey vessels passing by. I received the following from two Marabouts, whom I have always found to be men of veracity. A woman going with millet and milk, to a vessel from St. Louis, which had stopped before a village, was attacked by a troop of apes, from three to four feet high. They first threw stones at her, on which she began to run away; they pursued, and having caught her, they beat her with sticks till she let go what she was carrying. Bruised by the blows, she returned to the village, and related her adventure to the principal inhabitants, who mounted their horses, and with their dogs went to the place. They fired at these apes, killed ten, and wounded others, which were brought to them by their dogs. Several negroes, however, were severely wounded, either by the stones hurled at them by the apes, or by their bites; the females, especially, were furious in revenging the death of their young.

June 21st. We departed at the hour of prayer; the heat soon overcame me, and I was obliged to stop in a rice field, where a poor slave, perceiving my exhaustion, brought me his dinner, which consisted of some yams boiled in water; after this repast, I was able to resume my rout. Several rivers crossed our track; I was obliged to dismount and ford them on foot. Once when we were on the point of crossing a torrent, we were glad to retire a little, to leave a free passage for an enormous alligator, which would have devoured one of us, had we been a little farther in the water. After this, we used the greatest circumspection, in crossing the rivers. The storm which overtook us on our way, prevented our arriving before night at a *rumbdé* situated at the foot of the chain of mountains, which extend from south to north as far as the Gambia, and which separate Fouta Diallon from Tenda. Fouta Diallon, properly so called, begins to the south of the village of Bandaia; it is bounded on the north by the mountains of Tongué, on the east by Balia and Sangarari; on the south-east by Firia and Soliman; on the south by Kouranko and Liban; on the west by Tenda Maié, and other countries inhabited by the Mandingos and the Jolas or Biafares. The countries to the north beyond these limits, are included under the general name of Fouta; they are subject to the prince, who resides at Timbo, but he has not an equal authority over them. This country is covered with mountains through its whole extent, proceeding from the sea-coast to the east; they are rich in iron ore, and contain the sources of many rivers that run into the Atlantic. They appear to be the last links of a much more lofty chain that stretches to the south-east. Almost all the valleys of Fouta Diallon, situated at the foot of

these mountains, form so many capacious reservoirs, which supply the sources of the rivers; in walking over them, the earth sounds hollow. The soil is a rich mould, which the rains and torrents have washed down from the mountains; that of the mountains consists of cinders, mixed with ferruginous stones, and remains of plants. The soil is favourable to the *foigné*, a species of small millet, and to ground pistachio-nuts, (*arachis hypogæa*). In the forests there are but few trees, the flowers of which are odoriferous; the *caura*, the *tekeli*, the *sone*, bear fruits of which the Poulas are uncommonly fond. That which produces the *tické* is the best; with the form and colour of the cherry, it has the taste and seeds of the mulberry. The districts between Toulou and Timbo are the most fertile; the orange, banana, and papaw tree, rice and maize grow there; but millet, with which humidity does not agree, is seldom seen. If the baobab is not found there, the forests are full of other trees of prodigious dimensions. The rocks which form the beds of these rivers, are, in general, granitoid diabase; nature has shaded them with thick woods, to prevent their being parched up. These rivers are full of fish, but infested with alligators and hippopotami. When the first day of the rains is over, the weather continues dry for seven days; it then rains for six months successively, day and night. The rains proceed from south to north; the rivers are not full till the maize has reached its maturity, when Fouta Diallon becomes an immense lake. This inundation does not prevent the inhabitants from travelling; trunks of trees enable them to cross the small rivers, and canoes transport them along the Senegal, the Falémé, and the Gambia. In Fouta Diallon, there are lions, panthers, and hyænas, but in small numbers. Elephants are rare; antelopes and deer are pretty common. The ape is seen every where, covered with a thick mane; his aspect and figure seem hideous; I have seen some with a red back and a white belly. The horned cattle are numerous, but are of little use in a country where the herbage is dried up half the year, and at best, is not very nutritious; the cows of course yield but little milk. The ass, though altogether an object of curiosity, would be the most suitable beast of burden. Many goats are to be seen, but few sheep. The number of horses amounts to about a thousand, but I only saw two very raw-boned and ill-looking creatures. In Fouta Diallon, though most of the inhabitants live scattered in the woods, the population appears to be considerable. The only way of travelling is on foot, and you must hire a guide on whom you can depend. The traveller may suffer from hunger, but he is in no want of water, and he can proceed in the shade. Hides, a little ivory, much wax, a great number of slaves, and a little gold, are the commercial commodities of Fouta Diallon. It is from Kankan, the two latter are principally obtained. Silver coin, fire-arms, gunpowder, cloths, are preferred by the people of

Fouta Diallon. Amber is sold below the value at which it passes on the coast; coral is not in much request, and glass-ware fetches hardly any price, except blue and black rummers. The Poulas or Foulahs, who came from the north of Africa, seized Diallon, and gave it the name of Fouta, or the country of the Poulas. They intermarried with the Djalonkés whom they had conquered, and their descendants now occupy these countries. The inhabitant of Fouta Diallon is the most laborious of all the negroes; one part of his country producing nothing except by dint of labour. He is temperate; the army would despise the king, if he were to eat butter and rice with milk, this aliment being considered as too succulent; the diet of the prince consists of wild fruits and boiled millet. The knowledge of astronomy here is confined to marking the hours and months, by the changes of the constellations.

The Great Bear is called the Elephant, a name apparently as suitable as that imposed on it by the Greeks. The Poula is dextrous, and his productions often evince a degree of taste. In the construction of his spacious magazines, he has learned to imitate the Europeans. His huts, better modelled than any in this part of Africa, are large, airy, and closed by wide doors; indeed, the bamboo affords peculiar facilities for this kind of work. An air of neatness pervades the interior; their luxury consists in being ornamented with arms, or the mats of Liban. These Poulas are good potters; the earth is of a deep black, and easily moulded. Their vases look as if they were varnished. I have often admired the elegance of their wooden porringers, which, however, are only made with the hatchet. Their works in leather, and their poniards do not match those of the Moors, but they are unrivalled in the fabrication of bows, and expert in the use of them. One of their warriors whom I met with, had fifty arrows in his quiver, of which forty-seven were discharged with effect. The poison wherein they dip them is a species of *echites*, and produces terrible effects: that which is prepared at Boié is spoken of as extremely dangerous. Every person who does not acknowledge Mahomet as the prophet of God, is treated as an enemy, by the Poulas of Fouta Diallon. But notwithstanding their numbers, there are pagans who have sufficed to quell their fanaticism. Bokari, a Djalonké chief, is, at present, a very formidable enemy. From the cross with which they ornament their dresses and houses, one might conjecture, that in former times, they professed Christianity. The rumbdés are establishments that do honour to humanity. In every village, several inhabitants assemble their slaves, and make them build themselves huts close to each other; this is called a rumbdé. They chuse a chief from among themselves: his children, if worthy, succeed to the post, after his death. These slaves, at least, nominally so, cultivate the plantations of their masters, and accompany them for carrying their burdens when they travel.

They are never sold in old age, or when born in the country. Any departure from this practice would cause the desertion of the whole rumbdé, but the slave who misbehaves, is delivered up to the master to be sold. The following details may probably be interesting, as the greater number of the countries were till now unknown. To the north-east of Fouta are,—Dentilia, a country traversed by the Falémé, and inhabited by Mandingos, who are pagans. Diallon, Sangala, Kooronia, are mountainous countries, inhabited by Djalonkés. To the east:—Balía, eight days' journey from Timbo, a flat country inhabited by Djalonkés. Kankan, fifteen days journey from Timbo, a flat country inhabited by Mahometan Mandingos. On the frontiers the village of Bourré, which possesses more gold than all Bondou and Bambouk together. The negroes dig deep to find the metal, and make very long subterraneous galleries. A great number of Serracolets are met with in Kankan, a country rich in its own productions, as also by trading with Sego and Tombuctoo, which derive their wealth from it. Tangarari, ten days' journey from Timbo, a flat country inhabited by Pagan Poulas. The English have there placed the sources of the Niger or Dialliba. This river, however, is two gun-shots wide in the place where they have fixed its source. To the south-east are:—Firia, ten days' journey from Timbo, a mountainous country inhabited by Djalonkés. In the woods which separate Firia from Fouta Diallon, is the source of the Caba, supposed to be the river of Sierra Leone. Soliman, a mountainous country, inhabited by Djalonkés, is ten days' journey from Timbo. Kouranko, eight days' journey from Timbo, is a mountainous country inhabited by Tomakés and Kourankos. The source of the Niger or Dialliba is situated in the woods which separate Soliman from Kouranko, eleven days' journey to the south-east of the source of the Senegal. Liban is eight days' journey to the south of Timbo; it is a mountainous country, inhabited by Libankés; the rainy season there is over in three months; the corn harvest is in June. The king has a very narrow door constructed in front of the fort which he occupies, with a large stone behind it; such of his subjects, as in passing, touch the door-way or tread on the stone, become slaves. When a merchant repairs to the king, this prince takes his merchandize; and such of his subjects as have touched the door-way or the stone, are delivered in exchange to the merchant. A month's march to the east of Fouta Diallon, lies Maniana, the capital Tokoro; the way to it passes through Balía, Kankan, Tero, and Fabana. The negroes of Maniana are cannibals, according to Mungo Park. The Poulas of Fouta Diallon rarely venture into the countries inhabited by the Pagans, for their long hair betrays them, and from the antipathy which the worshippers of fetishes bear towards the Mahometans, they are liable to be made prisoners. The inhabit-

ants of Fouta Diallon have a more regular intercourse with the people of Kankan, and especially with those of Sego or Tombuctoo. These last are marts for the people of northern Africa, in their dealings with Kankan and Ouasselon, which are believed to be the richest countries of the interior, in slaves and gold.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Author abandoned by one of his Guides.—Country of Tenda.—Rio Grande.—Perfidy of a Negro of Kadé.—Departure for Kabou.—Notices relative to Tenda Maïé.

AS we could not procure provisions in the rumbdé, where we halted, we left it, on the 22d of June, to cross the mountains of Tenda. Far from dreading the storms, I wished for them, and had my desire, for the rain fell in torrents from sunrise to sun-set. This cooled the air very seasonably, and I gradually recovered my strength. Unable, however, to keep my seat upon my ass, from the acclivity of the mountains, I scaled their summits, by leaning with my left hand on Boukari, whilst, with the right, I laid hold of the branches which bordered the path. Not a stream was to be seen, and I could only appease my thirst by wringing the water from my clothes. Before sun-set, we reached Tambamasiri, the first village of Tenda, situate on a steep declivity. I was obliged to stop here the next day, for my fever allowed me no rest. On the 24th of June, Saadou required his salary before he would proceed to the frontiers; he also demanded a present for his brother Mamadou. In my situation, surrounded by the family of my guide, to whom the village belonged, I was fain to comply with these premature demands. We now descended into the plains, and in the evening entered a village on the frontiers of Tenda, and the countries beyond the Rio Grande. Tenda is a small country, it forms the first terrace by which we descend from the high plain of Fouta Diallon, towards the regions watered by the Rio Grande. Tenda is poor; I saw in it but three villages, which were almost deserted. Its inhabitants, who are pagans, have one point of affinity with the Mandingoes, that of filing* the incisive teeth of the upper jaw, like them; they are also fond of music. After Saadou had finished his prayer, he said he must quit me; he had, however, engaged the chief of the village to furnish me with two guides, to conduct me to the frontier. Next morning, at day-break, we entered the deserts, which lie between the village I had quitted, and the Rio Grande. The time occupied by my guides in the pursuit of wild asses, prevented us from reaching the woods

*The negroes purchase their files at the European factories.

bordering the river before six in the evening. We lost our way, as the traces had been effaced by the rains, and the day had nearly closed when we arrived on the banks; here we got into a canoe, which is employed to ferry over strangers to the other side. My passage cost me only two necklaces of glass beads, because I was considered as the guest of Almamy of Timbo, whose authority extends to this place. The Rio Grande was very broad, and it was with difficulty we could get my ass across; Boukari tied him by the halter to the side of the canoe, fearing lest, fatigued by swimming, he might be drowned; in this manner the Moors make their beasts cross the largest rivers. On disembarking we proceeded to the village of a chief, named Faran, owner of the canoe; here were houses built of stone, but without mortar or cement. We remained on the 27th at the house of Faran, on account of the arrival of a caravan of Serracolets. Faran, who had exacted but a little for my passage, laid these merchants under contribution, and obliged them to give him several pieces of European stuff, powder, balls, and glass beads: the Serracolets are so treated from their reputed wealth. Faran was too much engaged to think of giving us any supper, and it was not till next day that he granted me a guide. For three days I had felt the pangs of hunger; my strength failed me, and I felt a kind of irritation throughout, which I conceive might eventually have driven me to insanity.

June 28th.—Diafanne, where we slept, was suffering from famine. The Pagans here are not hospitable. Notwithstanding my debility, hunger gave me strength, and I set off for Combade, where we purchased food; but were obliged to part with Boukari's hat for a little rice; his tunic paid for my dinner, and for the services of a guide, who was to conduct us to the country of Kabou. The negroes were just then putting their seed into the ground, when they use all the corn they have left, and subsist upon roots. My coral and amber were of no consideration among a people sensible enough to despise ornaments.

July 1st.—We quitted Combade; my guide was a blacksmith. Having left the mountainous country behind us, we had plains to traverse, the soil of which was sandy; so we marched quicker, and with more ease. To the west we had the chain of mountains of Koly; they are composed of granite, and extend from Kadé to those of Fouta Diallon, which they again join in the south-east. Before eight in the morning we were at Kanbabolé, three leagues from Combade. My fever had not left me, and at night a dysentery was very troublesome; it was a miracle that I survived. Notwithstanding my state of exhaustion, we quitted Kanbabolé on the 2d of July. We did not receive hospitality at Kankoly as the inhabitants were absent, employed in their agricultural labours; I was therefore obliged to proceed to a *foula-*

kenda, or village, inhabited by Pagan Poulas. The abundance which reigns wherever these pastoral people reside, made us forget the hardships we had lately encountered. On the 3d, continuing a north-west direction, we reached Kikiore, where I had a most wretched ragout, composed of the kernels of different fruits, bruised and boiled. On the 4th we met with a Poula from Kadé, who proved very serviceable to us in finding the ford of a rapid torrent which we had to cross. After this, we lost sight of the mountains; the country is a perfect level, but a very small number of stones were to be seen on the surface. Tenda, therefore, partly resembles in appearance the country of the Joloffs; it is, however, less elevated and less sandy. After resting at Kikimany, we would have pursued our route, but the heat compelled us to stop at a foulakondo, situate in so rich a country, that maize comes to its full growth in two months. Our guides were here greatly shocked on seeing the Manss or chief of Kadé, holding his broom, the mark of authority in his hand, enter a hut and drink brandy, contrary to the law of Mahomet, to which Almamy of Timbo has made these people conform. Before night, we entered Kadé, a large Mandingo village, where the Pagans live separately from the Mahometans. Here our fellow-traveller, named Samba, became our host; this man had several times been with Europeans, in their factories along the coast, and was acquainted with their customs. Fearing that the smoke from the fire which they kindle to give light, might incommode me, he made a candle of wax. We could hardly go to sleep, as the hut was full of negroes, who chattered without ceasing. Several Pagans jeered the Mahometans, who were impatiently awaiting the moon of the Ramadan. "Ah! there is the moon!" exclaimed the former, while others gravely declared that it had already appeared, and that the Mahometans, by feigning ignorance, meant to abridge their Lent. The appearance of this luminary, the object of the wishes of the Mussulmen, put an end to all such sarcasms. The fever, which had of late tormented Boukari, obliged me to remain, the next day, at Kadé; the attentions of our host were also a motive for staying with him; though very rich, and one of the principal inhabitants of the village, he went every day to purchase my provisions at some distance from his house. He seemed to have but one object, that of giving me pleasure; but alas! this benevolent negro was found to be a rogue, having appropriated to himself the present I had entrusted to him to pay the chief of Kadé for my passage in his canoe. After this discovery, I quitted his house, July the 6th, and arrived that day at Pinsory, on the west bank of the Rio Grande. Tenda Maié, a country not mentioned by any geographer, is enclosed by a bend formed by the Rio Grande; it is of small extent, but very fertile. Hands are wanting to cultivate it properly, as the inhabitants are not numerous, though very laborious. The rains do not last there more than five

months, whereas they fall for six months in Fouta Diallon, situate in the same latitude. The country, which is flat and sandy, abounds in maize, millet, and rice; some cattle, and many deer and wild oxen are to be seen; the elephant is not found there, and beasts of prey are very rare. The woods contain some beautiful trees, especially the *benten*, a species of *bombax*, with which they construct the large canoes, that will carry thirty people. The palm called *tir* (*cocos butyracea*,) is very common; an oil is extracted from it, which the negroes use for making soap. The country yields some iron, and in several places is found an earth from which they continue to extract salt. The language of the inhabitants of Tenda Maïé has no affinity with that of any of its neighbours, this people being an assemblage of individuals of different nations, destroyed by the Mandingos or Poulas, when they invaded these countries. they are not very hospitable, for they are poor; but at Kadé, which, from its wealth, and fertile soil, stands in the first rank of Africain towns, I was very well treated. There is little uniformity in the general character of these negroes; but, of the inhabitants of Faran's village, who, from their slender limbs, and weak voices, may be termed the pigmies of Africa, some follow the law of Mahomet; but the greater part pay tribute to the chief of Labbé in Fouta Diallon, to purchase a religious independence, and the right of drinking ardent spirits. In general, they entertain a regard for the whites, from having frequent communications with the Portuguese establishments in this part of Africa.

CHAPTER IX.

The Author is received at the Portuguese Settlement of Geba.—Hospitality of the Commandant.—Description of Kabou and Geba.—Reception of the Author by the Governor of Bissao.—The Author embarks for Goree.—Notices relative to Bissao and the Countries which trade with that Settlement.—The Author sets out for St. Louis.

I WAS obliged to remain at Pinsory till the 10th of July, being unable to procure a guide; mine, who was of Poula origin, durst not advance farther with me, for fear of the Mandingos, against whom Almamy of Fouta Diallon had waged a cruel war. Presents at length obtained for me permission from the chief of Pinsory, to travel with two of his subjects that were going to Geba; he charged them not to leave me. My weak state obliged us to stop at Diaman, a large village, in the neighbourhood of which we saw the ruins of another village, that Almamy of Fouta Diallon had destroyed. The next day, the 12th, we halted at Kandiane; exhausted during the day, by a thirst which aggravated my fever.

tormented all night by the dysentery, I despaired of reaching the place where I hoped to find the succour of which I had so much need. Very few large rivers are met with in the country of Kabou, but they are deep; when we had to pass one of them, Boukari, borrowing the long stick which I carried in my hand, took upon him to grope out the ford, which it was not easy to find amidst the forests that bordered the streams; the waters overflowing the banks, generally covered the trunks of such trees as served for bridges. In spite of these obstacles, we arrived at Sumakonda, on the 13th. I learned here, in the night, that the inhabitants intended to plunder my baggage, as they supposed my illness would prevent me from making any resistance. On this, we prepared to depart before day-light, while the robbers were asleep. We had quitted their territory before they could have time to overtake us. Before night we were at Seraconda, where the rain obliged us to pass a day. On the 15th, we set off again; the roads, though almost impassable from the rains, were covered with slave-dealers and salt merchants. The latter came from Geba, and were going into the countries to the east; the former were going to the sea-coast to the west; they drove their slaves, who were fastened together by the neck, with long sticks. We could not reach Bissa Amadi before sun-set. We set off next day, but my guides, seeing the paleness of my face, were afraid I should expire by the way. At two o'clock, we were received, by the chief of Kansoraly, who had a bed of twisted reeds prepared under his gallery. These beds, made by the Mandingos, are so light, that travellers may carry them in their baggage.

I next sent Boukari with a letter to the Portuguese commandant of Geba, in which I requested some tea, sugar, and tobacco. I gave him a string of coral for his expences, Geba being near the village where I was. Boukari returned the next morning, shouting for joy. The provisions with which the Portuguese had loaded him, consisted of port wine, three new loaves of bread, sugar, and snuff; this last article was necessary, on account of the head-aches to which I had been subject. Boukari had conceived an unbounded admiration for the Portuguese; but the town which they inhabited was, he thought, no better than those of the negroes. A Joloff had acted as interpreter, to make my wants known, for no one understood my French letter. He had been desired to persuade me to repair to Geba, where I should receive every possible attention. Regardless of the aversion manifested by my Mahometan guides, on seeing me uncork the bottles which contained wine, I drank a little calibash full of it. This cordial having cheered my spirits, I jocosely asked my host to taste it, and, in defiance of Mahomet, he complied. Wine, bread, and sugar, had such an effect on me, after five months abstinence, that, although I took them in very small quantities, they

produced a paroxysm of fever. I therefore resolved, the next day, (the 19th,) to set off for Geba, situated south-east of Kankoraly. When in sight of this place, inhabited by Europeans, I shouted for joy, like mariners approaching a harbour after a tedious voyage. My entrance partook of the burlesque in it; a European with a long beard, clothed like a negro, and mounted on an ass, could not but be a spectacle; the inhabitants, who ran out of their houses to see me, seemed to doubt whether I really belonged to the race of whites. M. Dioqui, the governor, waited for me at his door, when I alighted, and took me into his house. To European eyes, it seemed to suit the guest; it was a large square mud house, consisting of a ground-floor, and roofed with thatch, wherein the light got admission with difficulty; the prison for malefactors was close by. In a dark hall, the commandant received his visitors; straw beds were placed all round, on which the negroes seated themselves indiscriminately with the Europeans, from whom they were to be distinguished only by their colour. The etiquette here was not very troublesome; you might whistle, sing, lie down on the bed to sleep, and eat when you think fit, a liberty the more extraordinary, as every one who passes the door must take off his hat respectfully, whether the master be within or not. After I had entered, the principal inhabitants came to hear the account of my travels; some wondered that a Frenchman should come to a Portuguese settlement, unless from political motives. This opinion I was obliged to counteract. The commandant wished me to sleep in his house; he testified concern that he had no medicines to offer me; but he hoped that the care which would be taken of me would quickly re-establish my health. He conducted me to a large mud hut at a very little distance from his own, where his wife directed a chamber to be prepared for me. Never was I so overjoyed as at this moment, by the attentions which this kind negress lavished upon me. My Marabout joined me in returning thanks to God; "My white man is saved!" he exclaimed, taking Madame Dioqui by the hand. In fact, after five months of every sort of privation, I found a good bed of bamboo leaves, a musquito curtain, white linen, tea, butter, in short, all the conveniences to which we are accustomed in Europe. The gratitude which I felt for such affectionate cares was the stronger, as, being a total stranger to the persons who lavished them upon me, I owed them solely to their benevolence.

The stay I made at Geba, enabled me to collect some information respecting the adjacent country. The country between the rivers of Rio Grande, Gambia, and Geba, bears the name of Kabou; it is very fertile; the inhabitants cultivate rice, millet, and maize, with a little indigo and cotton. The rains which fall from May till the end of October are abundant; but the winds

do not blow with the same violence as in countries more to the east. The climate is hot, damp, and unhealthy. As the country is composed of plains only, the water stands upon it; the people avail themselves of this for the cultivation of rice. Kabou is inhabited by several nations; the Mandingos are most numerous, and their language the only one in use. Their villages are large and populous; their fields are cultivated with care, but the inhabitants are insolent, inhospitable, covetous, and apt to pilfer. They are, in general, possessed of wealth. Most of these Mandingos are Pagans, as well as the Poulas, who inhabit the foulakondas. Application must be made for corn, provisions, and game, for they are skilful hunters. They make brandy with fermented honey; from the immense quantity of wax which the Portuguese purchase of them, bees must be very common. The huts in the villages, inhabited by these Poulas, are ranged in two rows, and form a wide long street. These villages are frequently at war with one another, and the prisoners are sold at Geba. This Portuguese establishment in the country of the Saussais Mandingos, is about sixty leagues to the north-east of Bissao, a Portuguese fort on the sea-coast. Geba consists entirely of mud houses; there is no fort; some black soldiers cause respect to be paid to the government, which is rather mild than violent. Bounded on the south by a marshy river, and on the east by mountains, it is one of the most unhealthy situations on the surface of the globe. I only saw three Europeans there, but so emaciated, that they might have been taken for spectres. The population, about seven hundred and fifty individuals, is composed of blacks and mulattoes, who are called whites, because all who are free claim that distinction. Oranges, lemons, guavas, yams, cassada, and maize, abound at Geba. Oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry, are common. The commerce consists in hides, wax, ivory, and slaves, which are sent to Bissao. Having reason to suppose, at the end of six days, that my stay might appear troublesome, I availed myself of the departure of a vessel for Bissao, where I hoped to find a ship bound for Europe. I much wished to evince my gratitude to M. Dioqui, whose hospitality had been so serviceable to me. When about to depart, some fresh bread, and a little tea were brought me for my voyage; this new attention on the part of Madame Dioqui was very well worth the present I made her of a whole string of coral; it was a trifling acknowledgment for her generous conduct towards me; however, the gift appeared of so much value to her, that raising her hands to Heaven, she implored its protection for me. I parted from my worthy hosts with regret, and in the evening of the 2d of August, embarked on the river of Geba. My dress excited the laughter of the negro sailors. I went into the cabin, to shelter myself from the rain, but they obliged me to leave it, and to lie on the deck, exposed to the inclemency of the air, to

accommodate three monstrous negresses. They also hindered me from cooking my dinner, so that I was forced to make shift with a few cups of tea, which Boukari prepared with the water used for washing their kettles. I endured these inconveniences for three days. At last, on the 6th of August, I arrived at Bissao, exhausted by the want of proper nourishment, and wet to the skin with the rain. On the river of Geba, the low and woody banks serve as a retreat for a number of river horses, that sport in its muddy waters. On landing, the large size of my Bambara hat, the thickness of my beard, the long stick with which I walked, my clothes, almost in rags, drew around me a crowd of negroes, who incessantly laughed at my appearance. A Portuguese serjeant drew his sword and restored order; he then told me to follow him, and continued to keep off the multitude which obstructed the street leading to the fort. When at the gate, the black sentinel, said to me in Portuguese: "Comrade, take off your hat." Offended at such an order, I surveyed this negro with a menacing air, and pulled my hat down further. I was announced to M. de Mattos, the governor, and appeared in the midst of a numerous circle of officers. The governor seated me by his side—a kind attention on his part, for the water which dripped from my clothes, wetted the floor of his apartment. All eyes were fixed on me; my dress appeared to some to be a disguise. The governor enquired what motive had induced me to travel into the interior of Africa; my answers appeared satisfactory to him. He then ordered fresh bread, tea, and butter, to be set before me, and poured out the first cup for me himself. After this, he retired, and left me to take my breakfast. My only claim to this kindness, was a letter of recommendation from M. Bioqui. When I had breakfasted, an officer conducted me to a good stone house, situated on the sea-shore. As I had a violent attack of fever, I went to bed, and having slept soundly, on awaking I felt relieved, I was congratulating myself on this happy change, when the news was brought me, that my ass had perished in the sea. This poor beast had rendered me important services, and his loss gave me sincere concern. I was thus deprived of every resource for reaching the Senegal by land.

I was still in bed, when a negro brought me a bundle of new clothes, and an invitation from the governor to dine with him; but I was too ill to accept it. An hour afterwards, a superb tray was brought me, containing six exquisite dishes, which my fever prevented me from tasting. M. de Mattos treated me with the same liberality, during my stay at Bissao. This governor is about thirty years of age; he is of a commanding stature, with a look indicative of high birth. His generosity is unlimited, and his fortune is immense. In the morning I repaired to the governor, to thank him for his attentions; I had put on the clothes he sent me. The effect

produced on the inhabitants, by this change of dress, was astonishing. Some of the officers, no doubt jealous of the favours shewn me by the governor, would recapitulate the taking of Lisbon by the French, and the appearance of one of our frigates at Bissao, for the purpose of cannonading that fort. It was impossible for me to withdraw myself from these observations so quickly as I could have wished. The rains, which fell during the months of August, September, and October, added to the suffocating heat, had so reduced my strength, that I seldom quitted my bed. Boukari was incessantly at my side, and at length I was enabled to overcome, without the aid of art, the attacks of two severe illnesses, and the malignant influence of the climate. I recovered strength, in some degree, with the dry season. I then solicited M. de Mattos to furnish me with the means of proceeding by water to Mansua, whence I intended to repair, by land, to the banks of the Gambia. M. de Mattos gave me a bullock to carry me and my merchandize.

On the 1st of November, I went to take leave of M. de Mattos; he gave me all the provisions necessary for my voyage, and letters for the commandant of Geba, whither I was returning. I parted from M. de Mattos with the grief that is felt in leaving a father; he had indeed been one to me. To his kindness, I am indebted for my life. As soon as we had lost sight of Bissao, we anchored in the river of the Balantes, to purchase salt, which the people extract from the earth by ebullition. We remained three days in this river; a considerable quantity of salt was purchased with tobacco; seven leaves were given for forty pounds of salt. When the master of the canoe had finished his traffic, we returned to the river of Geba.

On the 9th of November, we arrived at the village of Geba. The commandant received me with the same kindness as in my first visit, and lodged me at the house of an inhabitant of the factory. We were occupied until the 18th in procuring a guide, but it was impossible to purchase either a horse, an ass, or a bullock for me to ride on, in a country destitute of these animals. Boukari, judging me incapable of again travelling on foot, thought it best to return to Bissao. M. de Mattos received me with joy. Two French ships from Senegal were lying before his house, but, alas! in a few days, one of these vessels sailed for the Rio Pungo, the other for the Cape de Verd islands. This sudden disappointment brought on a violent paroxysm of fever. A mistake saved my life; I asked for ipecacuanha, and the governor sent me a strong emetic. I swallowed this medicine, and recovered. The arrival of M. Baudin's schooner from Goree, also contributed to the re-establishment of my health. I was ready to embark on the 3d of January 1819. The settlement of Bissao, situated in eleven degrees eighteen minutes north latitude, is placed at the southwestern extremity of a large island, formed by the river Geba,

near its efflux into the ocean. The ground on which this settlement is built, though low, and surrounded by stagnant water, is stoney. The springs which supply it with water have a marshy taste, which indicates their unwholesome quality. The climate is damp and burning; the heat, during the rainy season, is suffocating, and almost insupportable. Bissao is defended by a stone fort, very spacious, and surrounded by a wide ditch. Though capable of withstanding the attacks of the neighbouring nations, it could not resist those of Europeans; the barracks, the chapel, and the governor's house, occupy the interior. The garrison is composed of blacks, mulattoes, and a few whites. The soldiers have neither shoes nor uniforms; some wear small helmets, or round hats, others are muffled up in robes made of flowered cottons; and most of them are clothed in rags. Their pay consists of a few leaves of tobacco every day, with which they purchase rice, and the fruits of the country; they eat neither meat nor bread, and water is their only drink. Notwithstanding these privations, this garrison loses fewer men than our settlements.

The Portuguese have contrived, without force, to win the attachment of all the negro nations that surround them. All the commerce of Bissao, which is carried on by barter, is exclusively in the hands of the governor; the inhabitants are destitute of industry, and generally poor. Foreign vessels, at Bissao, pay fifty-six piastres for anchorage dues. Rough wax is sold to the Europeans for twenty piastres the hundred weight; refined wax at twenty-four piastres; ivory, six francs per pound; a slave for one hundred and twenty-five piastres in goods. Thirty pounds of rice are equivalent to one piastre. This settlement supplies annually, about fifteen thousand piastres worth of wax, and four thousand of ivory. Meat is rare at Bissao, on account of the small consumption among the Europeans. Bullocks are small; there are no sheep, but abundance of hogs and poultry; of fish, there is no want. Game is not common. Maize, foigne, yams, potatoes, cassada, bananas, papaws, guavas and oranges, abound throughout the country; millet is very scarce. The territory of the Papels extends from the river Geba to that of Cachéo, which also belongs to the Portuguese. These people want no other weapon than a very long sabre, which they use with great dexterity, even against enemies provided with fire-arms. Large herds of oxen constitute their wealth. On the frontiers of the Papels, dwell the Balantes, whose language is entirely different. The Portuguese have little communication with this cruel and savage people. Their industry is confined to the sale of salt. There are as many chiefs as villages among these Pagan tribes. Mahometanism, however, has found means to form empires, and to gather together a numerous population. These people are incessantly at war with one another. A few days after our depar-

ture from Bissao, we fell in with a vessel at sea, the crew of which had perished in a gale of wind. Having ourselves escaped this tempest, we made Goree on the 8th of January. I landed the same day, and returned thanks to the divine Providence, for having preserved me amidst the toils and dangers to which I had been exposed. I cannot describe the pleasure I felt on finding myself once more among my countrymen: those who knew me, had given me up for lost. Notwithstanding their wish not to fatigue me, and my own weakness, which demanded repose, I could not help giving them an account of some of my adventures. I was so impatient to return to France, that I engaged a horse and an ox of burden at Dakar, and set out in the night of the 9th of January. For a few days, therefore, I resumed the mode of life to which I had been habituated for several months, and proceeding along the coast from Dakar, we pursued the route which led into the interior, along the swamps situated behind the sand hills, which hid the ocean from our view. The greater part of these inundated lands, is covered with cassada and yams. On reaching Babagué, on the 15th of January, 1819, I sent Boukari to St. Louis, to procure the clothes necessary for me to enter the town. The same evening, I had the inexpressible pleasure of embracing my friends: most of them concluded that I had sunk under the fatigues of a journey which had lasted a whole year. But I was particularly rejoiced at seeing M. de Fleuriau; during my absence, he had manifested much uneasiness at not receiving any tidings of me; my death, which he considered as nearly certain, made this excellent officer repent the encouragement he had given to an enterprize which had involved me in destruction. I did not fail to acknowledge the important services of Boukari, and solicited for him the grant of a piece of land on the island of St. Louis, upon which he might build himself a brick house. My request was granted; M. de Fleuriau also made him a present of different articles of merchandize. The attentions bestowed on me by my friends, particularly Dr. Calvé and M. Mille, could not restore me to health during the month I passed at St. Louis. Fearing that I should sink under a disorder which had returned with redoubled violence, I embarked in a merchant vessel, *La Normande*, for France. After a short passage, I landed at Havre, on the 23rd of March, 1819: a few days brought me into the bosom of my family, at Paris.

ITINERARY.

(Three miles make one French league, of 25 to the degree.)

KINGDOM OF CAYOR.

NAMES of the villages.	DISTANCES from one place to another.	POINTS of the compass.
De Diedde à	18 miles.	N.-E.
Niakra	3	S.-E.
Moulache	3	S.-S.-E.
Teiba	3	S.-S.-E.
Moctard Loo	4	S.-S.-E.
Niamrei	6	S.-S.-E.
Thenine	10	S.-S.-E.
Coqué		

KINGDOM OF THE IOLOFS.

Rahène	40	E. 1-4th S.-E.
Tiankra	5	S.-E.
Un village	8	S. 1-4th S.-E.
Pampi	7	S.-S.-E.
Gaignac	2	S.-S.-E.
Tioën	8	S.-S.-E.
Pacour	6	E.-N.-E.
Ouamkrore (capitale)	6	E.-N.-E.
Médina	6	S.-E.
Caisies	9	N.-E.
Krokrol	6	E.

FOUTATORO.

Bala	90	E. 1-4th N.
Boqué	2	N.-E.
Longangui	6	E.
Galoé	6	E.
Diaba	4	E.
Agnam	9	E.
Padé	6	S.-E.
Sédo	15	E.
Mogo	4	E. 1-4th S.-E.
Amadi-Chaumaret	5	S.-E.
Ogo	11	S.-E.
Sénopale	11	S.-E.
Sétiababambi	1	S.-E.
Banaï	1	S.-E.
Canel	6	N.
Dandiali	6	N.
Canel	6	S.
Santio bambi	9	S.
Ouarenicour	10	S.
Aoret	19	S.
Dialobé	6	S.
Diotte	9	S.
Dendoudé 'Thiali	20	S.

KINGDOM OF BONDOU.

Boquequillé	10	S.
Doubel	7	S.
Diémoré	19	S.-S.-E.
Boqui	9	S.
Goumel	10	S.

NAMES of the villages.	DISTANCES from one place to another.	POINTS of the compass.
Lengué	11	S.-S.-E.
Bodé	10	S.-E.
Un village	15	E.
Cogne Amadi	4	S.-E.
Santimatiou	12	S.-E.
Konomba	13	S.-E.
Diansocone	12	S.
Maramasita	10	S.-S.-W.

EMPIRE OF FOUTA DIALLO.

La Gambie	108	S.-S.-W., S.-S.-E.
Cacagné	7	S.-E.
Landieni	7	S.
Niébel	6	S.
Languébana	9	S.-S.-W.
Landoumari	4	E.
Nadeli	8	S.
Kanta	7	S.-E.
Mali	6	S.-E.
Fobé	14	S.-E.
Iélatà	4	S.-E.
Foundentani	11	S.-S.-E.
Bandéia	10	S.-S.-E.
Songul	7	S.-S.-E.
Toulou	12	S.-S.-W.
Rumbdé Toulou	3	N.-N.-W.
Sources du Rio-Grande et de la Gambie	6	W.
Un village	4	S.
Campaia	7	E. 1-4th S.-E.
Cala	6	E.
Fénolengué	4	S.-S.-E.
Rumbdé-Gali	5	S.-S.-E.
Dongué	4	S.
Séfoura	6	S.-S.-W.
Un rumbdé	4	S.
Boié	3	S.-S.-E.
Courbari	3	S.-E.
Source de la Falémé	2	N.-N.-W.
Niogo	12	S.
Poukou	13	S.-S.-W.
Timbo	8	S.-S.-E.

RETOUR.

EMPIRE DU FOUTA DIALLO.

Timbo		
Cases d'Abdoul	2	N.
Poukou	6	N. 1-4th N. W.
Sumbalako	8	W. un peu N.
Dalaba	8	W.
Sources du Sénégal	8	N.
Porédaka	3	N.
Niogo	12	E.

NAMES of the villages.	DISTANCES from one place to another.	POINTS of the compass.	NAMES of the villages.	DISTANCES from one place to another.	POINTS of the compass.
Rumbdé Paravi	12	N., un peu E.	Faran	2	W.
Lalia	10	N.-N.-E.	Diafane	10	W.
Rumbdé Iali	8	N.-N.-E.	Combade	8	W.
Thuné	12	N.-N.-W.	Kambabolé	10	N.-W.
Niamaiä	16	N., un peu E.	Kankoli	8	N.-W.
Bandéia	24	N.	Un Foulakonda	6	N.-W.
Un village	3	W.	Kikiore	5	N.-W.
Bourré	3	W.	Kadé	12	N. 1-4th S. W.
Pellalle	12	W.	COUNTRY OF KABOU.		
Ardétenkata	6	W.	Rio-Grande	5	N.
Rumbdé Koukouma	7	W.	Pinsory	9	W.
Bentala	10	W.	Diaman	9	W.
Un rumbdé	12	W.	Kandiane	12	N.-N.-W.
TENDA.			Sumakonda	16	N.-N.-W.
Tembamasiri	3	W.	Sérakonda	20	N.-N.-W.
Un village	9	W.	Bissa-Amadi	24	W.-S.-W.
TENDA MAIE.			Kansoraly	15	W.-S.-W.
Rio-Grande	10	W.	Géba	16	S.-S.-W.

END OF THE ITINERARY.

VOCABULARY

OF THE

IOLOF, POULE, & SERRERE LANGUAGES

ENGLISH.	IOLOF.	POULE.	ENGLISH.	IOLOF.	POULE.
To buy	Guendé	Saut	A box	Ouakandé	Berefteole
Needle	Poursa	Mesalal	Lame		Bonnia laddig
Tree	Guerap	Lekki	Good	Backna	Komodio
To sit down	Diequil	Diодо	Blind of an eye		Docko
To day	Tei	Andé	Mouth	Guimi	Oudonko
Ostrich	Baha	Ndao	Bowels		Fektekik
Blind		Goumdo, sallé	Arm	Loko	Diongo
To bathe	Sango	Lotadé	Duck	Cranquel	Tiagal
Beard	Sékim	Lebré ouaré	Canoe	Calgue	Iana
Iron bar	Bara ouin	Barra diamdé	Quiver		Beron
Much	Barena	Kohévi	Flesh	Iap	Téo
Butter	Dion	Lebbeur	To sing	Ouai	Ienidé
White	Toubabé	Toubako	A cat	Mousse	Oullondou
Ox	Nac	Nague	Hot	Niac	Oulli
To drink	Nan	Iardé	Cauldron	Caoudir	Barma
Fire wood	Motte	Lequel	Chief	Bour	Lambda

ENGLISH.	IOLOF.	POULE.	ENGLISH.	IOLOF.	POULE.
Shirt		Outte	Cheeks		Gaboudé
Horse	Phas	Pouttiou	Day	Lelegh ou fan	Guittclabi
Hair	Caouas	Sonkoudou	Milk	Sau	Céson
Goat	Bei	Béaus	Tongue	Lammé	Dengai
Dog	Crai	Raouandou	To wash one's self	Raas	Saddé
Heaven	Assaman	Assaman	Bed	Lal	Lesso
Key	Kiabé	Tiarkdirga	Book		Defteré
Nail	Dentskatit	Pendélana	Wolf	Bouqui	Focouti
Pig		Baba	Hand	Loko	Ditongo
Coffer	Onakandé		Maize		Makari
Card	Boumb	Bogoul	House	Negue	Sondou
To cut		Taddié	Mistress	Tioro	Diamdiamo
Knife	Packa	Labé	Wicked	Mousse	Kodiodio
To spit	Toffe	Touddé	Breasts	Venne	Eddou
Crocodile	Guasick	Norouet	To eat	Leck	Niamdé
Thighs		Bouol	To walk	Dockani	Iolade
Copper		Diakouallé	Mischievous	Bakoul	Modiali
To dance	Fequel	Ham	To lie	Fen	Fenandé
To-morrow	Ellek	Diango	The sea	Guele	Guele
Day after to-morrow	Dena ellek	Fabi iango	Mother	Dei	Ioumma
Teeth	Guené	Niguié	To bite	Matt	Naddé
Elephants' teeth	Guené nici	Nihré nious	Death	Deheina	Maidé
Back parts	Tâte	Rotaré	Nose	Backan	Ineré
Devil	Saitani	Iblis	Black	Jolof	Baleo
God	J-alla	J-alla	No	Diet	Hala
Fingers	Baram	Fededou	Night	Goudina	Diemma
Brandy	Sangara	Ceniam	Egg	Nen	Batiodé
To write	Bindé	Vindé	Bird	Pitch	Sondou
Elephant	Nici	Nious	Nails		Segadé
Sword	Diassi	Silama	Gold	Ourous	Cagné
Slave	Diam	Mationdo	Ears	Nappe	Nofrou
Spirit		Fitanon	Yes	Ouaou	Eio ou gourga
To sneeze		Isloudé	Bread	Bourou	Bourou
Fire	Safera	Diangole	Basket		Haudére
Woman	Diguin	Dembo	Paper	Cahlet	Cahiet
Pregnant ditto	Diguin birna	Deboredé	To speak	Ouacai	Hale
Woman of evil life	Garbo	Debogulanado	Skin	Der	Gourou
Iron	Ven	Diamdi	Father	Bai	Baba
Fever	Oppe	Paongale	Parrot	Tioi	Soherou
Sowing thread	Ouin	Gareoul	Little	Calel	Seda
Laughter		Bidodebbo	Feet	Tânque	Felo
Arrow		Coural	Stone	Doi	Ahéré
Brother	Rack-gour	Minierado	Pipe	Nanou	Tierdougla
Cold	Lioul	Diangoi	To weep	Dioi	Ouaidé
Musquet	Fetel	Fetel. Filcaret (dans la Fouta Diallon)	Lead	Beter	Bedek
			Rain	Tao	Tobo
			Feather	Donqué	Chiqué
			Dagger	Packa (c'est le mot portugais)	Labbé
Boy	Gour	Gorko	Fish	Guen	Lego
Knees		Ofrou	Hen	Guenar	Guertogale
Throat		Dandé	Rat	Guenac	Dômrou
Great	Mague	Maounoundé	Queen	Diguen bour	Diemsoudou
Coat	Boubou	Dolaké			lamdo
Fish-hook		Ouandé	King	Bour	Lamdé fope
Grass		Oudo	Salt	Sokmate	Lamlam
Yesterday	Demba	Anki	Serpent		Boddi
Insult	Kass	Ienoudé	To hiss		Ouddé
Leg		Cosgal	Monkey	Golok	Ouanondou
To throw	Sanni	Verloudé			

ENGLISH.	IOLOF.	POULE.	ENGLISH.	IOLOF.	POULE.
Sun	Guent ou Nai	Nangué	Three years	Nietti hatti	Doubbi tati
Shoes	Dal	Padé	I or me	Man	An
Tobacco	Poun	Simmé	You	Iao	Andé
Earth	Souf	Leadi	Him	Mum	Kanko
Head	Bope	Ouoré	We or us	Nun	Minen
Linen		Bagué	They	Nium	Onon
Thunder	Denadeno	Inérigo	This, those	Lillé (on place ca pronom après lenom; ainsi, bin lillé ce vin)	Flo
To cough	Socote	Ouododia			
To exchange		Duisao			
To kill	Rei	Ouardé	Their	Sunion	Amen
Veins	Sedit	Dadoul	His or her	Niam	Ho
To sell	Diai	Iedé	Who	Kan	Bohonnè kan-
Wind	Guelao	Endou	It is I	Man la	An ouadi [ko
Belly	Birn	Redou	It is him	Mum la	Komin
Wine	Bin	Cogniam	With	Ak	Hane
Eyes	Botte	Itteré	For	Ki	Hame
1	Benne	Gottel	Without	Soudoul	
2	Niare	Deddi	In	Ki	
3	Niet	Tati	At	Fa	
4	Nieuet	Nai	I walk	Manguedok,	Medeiaia
5	Guroum	Guioi	Thou walkest	Ianguedok	Adeiaia
6	Guroum benne	Guiegom	He walketh	Munguebok	Ineiaia
7	Guroum niare	Guiedidi	We walk	Nunguedok	Midciaia
8	Guroum niet	Guietati	You walk	Ianguedok	Midomindiaa
9	Guroum nienet	Guienai	They walk	Naguedok	Benediaia
10	Fouque [ne	Sappo	I will walk	Dina dok	Ina iaa
11	Fouque ak ben-	Sappo è go	Thou wilt walk	Diga dok	Andé iaa
12	Fouque ak niare	Sappo è diddi	He will walk	Dina dok	Ané iaa an
13	Fouque ak niet	Sappo è tati	We will walk	Dinaniou dok	Ebediaa
14	Fouque ak nien-	Sappo è nai et	You will walk	Dinga dok	
15	Fouque ak gu-	Sappo è guioi roum	They will walk	Dinaniou dok	Ebediaa
16	Fouque ak gu-	Sappo è guie- roum benne gom	To walk	Dok	Iaa
17	Fouque ak gu-	Sappo è 'guie- roum niare didi	I did love	Sopona	Medeidi
18	Fouque ak gu-	Sappo è guietati roum niet	Thou didst love	Sopanga	Adeidi
19	Fouque ak gu-	Sappo è guienai roum nienet	He did love	Sopana	Adeidi an
20	Niare fouque	Nogasse	We did love	Sapananiou	Ondoudidi
30	Niet fouque	Tiapaldétati	They did love	Sopona	Ondoudidi ou- nombé
40	Nienet fouque	Tiapaldénai	I am	Madi	Min eonorom
50	Guroum fouque	Tiapaldeguioi	Thou art	Iadi	Andé
60	Guroum benne	Tiapaldeguie- fouque gom	We are	Nodi	Ouonondé
70	Guroum benne	Tiapaldeguie- fouque ak didi	They are	Niodi	ouonondé kam- bebel
80	Guroum nieti	Tiapaldèguie- fouque tati	If you like	So bouguenga os	Si veladi si ve- lima
100	Temir	Temedere	If you dont like	Bougoula	
1000	Guné	Ouguionere	How do you	Neuka guengo-	Nofoti
One day	Benne fan	Nialgou gotto	sell this	um	
Two months	Niare ver	Leppé diddi	It is too dear	Iefana	Inasadi
			He is idle	Tahelna	Kopatando
			I have not done it	Falouma lolou	Meouadali
			I am going to	Mangadem ki-	Meiato; thier-
			the Marabout	keur serin.	non
			Instantly	Legue legue	Dioni

VOCABULARY OF THE SERRERE LANGUAGE.

The Serreres inhabit the kingdoms of Baol and Barbesin ; it is the most ancient nation of Western Africa, comprized between the Senegal and the Gambia.

ENGLISH.	SERRERE.	ENGLISH.	SERRERE.
To love	Efferane	Pintado	Saou
Much	Maïou	Stone	Bine
To drink	Ierah	Hien	Tieko
Wood	Atiounge	To take	Amtiou
Mouth	Montiak	River	Calalé
Arm	Nar	To hiss	Ioudé
Hair	Houillé	The Sun	Set
Cord	Pak	Tobacco	Poune
Couscous	Sat	1	Alleng
Knife	Iapile	2	Addak
Teeth	Gnine	3	Taddak
Behind	Fout	4	Nnaak
God	Rogue	5	Bedak
Water	Fon	6	Beta follene
Child	Gai	7	Beta taddak
Woman	Tesse	8	Beta nnaak
Iron	Korzé	9	Beta bedak
Man	Korasse	10	Karbagkaie
Legs	Gode	11	Karbagkai fon alleng
Bed	Guion		
Hand	Kolle		
House	Endok	What do you call that ?	Nen néhée ?
Trunk	Arca	How do you sell that ?	Meré dikarek ?
Breasts	Ten	How do you do ?	Diam somme ?
To eat	Niami	I am well	Bar diam diego
To walk	Gniai	Shut the door	Vegue bedaknet
The sea	Foack	Open the door	Veti bedaknet
Millet	Kafe	You have done it	Voo file
I, me	Mi	It is not me	Ré fé mi
Nose	Gnise	Go along	Réti
No	Hin, hin, ou barra	Hold your tongue	Tiemmi
Ears	Nofe	Give me	Tiame-me
Yes	Io	It is cold	Diogonieme
Little	Doulouing	His knife	Iapile louo (c'est-à-dire couteau à lui)
Foot	Fâte		

END OF THE VOCABULARY.

EXPLANATION
OF
SOME TERMS IN USE IN AFRICA.

DAMEL—King.
BOURB—Emperor.
ALMAMY or **EL-IMAN**—In the Poulas language means Sovereign Pontiff.
NAZAREAN—Christian.
MARABOUT—Priest.
GRIOT—Public Singer.
SEDI—Master.
MUEZZIN—He who announces prayers.
MARIGOT—A pond formed by the sea or rivers overflowing.
CALEBASSE—A kind of gourd, it serves the negroes as gamelles or bottles to carry milk and palm oil.
HEAD of **TOBACCO**—Three leaves of that plant.
MASS of **GLASS BEADS**—Each mass contains 40 cords or nullans.
MOULE—A measure of about two quarts.
PAGNES—Cotton cloth made by the negroes; a pagne is composed of five bands, each five inches in breadth, and three cubits long.

THE END,

11 Road Sulp.

TRAVELS
IN
B R A Z I L,

IN 1815, 1816, AND 1817.

Alexander Phillips
By PRINCE MAXIMILIAN, *Prince of*
NUEWIED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,
AND
ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS, AND Co.
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P R E F A C E

Time late was opposed, during a long series of eventful years, numerous obstacles to any attempt to extend the knowledge of Natural History and Geography by travels in foreign regions; but peace being at length restored, men, animated by the desire of making new discoveries in the domain of nature, have been enabled to undertake important Voyages and Journeys, and to communicate their success to their contemporaries. The change produced in Brazil by the residence of the royal family of Portugal, and the liberal disposition of the government, have lately attracted several travellers to that quarter. Mr. Mawe obtained permission to visit the rich diamond mines, to which no foreigner had before been admitted. Some Germans have since gone over the same ground. Lieutenant-colonel Von Eschwege has already favoured the public with some interesting treatises, and important discoveries may still be expected from this scientific observer. Through the recommendation of that enlightened minister the Conde de Barca, he was not only allowed to visit the different captainships of the monarchy, but received an annual sum to defray his expences. How different is this conduct from that formerly pursued by the Portuguese government, when every foreigner on his arrival was surrounded by soldiers, and jealously watched!

It would require several years to explore this great country, though Mawe and Eschwege have already travelled through *Minas Gerais*. I found it therefore most convenient to direct my attention to the east coast, which, if not entirely unknown, had hitherto remained undescribed. Several races of Indians inhabit this quarter, whose manners have not been affected by the intercourse of Europeans. The high naked ridge of mountains which passes through Brazil, is separated from the east coast by extensive forests, which stretch from *Rio de Janeiro* to *Bahia de todos os San-*

tos, and are not yet occupied by Portuguese settlers. He who would wish to study the aborigines, can only find them in their ancient state in these woods. Can it then be surprising that this region, which, besides, presents rich treasures to the botanist and entymologist, should prove the most attractive to a traveller who was not inclined to spend many years in so warm a climate?

The greatest inconvenience a traveller has to encounter in Brazil, is the impossibility of obtaining maps and charts. Arrow-smith's map is full of errors,—considerable rivers on the east coast are not marked, while, on the contrary, some are given where none exist; and thus the best map of Brazil is almost useless. To supply this deficiency, the Portuguese government lately ordered a survey of the coast to be made, in order that all dangers to which ships are exposed in those parts might be made known.

Two Germans, M. Freyreiss and M. Sellow, who are inclined to remain some years, in Brazil, and, still farther, to explore the country, have in the king of Portugal a generous protector. Persons better qualified for executing the task they have undertaken, could not easily be found, as they are intimately acquainted with the language and manners of the country, and well prepared by several years of previous travels. I had the advantage of their company in part of my excursion, and have to thank M. Freyreiss for much interesting information. This gentleman intends to transmit to me an account of his further travels and observations in natural history, and I shall esteem myself happy in having the opportunity of laying his discoveries before the lovers of scientific investigation. This book is, therefore, only the forerunner of more important communications, and farther observations will soon supply the deficiencies unavoidable in the following sheets.

N. B.—*The Part now published consists of the First Volume of the Author's Work, which is all that, at this date, (May 1820,) has appeared in Germany. As soon as the Second Volume appears, it shall be presented to the British Public in the same style as the present Number.*

TRAVELS
IN
THE BRAZILS.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage from England to Rio de Janeiro.

BRAZIL, to which a number of travellers have recently been attracted, has the advantage of being separated from Europe by a sea comparatively tranquil. At some periods, particularly at the equinoxes, that immense ocean is certainly subject to storms, but they are less dangerous than in other quarters, as for example; in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn.

I left London at the most favourable season, and had therefore reason to anticipate an agreeable voyage. While our ship, the *Janus*, of 320 tons, dropped down the Thames, the weather was excellent. The morning of the second day promised a favorable wind, and we passed Margate, got round the North Foreland, entered the Channel, and towards evening anchored in the Downs, off Deal. Whilst we lay at anchor, the captain took on board fresh beef and sea stock of every kind. On the first change of wind we sailed round the South Foreland, under convoy of the *Albatros* brig, commanded by captain Harrison. The wind, however, became unfavourable, and we were obliged to put back to our old anchoring ground off Deal.

During the night a severe gale arose, and blew with such violence that it was found necessary to keep a great part of the hands on deck: the sky became gradually more and more overcast, till at length the South Foreland was almost totally obscured. The yards were struck and braced round to the wind. For several days the storm continued raging with more or less violence, and gave

the passengers, who had now for the first time become acquainted with the uncertain element on which we were embarked, no very agreeable foretaste of the pleasures of a sea-life. At length, when the wind became somewhat more favorable, a signal was made by a ship of war, and the whole fleet weighed anchor. But when evening set in, a new danger threatened us; the ships sailed so close to each other, that they were every moment on the point of running foul. At midnight we fortunately escaped from an accident which had well nigh proved fatal: a large ship in full sail nearly run us down, and passed close alongside, ere the darkness permitted any one on deck to discover the danger. As the violence of the wind continued to increase, we carried little sail. After suffering much from bad weather, we were at last enabled to continue our voyage, and pursue our destined course. We soon sailed past Dungeness, and the beautiful rocky coast of Beachy Head, a promontory in Sussex, between Hastings and Shoreham. At noon we had a view of Brighton, and in the evening, while the sea was tranquil and motionless, and the moon shone brightly, we came in sight of the Isle of Wight. The sailors now resumed their wonted cheerfulness, and the sound of the fiddle and the sprightly dance, soon banished all recollection of the dangers they had encountered.

On the morning of the 20th of May, we passed the Isle of Wight, and Portland Point, in Dorsetshire, which produces the beautiful stone used for building in England. At night another gale arose, which obliged us to stand out to sea, to avoid being wrecked on the rocky coast, and the wind was so heavy that one of our sails was torn from the mast. On the following evening, though the sea was rough, and the wind somewhat unfavourable, we entered the secure road of Torbay, which is broad, and surrounded by hills. Portland Point projects on the north, and the Start on the south. Here we determined to wait for better weather, and, if possible, to recover from the fatigue we had undergone; but two vessels bound for Brazil, with which we were to sail, fired a gun as the signal for their immediate departure, and we had not even time to finish the letters we were preparing to send on shore. Towards evening we sailed round Start Point; here a cluster of lofty and steep rocks form a kind of rude promontory, on the top of which is a level overgrown with verdure, such as appears along the whole coast of Devonshire. The hills seem partly tinged with yellow, owing to the great abundance of the flowers of the ulex, a shrub which is very common both in England and France. Little islands of rock are here and there visible above the surface of the sea, and with the white foaming waves breaking against them, form a picture which the rays of the departing sun now rendered the more beautiful. On the following morning we caught a distant glimpse of Fort Pendennis, not far

from Falmouth, and passing the Lizard Point, which is distinguished by its two white light-houses, cleared the channel. On the 22nd of May we lost sight of land.

During our passage to Madeira, we frequently threw out lines and other fishing tackle, but we did not succeed in catching any thing, except the *trigla gurnardus*, a fish which eats very agreeably. Shoals of porpoises (*delphinus phocaena*, Linn.) frequently followed the ship, but we were not fortunate enough to catch any. We were also occasionally accompanied by the small black storm-bird (*procellaria pelagica*). At noon, on the 11th of June, we came within sight of the island of Madeira. At six in the evening we arrived off its western point, Ponta Pargo, which we doubled with a fresh gale. This island presents a most beautiful prospect: at a distance it appears like a mass of rock with its summit enveloped in clouds. On every side appear steep black coloured precipices, with deep clefts and hollows: the green tendrils of the vine are every where visible, and among them glisten here and there the white houses of the inhabitants. The summits of those hills which are not hidden by the clouds, are covered with verdure, and the little houses are shaded by clusters of lofty trees. In the fine climate of Madeira, the fruits of the torrid and the temperate zones are cultivated with equal success. Heavy rains must be frequent here, for the descending torrents of rain have in many places formed deep crevices in the rocks. The inhabitants, who amount to about eighty thousand, support themselves chiefly by the cultivation of the vine. Madeira also produces fine fruit, such as oranges, bananas, lemons, &c.

As we did not intend to visit Funchal, the capital of Madeira, we proceeded on our course, and soon lost sight of the island. A brisk trade-wind carried us rapidly past the tropic. Here multitudes of flying-fish hovered round the vessel. These animals became the more numerous as we approached the equator; before we reached the tropic we had seldom seen them.

On the 6th of June, when we passed the northern tropic, and for several succeeding days, we were much amused by the various animals of the molusca class, which made their appearance. At the 22° 17' north latitude, we saw for the first time the *physalis*, a very curious animal of this class^a; it gradually appeared in greater numbers, and as we advanced, we frequently saw several hundred in a day. This curious animal has been noticed by many voyagers, and I was therefore much interested in being enabled to observe it minutely. The largest portion of the animal, which floats above the surface of the water, is a bladder filled with air: to the lower side of this bladder, eight or nine bunches of long fleshy fibres or tentacula are attached, which form short thick stems at the roots, where

^a Concerning these Molusca, see the account of the Court Counsellor Silesius, in the third volume of Captain Krusenstern's Voyage round the World.

they are connected with the bladder. With these tentacula, which may be called the living part (for the bladder is not sensitive), the animal seizes its prey; they are capable of being lengthened or shortened, and are furnished with numerous suckers and papillæ. With regard to the bladder, I have not been able to discover any ducts or canals that open into it; this bladder does not alter after the death of the animal, and will retain its form even in spirits of wine. Its power of motion is very limited; it curls into the form of a crescent, and its two points incline either upwards or downwards. By this motion it supports itself when tossed about by the fury of the waves. The bladder itself occasions no pain to the touch; but the tentacula produce a burning smarting sensation. The *physalis* is called by the English, *the Portuguese man of war*; by the French, *galère*; and by the Portuguese, *agoa viva*, or *caravela*. As we approached the equator, the numbers of these mollusca diminished; but on the other hand, the *medusa pelagica* appeared very frequently. Sea-fowl also fluttered round the ship, and on one occasion, after a storm, the pilot caught a sea-swallow, (*sterna stolidus*, Linn.) in his hand. We also saw man of war birds (*pelicanus aquilus*, Linn.), which had been driven down from the neighbouring cliffs.

The weather was upon the whole favourable, while we passed the northern torrid zone: we had frequent showers of rain, but these were very acceptable, as our store of fresh water was by this time nearly exhausted. On the 22nd of June, the Janus passed the equator, when the seamen made us undergo the usual ceremony of a visit from Neptune. On the preceding evening, a deputy from the monarch of the ocean came on board, and conversed with the captain through a speaking trumpet. The flaming car in which he departed, consisted of a burning tar barrel, which formed a very pretty object as it receded in the darkness of the night.

After we crossed the equator, the weather became less favourable; we had frequent showers of rain, accompanied by heavy winds; the sea was often very rough, and we saw numbers of storm-finches, (*procellaria pelagica*) porpoises, and larger cetacea. We had now passed the 28° 25' west longitude from Greenwich; to avoid the rain and heavy winds which we had hitherto experienced, we now steered further westward, and this brought us into the currents which run towards the American coast.

On the morning of the 27th of June, while we were seated at breakfast, we were informed that we were in sight of land. Every one hastened on deck, and to our joy we beheld the beautiful coast of Brazil, rising above the surface of the ocean. We soon discovered two species of sea-weed, (*fucus*) and various other indications of our proximity to the coast, and at length we descried a fishingraft, with three men on board. These rafts (*jangadas*) are formed of five or six trunks of a light kind of tree, called in Brazil *pao*

de jangado, of which a sketch may be found in Köster's travels in Brazil. These *jangadas* put to sea with great safety; they are used for fishing, and conveying various articles from one part of the coast to another, and they go very swiftly, as they are furnished with a stout sail fixed on a low mast. After our long voyage, we would gladly have taken in a supply of fresh fish, but this object was not sufficiently important to induce us to sail up to the *jangado*. We therefore steered in the direction of the coast, and about noon, had advanced so near it, that we could plainly recognize the district of *Goiana* or *Paraíba de Norte*, in the *Capetania* of Pernambuco. Our situation would have been very dangerous, had we approached thus near the coast during the night, and with a heavy wind; but fortunately we had still sufficient time to tack about and gain the open sea. However, a heavy gale, accompanied by rain, arose during the night, and we were obliged to beat about for several days. During this storm, the sea presented a terrific aspect; the roaring waves towered above the ship, and the interminable surface of the ocean seemed to be on fire. Thousands of light spots and streaks, and even extensive surfaces glistened around us, and every moment changed their form and situation. This light was exactly similar to that produced by damp decayed trees, so often seen in forests. Day after day the storm continued to rage with unabated fury. We had committed a great error in approaching so near the coast of Pernambuco, for storms are very frequent in these parts during the winter of the torrid zone. The captain put out to the open sea as well as the wind would permit, but we were constantly obliged to tack about, and made but little way. Finally, about eight days after we had first gained sight of land, the wind abated, and enabled us to take a more direct course. We occasionally measured the current of the sea, a precaution highly necessary, as we were steering very near the coast. Large sea-fowl, mews or petrels, hovered about the ship, but we were not able to shoot any. We also occasionally saw the *physalis*, and flying fish, and large cetacea spouted up the water through their spiracles.

At noon, on the 9th of July, we once more gained sight of the coast of Brazil, in the neighbourhood of *Bahia de todos os Santos*. We beheld beautiful chains of mountains, with thick clouds descending over their summits. We could plainly see that partial rain was falling, and at sea we experienced alternately heavy rain and wind. We had reason to expect that in the evening a smart gale would blow from the coast, and we sailed forward during the day; but as the weather proved tranquil, we again stood out to sea at night. On the 10th, the weather was fair, and the wind favourable. We had passed the dangerous rocky islands called *Abrolhos*, (which name is a contraction for *Abra os olhos*, open the eyes), and we could now steer in a direct course to *Cabo Frio*. In the 22° 23' south latitude, we observed a second species of *physalis*.

much smaller than the common kind, and without any red colour; it was doubtless the same which Bosc has described in the second volume of his *Histoire naturelle des Vers*. This animal appeared in vast numbers. The heat which we experienced at noon in these regions was most oppressive, and a single cup of tea threw us into strong perspiration. On the contrary, the nights were always of an agreeable temperature, and the light of the moon and stars was delightful. We now saw great quantities of fucus, plants of various kinds, fragments of trees, &c. and on the afternoon of the 14th. we gained sight of the promontory called *Cabo Frio*, with the little rocky island that lies before it. It was now seventy days since we had sailed from Gravesend, and we had yet a short voyage to perform ere we could reach *Rio de Janeiro*. In the morning we doubled *Cabo Frio* with a favourable wind, and on the 15th of July, we came in sight of the southern coast of Brazil, where the promontory separates the southern and eastern coasts. A brisk gale now agitated the sea, which here, as well as along the coasts of Europe, is tinged with a dark green hue. The hills of Brazil, which are of the most beautiful and varied forms, covered with verdure and trees, extend in an uninterrupted line along the coast. The primary mountains which we past, presented a singular variety of forms, being frequently conical or pyramidical; the clouds were descending over their summits, and a light fog or mist gave them a beautiful soft colour. At noon in the shade, and with a gentle wind, the thermometer stood at 19° Reamur (75° Fahrenheit), and during a calm which ensued in the evening, it was at 17° Reamur. The wind afterwards became more brisk, the ship sailed swiftly, and on the succeeding morning, we arrived at the mouth of the *Rio de Janeiro*.

During the calm, we continued for a considerable time tacking about, and made but little way. Before us lay the opening on the coast which leads to the city of *Rio de Janeiro*; In this opening there are numerous small rocky islands, some of which are very curiously shaped, and together with the distant clusters of hills along the coast, present a highly picturesque prospect. Among these hills, the sugar-loaf (*Pao de Assucar*) is distinguished on the left by its conical form, and on the opposite side appears the point of land on which stands the fort of *Santa Cruz*, erected for the protection of the capital.

About 11 o'clock the wind became calm, and the progress of the ship was scarcely perceptible, though all our sails were up. During this tedious interval we resolved to visit one of the rocky islands which were within sight. The captain, with a few sailors, got into the boat, and two of the passengers besides myself, accompanied them. After rowing for about half an hour, we lost sight of the *Janus*, and arrived at the *Ilha raxa*, the level island, so called to distinguish it from the *Ilha rotunda*. But here we

found it impossible to land, for the island was surrounded by steep broken pieces of rock, overgrown with zoophytes, which formed a complete net-work. We therefore contented ourselves with admiring the beautiful clusters of trees which were thickly entwined together on the level part of the island, and listening to the resounding notes of the birds. On the points of the rocks we observed numbers of white mews with black backs, which exactly resembled the *larus marinus* of the European seas. After staying about an hour, we rowed off from the island, and began to look out for the ship; but she was no longer visible. Our situation was now very critical; for at the entrance of the river there are currents which frequently carry vessels out of their course, by which many have been wrecked.* Our sailors contended for some time against the high swollen waves, without accurately knowing the course of the vessel. We rowed with all our might, and at length had the good fortune to discover the masts of the Janus. After we got on board, the wind continued so calm that we made but little progress. In the evening, however, we anchored in the narrow mouth of the great harbour of Rio de Janeiro, which was formerly called Ganabara by those tribes of the aborigines who resided here. The entrance to this harbour is extremely picturesque. It is surrounded on either side by steep rugged mountains, the summits of which present the most varied and singular forms, and almost all of which have particular names. Among them are two of similar form, distinguished by the name of the *Duos Irmaos* (the two brothers), another is called by the English the *Parrot-beak*, and at some distance from the shore rises the lofty *Corcovado*. We cast anchor at the distance of about a mile from the Fort, where we could command a view of the grand scenery which surrounded us. The lofty pointed hills are for the most part covered with trees, among whose dark green branches we could distinguish those of the stately slender coconut tree. Where the beams of the setting sun glistened on the surface of the sea, we could discern shoals of beautiful red coloured fish, which presented a most singular appearance. We amused ourselves by gathering sea-weed (*fucus*) and fishing for mollusca, till night-fall, when the heavy dew which is common in these regions obliged us to quit the deck.

Just as we were about to retire to rest, a distant firing again induced us to mount on deck, and, at the further extremity of the

* A singular circumstance occurred shortly before our arrival. An American ship entered the river, and was followed by an English privateer. The American, for some time, appeared at a loss how to proceed, but she was at length obliged to sail, and the privateer wished to pursue and capture her. However, according to the Port-laws of Rio, every ship is allowed an interval of three hours before an enemy can pursue her. The privateer accordingly awaited the expiration of the three hours, and then put to sea with all her sails set. As soon as she arrived near *Ilha rotunda* she was becalmed, and the current dashed her against the rocks, where she was wrecked, and all the crew lost, while the American vessel had long before gained the open sea.

bay, where a number of large ships enabled us to guess at the situation of Rio de Janeiro, we beheld a display of brilliant fireworks. On the following morning, at sun-rise, we weighed anchor, and a gentle breeze soon carried us into the harbour. We all joyfully mounted the deck; the English flag waved above our heads, and all our sails were majestically set. A boat, rowed by eight Indians,* now made towards us, with two pilots on board, to bring the *Janus* to anchor before the city of Rio. They brought with them proofs of the fertility of their country, namely, abundance of delicious oranges, which were heartily welcome to us, as we had not tasted fresh fruit during the seventy-two days that we had been at sea. We now gradually approached the city, sailing from one bank to the other of the narrow mouth of the bay. In the clefts of the hills we here and there perceived neat little houses, shaded by thickets, above which towered the stately branches of the cocoa tree. We sailed past numbers of small islands, on one of which Villegagnon built Fort Colligny, and which still bears his name. The French were driven from this place in 1560. We could now command a view of a great part of the Bay of Rio, bounded, in the distance, by lofty hills, among which the *Serra dos Orgaos* (the hill of organs,) is remarkable for its resemblance to the conical mountains of Switzerland. There are many small islands in this beautiful and secure harbour of the New World, which is defended on both sides by strong batteries. We were now directly opposite the city of Rio de Janeiro, or, properly, St. Sebastiam, which is built on several hills, close to the shore, and, with its towering churches and cloisters, forms a most beautiful prospect. Behind the city the landscape is terminated by conical topped hills, overgrown with trees and verdure, and, in the fore ground, multitudes of ships of all nations give animation to the scene; boats and canoes are constantly sailing to and fro, and the little coasting vessels of the neighbouring harbours fill up the intervals between the majestic three-masted ships of Europe.

We had no sooner cast anchor than we were surrounded by boats, some of which were filled with soldiers, who immediately came on board. The officers of the *Alfandego* (custom-house) then made their appearance. We were also visited by a commission of health, and other officers, whose business was to ascertain that the crew were in a healthy state, and to examine our passports; and lastly, a great number of Englishmen came on board, all eager to obtain news from their native country.

* The Portuguese call all the aborigines of Brazil Indians (*Indios*), as we erroneously apply the name of Indians to all the tribes of the vast continent of America.

CHAPTER II.

RESIDENCE IN RIO DE JANEIRO.

*The City and its Environs.—The Indians of St. Lourenço.—
Preparations for a Journey up the Country.*

RIO DE JANEIRO, during the latter half of the 17th century, contained only 2500 inhabitants, and about 600 military. * Now, however, this capital is in every respect totally changed, and it may be accounted one of the principal cities of the New World. Two thousand Europeans emigrated with the King from Portugal, and thus the manners and customs of Europe have been transplanted to Brazil. The first thing which excites the astonishment of a stranger on landing at Rio, is to find that the number of negroes and people of colour greatly exceeds that of the whites. The natives of every country are here united together in commercial pursuits, and their intermarriages produce various new races. The most distinguished and privileged portion of the inhabitants of all the Portuguese Brazilian states, are the natives of Portugal, called *Portuguezes*, or *Filhos do Reino*; the next are the *Brazileiros* (Brazilians, or Portuguese born in Brazil, of more or less purity of origin,) *Mulatos*, (Mulatos, born from the union of whites with negroes,) *Mamaluccos*, (Mamalukes, born whites and Indians, also called *Mestics*,) *Negros*, (the pure African Negroes, also called *Muleccos*,) *Creolos*, (Creoles, born of Negroes in Brazil,) *Caribocos*, (born of Negroes and Indians,) *Indios*, pure Indians, or aborigines of Brazil, of whom the most civilized are called *Kaboclos*, and those who still live in a state of primitive rudeness are distinguished by the names of *Gentios*, *Tapuyas*, or *Bugres*.

Rio de Janeiro contains abundant specimens of all these different races; the Tapuyas, however, are not so numerous as the rest. These various tribes of people are seen in the streets of the city, busily employed with the Europeans. Englishmen, Spaniards, and Italians, are very numerous here; the French also emigrate in great numbers to Rio de Janeiro, but Germans, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, and Russians, are very seldom seen. Negroes, almost in a state of nudity, are employed in carrying burthens, and this useful race of people transport all kinds of merchandize from the harbour to the city; ten or a dozen of them together are frequently seen carrying heavy loads upon thick poles, and marching to the measure of their own wild songs. Carts are never used for the conveyance of merchandize, though coaches drawn by mules

* Southey's History of Brazil, Vol. II. p. 667.

are frequently seen driving about the city. The streets for the most part cross each other at right angles, and the houses are in general only of one or two stories high. The town, however, contains many good buildings, particularly near the harbour, in the *Rua direita*, and in the vicinity of the royal palace, which, though not a remarkably fine edifice in itself, is finely situated, and commands a beautiful view of the sea. Among the finest buildings at Rio de Janeiro, may be reckoned the numerous churches, the interiors of which are for the most part splendidly ornamented. Ecclesiastical festivals and processions are very frequent here, and on such occasions fire-works are displayed before the church doors, accompanied by the reports of guns and sky-rockets.

Rio contains a tolerably good opera-house, where Italian operas and French ballets are performed. The aqueduct is an important public work, and there is a beautiful promenade leading to the eminence from which the aqueduct descends. On the side next the land the city is surrounded by marshes overgrown by mango trees, (*rhizophora*.) The proximity of these marshes, together with the unfavourable situation of the city itself, must be highly injurious to the health of the inhabitants.

A European, on first landing in these tropical regions, is astonished at the beauty of the natural scenery and the luxuriance of vegetation. The gardens are every where shaded by gigantic mango trees, (*mangifera indica*, Linn.) cocoa trees, banana trees, (*musa*,) green orange trees loaded with golden fruit, melon trees, (*karica*,) the rich scarlet-blossomed *crythrina*, &c. Groves of these trees form delightful promenades in the vicinity of the city, and present to the admiration of the stranger multitudes of curious birds and butterflies. In Brazil nature has hitherto done more than man. Since the court has resided here, the country has, however, undergone great improvements, particularly with respect to the increase of trade, over which, unfortunately, Great Britain possesses too powerful an influence: for even the Portuguese ships are subject to heavier imposts than the British. The capital has derived vast benefit from the increased circulation of money, to which, of course, the presence of the court in no small degree contributes. The foreigners attached to the different European embassies, have also introduced a degree of refinement among the inhabitants. There are also in Brazil European artists and mechanics of every class, and in a few years nothing will be wanting that can contribute to the comforts of life.

The abundance of fruits and vegetation of every kind which this fertile climate produces is almost inconceivable. Oranges, mangos, figs, grapes, guayavas, (*peidum pyrifera*, Linn.) pine apples, (*bromelia ananas*, Linn.) grow in singular perfection. There are several varieties of bananas, particularly those of *St. Tomé*,

and the *luzerne da terra*, which is accounted the most wholesome, cocoa nuts, with their refreshing milk; jacas, (*artocarpus integrifolia*, Linn.) which have a disagreeable sweet taste; *melancias*, (water-melons,) the nuts of the sapucaia tree, (*lecythis ollaria*, Linn.); those of the *arancaria*, (Brazilian pine,) and other fruits, are exhibited for sale in all parts of the streets. The sugar cane originally grew wild in the vicinity of Rio. The markets are invariably stocked with fish, poultry, and various kinds of game, sold by the huntsmen. I observed a singular species of hen, with yellow feet and beaks, originally brought from Africa. There is a numerous military establishment at Rio. The difference between the troops brought from Portugal, who fought under Wellington in Spain, and those raised in Brazil, is very remarkable. The former present a military appearance, but the latter, on the contrary, are enfeebled by the heat of the climate, and their arms are carried home by negroes from the place of exercise.

I arrived in the tropical climate of Rio during the winter season; the heat was, however, as overpowering as in the warmest months of our summer. I had expected rain in this American winter, but, to my great joy, not a drop fell, a circumstance which serves in some measure to disprove the common assertion that the cold season in this climate is invariably accompanied by rain. My letters of introduction procured me the kindest reception in many families at Rio. I cannot forbear mentioning, with the strongest gratitude, the favours I received from the Swedish Consul-General Westin, the Russian Consul Von Langedorff, the English Chargé d'Affaires Chamberlain, and the Russian Chargé d'Affaires Swertzkoff. My countryman Engineer Major Feldner, overwhelmed me with proofs of his friendship; he formed several agreeable travelling parties, which enabled me to observe the country in the vicinity of Rio. On one of these interesting journeys I made my first acquaintance with the aborigines of Brazil. The little village of St. Lourenzo, in the neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, is the only spot which contains any remnants of the original native tribes of this country. In order to observe them the more accurately, our party set out from Rio, accompanied by Captain Perreira, a gentleman well acquainted with the country. The weather proved unusually fine, and I was every moment delighted with the novelty of the surrounding scenery. We landed not far from San Lourenzo, and ascended the rising grounds, by a path which led through thickets of the finest shrubs. Lantanas, with their flame-coloured, deep red, or rose coloured flower-tops, are here interspersed with the heliconias, and other elegant plants, and form a thick copse. The huts of the Indians, on these heights, are scattered among groves of dark shady orange, banana, and other trees, loaded with their rich fruit. A painter would here have an excellent opportunity to perfect his pencil in the luxuriant vegetation

of the tropics, and picturesque scenes of an elevated nature. We found the inhabitants occupied in making pottery with a kind of dark green clay, which burns red. They make large vessels merely by the hand, without any potter's wheel, and glaze them with a small muscle, moistened by saliva; young and old sat together on the ground; the men work on board of ships in the king's service; the greater part of these men had still all the genuine Indian character, but the others appeared to be of mixed origin. The distinguishing traits of the Brazilian race, which I first observed here, and afterwards always found confirmed, are, a body well formed, of the middle size, or often less than the middle size, and, in the men, stout and muscular; a red, or yellowish brown colour; the hair very strong, hard, long, straight, and jet black; the countenance broad, and rather bony, having the eyes often placed obliquely, and yet frequently well formed, with strongly marked features, and generally a thick mouth; the hands and feet small and finely formed; the beard generally thin and hard.

The few Indians who live here are the sole remains of the ancient numerous population of this country; and yet this not properly their paternal home. Rio and the surrounding districts were originally inhabited by the warlike race of the *Tamoyos*. These people, who were partly dispersed by the *Tupin-Imbas*, (called by the Portuguese *Tupinambas*,) subsequently united with the latter against the Portuguese, and then both tribes joined the French: when, however, the French were driven from this country in the year 1567 by the Portuguese and the Indians, who had joined them, the *Tomoyas* were partly extirpated and partly driven back to the forests. It is said, though the assertion is scarcely credible, that the *Tupinambas* wandered in an oblique direction through the forests to the banks of the river Amazon, where they settled. It is, however, certain, that at present on an island of the great Amazon river, at the outlet of the *Madeira*, in the spots called *Tupinambara*, which at a later period became the settlement of the *Topayos*, some remnant of this race still exists. Thus the extensive scattering of these people may be accounted for.* Some interesting accounts of the manners and customs of the *Tupinambas*, are contained in the works of Lery and Hans Staden, which also afford a faithful picture of all those civilized tribes of Coast-Indians, now called by the Portuguese tame Indians, or *Indios man-*

* According to the description of Father D'Acunha, in de la Condamine, pag. 137, the *Tupinambas*, and other kindred tribes of coast Indians, were widely scattered. This is evident from the names derived from their language, which are common along the whole eastern coast, to the river Amazon, and even in Paraguay, where Azara distinguishes them by the name *Guaranis*. Vol. II, p. 52. The words which this author quotes from the *Guarani-language*, differ, it is true, in many instances, from those of the *Lingoa geral*; but at the same time there are frequent analogies between them, so that both nations seem to be closely allied to each other.

203. Southey and Beauchamp, in their Histories of Brazil, have gleaned from the works of the above authors. Vasconcellos, in his *Noticias curiosas do Brazil*, divides all the aborigines of the east coast in two classes, namely, the civilized Indians, *Indios mansos*, and the wild hordes, *Tapuyas*. When the Europeans first visited this country, the former inhabited merely the sea coast. They were divided into several tribes which differed very little from each other, in language and manners. The custom of fattening their prisoners, in order to kill them on a festival, with the club *Tacapé*, or *Ivera pemme*, adorned with variegated feathers, and then devouring them, prevailed universally. Among these tribes were the *Tamoyos*, *Tupinambas*, *Tupinaquins*, *Tobayaras*, *Tupis*, *Tupigoades*, *Tumiminos*, *Amoigpyras*, *Araboyaras*, *Rariguaras*, *Potigoares*, *Cavigos*, &c. Father José de Anchieta has left us a very complete grammar of the language, common to the whole of the tribes on the coast, and therefore called *Lingoa geral*, or *Matrix*. Though these Indians are now all civilized, and have adopted the Portuguese, they still recollect more or less of their mother tongue, and the old men and women speak it pretty accurately. All the names of animals, plants, rivers, &c. which occur in descriptions of Brazil belong to this language; which extended over all the adjoining countries, as the names of the animals in Azara's Natural History of Paraguay, as well as other facts shew. These names, which are all taken from the *Guarani* language, correspond, in a great measure, with the *Lingoa geral*.

The Indians of the first class (according to the division of Vasconcellos,) have completely changed their mode of life, and thereby lost the originality of their character. It is quite otherwise with the second class or *Tabuyas*; they have undergone no change, and are still in their original savage state. Inhabiting the interior of the forests, and withdrawn from the observation and the influence of the European settlers, these savages live in greater security than their brethren on the coast, with whom, as well as the Europeans, they are in constant war. They are divided into various tribes, and it is remarkable that they all speak different languages. One very wild tribe, the *Uetacas* or *Gouytacases*, as the Portuguese call them, dwelt on the east coast, surrounded by races that spoke the *Lingoa geral*, from which their language was completely different. They lived in constant war with their neighbours, and were dreaded by them and the Europeans, until the Jesuits, so well practised in civilizing the savage hordes of this quarter of the world, at last succeeded, to a certain degree, in softening their manners.

At the building of *St. Sebastian* (*Rio de Janeiro*), in 1567, *Mendo de Saa* established the village of *St. Lourenzo*, under *Martin Alfonso*, for the Indians who had fought bravely against the

French and their allies, the *Tupinambas*, and contributed to their expulsion. The Jesuits afterwards brought the new converted *Goaytacas* to this village, and the Indians who at present inhabit it are their descendants.

The walls and huts of San Lourenzo are formed of stakes and lattice work, with the interstices filled up with clay, and the roofs are covered with cocoa leaves. The furniture is very simple. Mats spread on boards supply the place of beds. Occasionally may still be seen the sleeping-nets, formed of cotton, which were formerly in general use among the Indians. Both these kinds of bed have been adopted by the lower orders of the Portuguese, throughout the whole of Brazil. Large pots, which keep water cool, are every where used; they are made of a kind of clay, through which the water, slowly filtering, evaporates externally, and is thus cooled internally. A cocoa-nut shell, cut through the middle, with a wooden handle, serves to lift the water. Some earthen pots for cooking, (*panelas*,) and gourds for dishes, with trifling articles of clothing and ornament, and sometimes a musket, or bow and arrows, complete the remaining domestic articles.

The mandioca (*jatropha manihot*, Linn.) and maize, (*milho*,) which form a considerable part of the sustenance of these people, and which grow in abundance here, have been described so fully by Koester and Mawe, that it is unnecessary for me to say more of them. There are, besides, planted around the houses, some spicery shrubs, (*pimenteiras*). Several kinds of *capsicum*, of which one with oblong red fruit is called *malagueta*, and another with roundish red or yellow fruit, *pimenta di cheiro*, and bushes of *ricinus*, with their angular leaves, which supply the families with oil expressed from their seeds, surround every dwelling. Our botanist, M. Sellow, found, growing wild, near the residence of the Indians, a kind of cress, (*lepidium*,) which is similar in taste to the European, and which the Indians assert to be a good remedy in complaints of the chest. While M. Sellow was making acquisitions in his department, I obtained some beautiful birds, which the Indians offered for sale, shut up in wooden cages. Among others, I purchased the violet and orange coloured tanager, which, in this quarter of Brazil, is called *gatturania*.

After an interesting visit to St. Lourenzo, we returned, and soon landed again near Mr. Chamberlain's country house, which is situated in a little creek, shaded by orange and cocoa trees, (*theobroma*,) and mango trees, (*mangifera indica*, Linn.) larger than our tallest oaks. We were astonished at the quantity of wild fruits and nuts which grew on the shore, among which the great cucumber-shaped fruit of the thorny bombax was particularly abundant. Mr. Sellow has discovered that the brilliant beetle (*curculio imperialis*) lives on the bombax tree. This is one of the most beautiful insects in Brazil, and, from the observa-

tions of this traveller, some minute information respecting the curious changes it undergoes may be expected. The steep precipices along the shore were overgrown with large *cactus* trees, and the *agave fatida*, while the clustering bushes at their feet produced a picturesque effect. On our way back to Rio, we saw the *Armacao das Baleias*, or the magazine for the whale fishery. Whales are still extremely numerous on the coast of Brasil, though the fishery has been carried to a very great extent. Lery mentions that they were formerly found even in the river of Rio de Janeiro.

I should have been very well pleased to have made a longer stay at Rio, but that would have been contrary to the plan I had laid down, for the riches of nature are not to be found in cities, but in fields and forests. Through the liberal spirit of the government, aided by the friendly attentions of the Minister Conde da Barca, I was enabled speedily to make every necessary arrangement for my journey. I received a passport and letters of recommendation to the different Captains General. The civil and military authorities were directed to give us every assistance, to forward our collections to Rio, and, if we required it, to supply us with beasts of burthen, attendants, and escorts of soldiers. Two young Germans, M.M. Sellow and Freyreiss, who were familiar with the language and manners of the country, joined me in the enterprise of exploring the eastern coast towards *Caravellas*. We procured sixteen mules, each of which carried two wooden chests, secured against rain and moisture by coverings of raw ox hides; and, having engaged ten men to take care of our cattle, and to assist in hunting, we proceeded on our journey, well armed, supplied with sufficient ammunition, and provided with every thing requisite for collecting objects of natural history.

CHAPTER III.

Journey from Rio de Janeiro through Praya Grande, S. Gonzales, River Guajuitibo, Serra de Inua, Lake and Freguesia of Marica, Gurapina, Ponta Negra, Sagoarcma, Lagoa de Aratuama, S. Pedro dos Indios, to Cabo Frio.

AFTER we had made preparations for our departure from St. Christopher, a small village in the neighbourhood of Rio, our cattle were put on board a large barge; but it cost us much trouble before we could bring our mules to embark, for want of necessary conveniences. We left St. Christopher on the 4th of August, and sailed through the great bay of Rio to the village of Praya Grande, where we landed about midnight. All the inhabitants were wrap-

ped in sleep. The negroes were sleeping on the sand of the shore, beside a small fire which cast but little heat, and their naked bodies were only covered with a thin cotton cloth, which could ill protect them from the heavy dew. After knocking for a long time at a public-house, the landlord, with only his mantle wrapped round him, and scarcely awake, opened the door. Here we were compelled to remain the whole of the following day, as our *Tropa*, (thus they called a united number of beasts of burden) could not be disembarked, on account of the shallow water, till late at noon.

We left Praya Grande on the 6th, accompanied by some of our friends, in the hope of advancing a considerable way; but we soon found that it is far more tedious and troublesome to travel with laden mules than after the European fashion. Our trouble with the mules was so much the greater, as those generally unruly beasts, having all been bought in a hurry, and being unused to carry burthens, were continually attempting to free themselves from their loads, which some effecting, we were obliged to turn back and seek for them. After a few hours we reached a pretty level meadow, inclosed by bushes of beautiful feathered mimosa, where to accustom ourselves to sleep under the open sky, we halted, though there were houses in the neighbourhood. Our luggage was placed around in a semi-circle, to protect us from the damp night air, and ox hides spread for our beds; in the middle, we lighted up a large fire. Our protection from the heavy dew consisted in a thick woollen covering over us, and our portmantaus served for pillows. A frugal supper of rice and meat was prepared, which we shared under a beautiful tropical sky, covered with stars. With no little merriment, we partook of our repast, and the neighbouring planters, returning to their dwellings, as they passed us, made ludicrous comments on the strange gypsey-band*. To be secure from theft in these inhabited countries, we divided ourselves into watches for the night. My German bounds were of great service to me, in this respect, for, at the least noise, they ran, with loud barkings, to the spot from whence the noise proceeded.

The bright morning procured me for the first time a chasing excursion, which I had only known hitherto from Le Vaillant's description of a similar scene in Africa. Our covering and baggage had been wetted through by dew, but the sun soon dried them. After breakfast, every one took his gun, and being well provided with ammunition, we penetrated into the interior of the country. The bushes around us were enlivened with a multitude of beautiful birds, who charmed us with their notes. In a neighbouring marshy copse, I soon killed a pretty water-hen (*gallinula*) several kinds of Tangara (*tanagea*), of the most beautiful plum-

* It is said that there are gypsies in Brazil; Koster mentions them, page 309; but I have never seen any.

age, and a valuable small colibu. As the heat now began to be intense, I returned to our tent. Every huntsman then produced what he had caught. Mr. Freyreiss brought among other beautiful birds, the blue *nectarinea cyanea* (*certhia cyanea*, Linn.)

Our *tropa* was now laden. The road led through hills, in which we beheld the most beautiful vegetation; plantations of mandiacca, sugar-cane, orange trees, which here form small woods round the dwelling-houses, and small marshy spots presented themselves to the eye of the beholder. Banana trees in thick bushes, mammon trees, and high slender cocoa-palms adorned the solitary houses; beautiful variegated flowers bloomed under low bushes. We saw also a *erythrinu*, with its long tubular flowers of a scarlet red, a beautiful light yellow trumpet flower*, to which Mr. Sellow assigned the name of *couacea*; of a soft yellow colour, with large flowers. In the middle of this copse rose the *cactus agave fatida* and other high trees. By the side of the road grew the Indian cane (*canna Indica*, Linn.), sometimes to the height of ten or twelve feet, with deep red flowers; but the sight of the *buginoillea brasilienses*, a prickly bushy tree, of a beautiful light red colour, delights the stranger more than all these. It is nevertheless not the flowers, but the large *bactreae* which cover them, that enhance the lustre of this beautiful sight.

The inhabitants of the country, in light jackets of thin summer cloth, with large round flat hats upon their heads, gazed at us as they rode by. The horses which are used in Brazil, are generally good and light, of a middling size, but rather small; they are of a Spanish breed, and have mostly fine even backs, and beautiful feet. The saddles are still the same as in old times, large and heavy, provided with pads, covered with velvet, and often neatly stitched; to this is affixed a pair of old fashioned stirrups of bronze or iron; many even use a complete box or wooden shoe, in which the foot rests. The Portuguese are much on horseback, and many very excellent riders are to be met with among them. They are very fond of an ambling pace, and they bind certain pieces of wood about the feet of their horses, to accustom them to this step. We rode through the little village of S. Gonzalves, which has a small church, and in the afternoon, we arrived at the little river of Guajintibo, where we fixed our camp by the side of a solitary *renda*†.

The Guajintibo is a small river which runs through a soft sandy hollow through thick bushes. As the meadows produced good food for our cattle, and the woods were full of birds, we fixed on this place. By daybreak the next morning, the huntsmen had divided themselves; I went to the bank of the river which was

* Bignonia.

† *Vendas* are houses on the roads, paths, and even in villages, where various necessities, particularly victuals, are sold.

shaded by lofty, old mimosa. This tree is frequently met with in the Brazilian as well as in other tropical woods. I soon discovered the most beautiful birds; the deep red beautiful Tije (*tanagra Brasilia*, Linn.), the brownish red cuckoo (*cuculus cayanus*, Linn.) with its long tail, and other beautiful species, were seen in the dark shadow of the cool river. I soon killed a number of birds, and thus became acquainted with the difficulties of the chase in this country, for all the bushes, particularly the mimosa, are full of small thorns, and the creeping plants (*cipos*) are so thickly interwoven with each other, and around the stems, that without a broad wood knife (*facão*), it is not possible to penetrate these wilds. Strong boots or hunting shoes are equally necessary. The small muskitoes in the shadow on the bank of the stream are very troublesome. They call these insects *marui* or *murui* (*maruim*); though very small, by their sting they give rise to terrible itching. Englishmen have assured me that they are the same insects as the sand flies in the West Indian islands*.

We were, however, richly indemnified for our trouble, by the novelty of the surrounding scenery, and particularly by the variegated and beautiful plumage of the birds. Here, too, we met with magnificent flowers and plants; among others, in the shade, a deep-red blooming *salvia*, which Mr. Sellow called *splendeus*, and a beautiful *justicia*, with rose-coloured flowers. As it is ever found to be very wet in the shaded bushes, from the nightly dew, notwithstanding the great heat, I betook myself to a dry open meadow, which was covered with low copsewood, particularly with *santana* and the *asclepias anassavica*, with its orange coloured flowers. Here swarmed a number of colibuses, which, buzzing like bees, flew around the flowers. On my return, I killed several of the *trochilus saphirinus*, Linn. which have blue throats, and coral-coloured beaks, and are very common here. I also observed the small pretty kragencolibu, (*trochilus orinatus*), with a rust-coloured tuft.

In this, our first chase, we saw no quadrupeds, except a small tapiti (*lepus Brasiliensis*, Linn.) This small hare is common through all America; it is like our wild rabbit, and eats well. We now left the Quajintibo, and reached a thick wood of *rhexia*-bushes, 10 or 12 feet high, intermixed with high trees and grass-plots; these low grounds are shut in on all sides by high mountains, covered with wood. The *crotophaga ani*, Linn. flew and hopped among the black cattle which were feeding on the meadows, as did also the bentavi (*lanius pitangua*, Linn.) which is always calling out its name, bentavi! or tictivi! In the neighbourhood of a *fazenda*, (a seat with a farm and plantations,) Mr. Sellow found a new kind of *canna*, with yellow flowers. A little farther, we reached a spot, environed by lofty wild mountains, and

* S. Oldenhop. Caract. I. p. 123.

covered with brush-wood, where, in the cool shade, were seen clear ponds of water; a number of birds enlivened this place. The rust-coloured singing wagtail, with pointed tail-feathers, (*L'irondé*, Azara Voyages, tom. III. p. 461,) was building its nest in the reeds, and often flew past us with the materials. Behind this place, we were delighted with a wood or forest; high, thin, white stemmed mimosa, cecropia, cocoa, and other trees, were so thickly interwoven with creeping plants, that the whole appeared to be an impenetrable maze. In the tops of the trees, beamed like fire, the flowers of the creeping *bignonia bellas*, (so called by Mr. Sellow, after the Marchioness of Bellas, who first discovered this plant,) and the ornamental flowers; below were various kinds of colibus and butterflies. At length we came to parts where the wood had been cleared away for cultivation. The immense burnt stems stood like ruins of colonnades, yet in some parts connected by withered ropes of creeping plants. When we arrived here, we heard a loud creaking, occasioned by the noise of the carts which are used in the Farendas. A heavy, massy, wooden disc, with two small round apertures, forms the wheel, which turns grating round the axle-tree, and produces a loud disgusting noise through the whole country. The oxen which draw these carts are of a colossal size, and of a most beautiful breed; their horns are very long and strong; these are driven by a negro slave, with a long stick in his hand.

We now approached a chain of mountains, which bears the name of *Serra de Ituaú*. This wilderness exceeded every thing which my imagination had hitherto formed of grand scenery. We entered a low country, in which much clear water ran through the rocky ground, or formed stagnant ponds in it; a little farther appeared an immense wood. Palma, and various kinds of trees were so interwoven with creeping plants, that the eye could not penetrate through this thick green wall. Everywhere, even upon small low trees grew a number of fungous plants, *epidendrum*, *cactus*, *bromelia*, &c. which mostly bear such flowers, that whoever sees them for the first time, must feel himself delighted. I mention only one species of *bromelia*, with a coral-red flower stalk, whose leaves have beautiful violet-blue points, and the *heliconia*, a species of the banana, similar to the *apelitria*, with deep-flower cups, and white flowers. In these dark shades, near the cool rock-springs, a sudden coldness and shivering surprise the heated traveller. The rocks are covered with a thousand kinds of fungous and cryptogamous plants; particularly the most beautiful ferns (*Alis*) hanging in a picturesque manner, like feathered ribands, from the trees. A deep red horizontal mushroom adorns the dry stems; the backs of the sounder trees are covered with beautiful round spots, of a carmine colour; and from the colossal height of the trees in the Brazilian woods, we often missed the finest birds,

which were perched on their tops. We were obliged to throw away a number of fine blossoms from sappy plants, because they so quickly rotted, and could not be kept in the herbarium. The largeness and fulness of South American vegetation is produced by the great moisture which pervades these forests; in this respect, America possesses considerable advantage over all other hot countries.

Arrived on the height of *Serra de Inuá*, we saw parrots with red foreheads (*psittacus coronatus* of the Berlin museum, or the Perroquet Dufesne of Le Vaillant), flying in pairs over the trees; they are here called *camutanga*, and in other parts *schaua*. We have since often used them at our meals. Continuing our road, we descended into a plain, and spent the night in the *Fazenda de Inuá*. Here we saw remarkably large oxen and fat pigs of a short black breed, with a bent back, long snout, and hanging ears, hens, turkies, guinea-fowls, partly with white feathers, geese of the European species, and the *anas moschata*, Linn. which are accustomed to fly away and return.

The *Serra de Inuá* is a point of the higher chain of mountains which runs parallel with the coast, projecting into the sea. It is covered with ancient forests, in which many useful trees grow, and is particularly productive of game. We stayed here a day, purposely to hunt, and got a number of fine birds. Here Mr. Freyreiss shot at the *simia rosalia*, Linn. known by the name of *maritana*, and called here red salui, but missed it; it lives in the thickest forests, and is only met with towards the south, in the vicinity of Rio Janeiro and Cabo Frio. Parrots are very numerous in these mountainous woods, particularly a species called here Maracaná, to which, among others, belong the *psittacus macaonanna* and *guianensis*. Leaving Inuá, we found in the shade of an ancient wild forest, many objects totally unknown to us. On the ground appeared the hairy bush-spider, *aranha caranguefeira*, (*arania avicularia*, Linn.) the bite of which is said to produce a painful swelling; it makes holes and lives in the earth. We also met with a variety of large broad toads, though not so numerous as in the *Serra*, which we had just left; for there, when the evening came on, the ground was entirely spread with them. Among them I noticed a species which has not, I think, been hitherto described, (the *bufo limaculatus*), remarkable for two large dark squares on its back. Immense long tabs of *tillandria* descend from the white mimosa trees in the forest. We saw also a bird (*procuas medialis*) of a milk white colour, sitting in the brightest sun-shine upon a dry branch at the top of a tree. His cry is like the sound of a hammer striking an anvil, or a bright sounding burst bell; he is of the genus which Illigen has named *procuas*; on the whole eastern coast he is called *araporga*. In colour he most resembles Linné's *ampelis carunculata*, though a different bird, being suffi-

ciently distinguished by his naked green throat, and his want of the comb on the forehead.

Among the swarms of parrots which filled the forest through which we passed, we could frequently distinguish the pretty perikit, with a pointed tail, and which is called here *tiriba*. I killed a squirrel (*sciurus aestuans*, Linn.), the only one of the species which I met with; it is distinguished by a brownish grey hair, mixed with others of a yellowish hue occasionally. We observed some caravans with beasts of burthen.

After having passed through a range of plantations, burnt woods, marshes and meadows, surrounded by picturesque mountains, covered with forests, we came to some spacious meadows interspersed with marshy spots, covered with reeds. Here the snow-white heron, the American lapwing, (*vanellus cayennensis*), the jassanas (*parra jacana*, Linn), called here *piasocca*, and the plover, were to be seen in every direction. Black cattle were grazing in the pastures, and the brilliant violet-coloured perol (*oriolus violaceus*), frequently walking in the midst of them. The *crotophaga ani*, Linn. we found parched or sitting in large troops, on the hedges and fields, and so little apprehensive of danger, that one might ride closely up to them.

In the evening we arrived in the parish (*Treguesia*) Marcia, situated on the lake of the same name. We saw the inhabitants of a solitary house, near which we stopped, carefully closing their doors against us. A mob soon collected around us, staring and laughing, when they saw us skin the beasts and birds which we had killed that day. Our double-barrelled guns occasioned much surprise, from their not having seen any before. The lake of Marcia, on the banks of which we halted for a day, to examine its sandy vicinity, is said to be about 6 leagues (12 geo. miles) in circumference. Its banks are low and marshy, and it abounds with fish. I saw some of the inhabitants catch a species of shoal-fish (*silurus*), which is also very common in the waters on the eastern coast of this country.

We found here a species of cob, with a grey head, red beak and feet, very much resembling our *larus ridibundus*, a beautiful species of martin (*sterna*), lapwings, a species of plover (*charadrius*), &c. and over the bushes and marshes, we could ascertain the *urubus* flying through the air. I had the good fortune to kill an *acabiray* (*vultur aura*, Linn), hitherto only properly discriminated by Azara. At first sight, it might be confounded with the grey-headed urubu (*iribu azara*), but on a closer inspection, he may be distinguished, even when flying high in the air. These vultures are of great use to consume and destroy such putrid remains as would fill the atmosphere with pestilential or noxious vapours. Their scent is so acute, that they come from very considerable

distances, in quest of any animal that has died, and in a place where they had not been seen before. On this account, they are never molested, and they are found alike numerous in the open country and in the forests. The country near the lake appears to be rather sterile, on account of the sand and marshes. All such tracts as are dry, either contain pastures with short grass, upon which cattle is feeding, or consists of mountains diversified with forests and rocks. The people rear many horses, which are but indifferent, and mostly small. There were also goats covered with short shining reddish hair, and with black spots. Not far from the lake, is the little villa de Sta. Maria de Marica, the chief place of the *Freguesia*, consisting of houses not exceeding one story, and a church, with regular but unpaved streets. The houses have no glass windows, but merely apertures, which, as in all the Brazils, are shut up with a wooden railing. The villagers grow in the vicinity, the mandioca, beans, maize, with a little coffee, and several plantations of the sugar-cane. This last, as they say, grows high in fruitful spots, but in the sandy districts, does not reach above the height of six spans.

In our progress, we recognised among the copse, the trumpet-flowers (*bignonia*) with most beautiful blossoms, also some strangely formed fruits. The botanist will find here that the number of *plantæ leguminosæ* is by far most abundant in the Brazils. Notwithstanding the numerous *fazendas* about here, the country bears yet a wild aspect: it appears to form a broad valley, encompassed with high mountains, and with a hilly ground, from which trees of the most beautiful description, intersected by copse wood, are rising. Near the tops of those trees we perceive on the branches, large dark lumps, the nests of a very small species of the termita, called *cupi* or *cupim*. Ants and other similar insects prove very destructive to the cultivated grounds in the Brazils. They are found in such numbers, and of so many different species, that an entomologist might fill a large volume with a description of those insects alone. One of the larger species is nearly an inch long, and has a disproportionate large body. In some districts, as in *Minas Geraes*, they are broiled and eat, being there named *janachura*. Another very small and red species is very troublesome and noxious, not only eating many of our insects, particularly butterflies, but penetrating in large numbers into the houses, where they quickly eat up every thing which is edible, and especially sweet things. To guard against them, the only expedient is to put the feet of the tables into large platters filled with water, or to cover them with tar; but they are sometimes known to overcome even such impediments. Some species construct upon the walls of the rooms, from a sort of clay, covered ways, with many ramifications and

avenues, in which they walk up and down. In the forest-roads, troops of ants may be seen, all carrying bits of green leaves, or some articles of provender, to their nest.

After this we entered into a wild forest, where we saw for the first time the tucan (*ramphastos dicolorus*, Linn.) with its immense beak, and a dark orange coloured breast, finely contrasted with a black plumage. These sagacious birds kept so high in the tops of the trees, that our hunters could not reach them. We advanced alternately over a black moorish, or a red loamy ground. The forest improved in magnificence as we proceeded to penetrate it, being composed of the finest trees, with an infinite variety of leaves. The European can form no conception of their grandeur, nor is it possible to give an adequate description of them. Here we frequently met with the cocoa palm-tree, which grows to the height of 80 feet, and is called in the *Lingoa geral*, *airi assú*, and in *Minas*, *brejeuba*. The natives make their bows from them; their stem is of a dark brown, and closely covered over with long pointed thorns, in horizontal rings. Their leaves are long, and, as in all the cocoa species, beautifully feathered. From the place where they spring, the yellowish blossoms hang down, which afterwards are formed into hard, oblong pointed nuts, of the size of a pigeon's egg. A similar holly-tree of a small size, called *airi mirim*, is found in all these forests. Neither of them has been hitherto classified. The *cacatus*, and *agave*, and *epiden-drum*, cover all the trees with the finest coloured blossoms. Wherever there is an aperture in the wood, there spring up also tufts of *arum*, *caladium*, *dracontium*, and similar plants, which, in their variety and mixture, produce the most superb effects. There was here also a profusion of the *dracontium pertusum*, with its leaves strangely perforated with holes; the notice of our botanist was also attracted by a blue-blossomed *maranta*.

Our young Indian Francisco was, in this day's journey, not a little entertained by the mistake of one of our hunters, who shot at an excrescence of a branch, which he took for a bird. He was a good faithful fellow, but rather obstinate and whimsical. Of some of his Indian peculiarities, he could never be cured; he would never go to the chase, without his breakfast, like the other hunters, whatever delay it might occasion.

We had intended to reach Ponta Negra that day, but had been led astray in the thick wood. We came, however, to a large *fazenda*, the proprietor of which, *Mr. Alferes da Cunha Vieira* gave us an hospitable reception. This seat is called Gurapina, and contains a large sugar-enghendo or manufactory. The cane is pushed between three cylinders placed horizontally, covered with pins of a hard wood, which press it. It turns out on the other side, completely dry and flat, the juice having been squeezed into a wooden trough standing underneath. These cylinders are put

in motion, by means of a long pole, by oxen, mules, or horses. When the sugar is properly refined, it is poured into pointed pots, with an opening below, to give vent to all superfluous moisture; the surface of the sugar in the pots is then covered with a greyish clay (*barro*) which is to tinge it with a certain degree of whiteness. The proprietor told us, that with twenty slaves, he could raise about six hundred arrobas, (at thirty two pounds each), or nineteen thousand two hundred pounds, but with more labourers, from ninety to one hundred thousand pounds. The cayenne cane formerly was cultivated here. This, however, has now been almost entirely supplanted by the more productive cane of Otabeite. Our kind host conducted us with our people and luggage, into a large hall, where we lighted several fires, to prepare our food. Here we were frequently visited by all the other people of the estate, who testified uncommon surprise at the object of our investigations in natural history. A long rain detained us here for some time, and when it ceased, we found a plenty of game in the forest-mountains, which surrounded this plantation. Here we engaged a young Portuguese of the name of Francesco into our service, who became very useful to us as a hunter, being perfectly well acquainted with the country and its productions. Among other valuable articles, he procured us the marithina (*simia rosalia*, Linn.), which we had not had before. The araponga (*proenias nudicallis*), mentioned before, was here in great abundance. Francesco shot one for us. Good Brazilian hunters are very dexterous in searching the large woods, in which their bodies inured to the seasons, and their practice of walking bare-footed, are of great service to them. They dress commonly in a light cotton shirt and trowsers; a cloth jacket, which mostly hangs over their shoulders, they only put on in the rain, and during the cool of the night. Their head is covered with a felt or straw hat. The powder-horn and shot-bag are fastened to a strap, which hangs over their shoulders, and the lock of their long gun is usually covered with a piece of skin to prevent it from getting wet.

The temperature at *Gurapina* was very changeable; some days the thermometer fell as low as 13° Reamur; between this, we had also sometimes tolerably fine and warm weather. I frequently wandered in this sublime wilderness, the solemn silence of which is only occasionally interrupted by the cries of numerous parrots. Provided with fresh provisions in abundance, we lived here very cheerfully. Those which a traveller in this country can carry with him consist in *mandioca* flower, (usually denominated by the simple name of *farinha*), black beans (*feijão*, maize, *milho*), dried salt meat (*carne seca* or *do sertam*), and rice (*arroy*). Here we found good fresh meat; and besides this, our kind host supplied us, gratuitously, with a great quantity of excellent oranges, brandy, distilled from the juice of the cane (*agaa ardenti de canna*), rice,

maize, cotton, sugar, and farinha. The determination of this gentleman to receive no payment for all these articles, obliged us to leave the place sooner than otherwise we should have done. We therefore took our leave, and prepared to set out for *Ponta Negra*.

The roads were frequently so marshy, that our beasts with their heavy burthens, were in danger of sinking into them. We rode through thick bushes of a high reedy grass, canna alhexia, and low palm trees. On some hills we saw negroes, who were cutting down the low brushwood with a sort of sickles (*fouce*), fixed to a long pole, thereby preparing the ground for cultivation. Riding by some *fazendas* we saw thick hedges of orange trees, and with a considerable load of birds, and of ripe seeds; we at last reached the *Lagoa da Ponta Negra*. This beautiful lake, on its marshy borders, is covered with reeds; large flocks appeared of jassanas (*parra jacana*, Linn.), and white herons, one of which we killed; their white plumage retains its purity even in marshes, by the aid of their long legs. At a little distance we arrived at a *venda*, where travellers refresh themselves with cinonade, or rather cold punch. Here we found too that the account of our arrival had preceded us, that the landlords had already projected their speculations on our purses. Near this house our eyes were feasted with a most extensive prospect over the sea, the lake, and the country around Rio de Janeiro, now behind us. Further on we found in the thick bushes that crossed our road, the great annu (*crotophaga major*, Linn.) in great plenty. His plumage is black, with a copper-green and steel blue tinge. We came next to the sand downs, when we beheld the white surges breaking with violence against the forest-mountains. Close behind the coast (*praya*) rises a cover of the greatest variety of trees, which are kept down by the sea-winds and storms, and rise only gradually.

In this cover along the coast, between twenty and thirty feet high, (so our journey lay) grew a kind of high thistles (*cactus*), and the bromelia, frequently ornamented with the finest flowers, is very plentiful. Small lizards rustled in the dry leaves on the ground, whilst the large année and the tijé, (*tanagra Brasilia*, Linn.) with his blood-red plumage, animate the bushes. This fine bird is very common, particularly on the sea shore and the banks of rivers.

Towards evening we were between the sea coast and a large reedy marsh, where large flocks of birds retired to rest; the tijé was very numerous, and the red-bellied thrush, (*turdus rufiventris* of the Berlin museum,) called here *sabiah*, poured forth their sweet evening notes. In the evening the *caprimulgus*, like a large sphinx of a slate colour, (*papilus idomencus*,) fluttered about our horses, and, with a suitable net, we might have caught a great number. I found a dead bat, suspended to the branch of a tree, in which position it had probably died. It belonged to the

genus of *phyllostoma*, and was very similar to Agara's *chauvesouris première ou obscure et rayée*, but I could never see another of the species during my journey. As we were going to examine the blossoms of a low palm tree, we discovered, fixed to a little twig, the little nest of the blue-headed humming-bird, a species resembling the *trochilus bicolor*, (saphir émeraude, Buff.) neatly covered with moss. At night-fall, after having passed between some lakes, where we saw many shining insects, and heard the croaking of frogs, we arrived, after a long day's journey, at a *veda*, on the lake of *Sagoarema*. Here we found our people with the luggage, who had preceded us, on another road. Finding no provisions here, we were obliged to send out some of our people, who, after a long search during the whole night, returned with some bags (*boroacas*) of fresh fish, the only article of provisions they could come at; and so our intended supper became our breakfast.

The lake of *Sagoarema*, which forms a junction with the sea, is about six *leguas* long, and three quarters broad. The salt water, though emitting, in some places, a very disagreeable smell, contains great plenty and diversity of fish. Here is a dispersed *povoacao* of fishermen, who live in small loam huts on the banks. Every house has a hole dug in or near it, which serves for the purposes of a cistern, the sea water being often putrid. The fishermen here, like all the Brazilians, are lightly clothed; they wear large straw hats, large thin breeches, and shirts, and have their necks uncovered and their feet bare; every one has a stiletto in his girdle, mounted with brass or silver. This last custom is prevalent among the Portuguese, but is a dangerous weapon, for it is easily made instrumental to acts of bloodshed and murder among men of a rough stern character, like the fishermen of *Sagoarema*. The *venda*, which is on the sea-coast, belongs to these people, who share its produce; for this reason it is that travellers must pay more here than at other places. About an hour's journey from this place lies the parish (*freguesia*) of *Sagoarema*, a large village, or rather a small *villa*, with a church. As we were obliged to convey our *tropa* over the *lagoa*, which from this place empties itself into the sea, through a narrow channel, we took up our quarters in an empty house, and employed our time in taking a view of the surrounding country.

A hill, on which are the church, the church-yard, and a telegraph, rises near the *freguesia*, from the sea-shore. This hill we ascended as the sun was setting, and were highly entertained with the prospect. Before us was the immense ocean, which, roaring and foaming, rolled and broke against the hill; to the right rose, at a distance, the mountains of *Rio*; nearer to us we contemplated the variously broken coast, and, still nearer, the *Ponta Negra*; behind us were woody mountains, with a low plain covered with wood in front of them, and here and there the large resplendent

mirrors of the lakes; at our feet lay the *freguesia* of Sagoarema, and on our left the coast. We then returned to Sagoarema, which is mostly inhabited by fishermen, who also occupy and work at their plantations. Cochineal was formerly raised here, but its cultivation is now in disuse. The king paid for the pound $\frac{1}{2}$ doble, (6400 reis, or about 80 shillings); but the planters themselves were the means of destroying this profitable trade: they mixed this dear produce with farinha, and adulterated it so much that it lost its value. On the following day, Sunday, my companions attended a mass in the church of Sagoarema, during which time I ordered our *tropa* to be conveyed over the lake. The baggage was taken over in canoes, and our beasts waded unladen through the shallow water. Quitting this country, we proceeded through woods, which we found filled with numberless beautiful flowers. The glittering mirrors of the many lakes which extend from *Marrica* to *Cabo Free*, are, in reality, a considerable ornament to this country. Immense flocks of water-birds frequent the shores, particularly sea-swallows, sea-gulls, and herons, of which we soon killed a number. Most of the marsh and water birds are analogous to those in Europe; for example, we saw a species similar to the *larus ridibundus*, the *larus marinus*, *sterna caspia*, *hirundo*, and a third, very similar to the *minuta*. The difference between these birds in America and those in Europe is very trifling. The smallest sea-swallow* was very frequent on the plains near the coast; here these pretty small sea-gulls were flying about, their dazzling white being augmented from its contrast with the black clouds of a dark stormy sky. Behind the sand-plains of the coast are marshes, and between both a tract of sandy ground, with a thick wood of dwarf cocoa-palms, about three feet high. This plant has no stalk, but feathered leaves; the ears curling, or bent outwards, stand like a *typha* upon an upright shaft, and are covered with small nuts, of the size of the hazle-nut. These sit like the grains on maize, and have, at the root, a reddish yellow, but sweet and edible flesh. These plants are there called *cocos de guriri* or *de passandí*. We fixed the *fazenda* of *Pitanga* for our night quarters, which we now saw before us, upon a height, like an old castle magically illuminated by the moon-light. We rode up, and knocked at the closed gates, which at length opened, and we were admitted. The complaisant *feltor* (steward) introduced us immediately into the building in which the farinha is prepared. As these were convenient quarters for our excursions, we remained

* I call this bird *sterna argentea*; it may be confounded with our *sterna minuta*, but nevertheless it is different; its size exceeds that of our European birds, for I found it nine inches one tenth. The beak and feet are yellow; the first has a black point; the forehead and all the lower parts of the bird are white; the crown of the head and the neck are black; back, wings, and tail, are of a beautiful silver grey.

here some days, in order to range pretty freely through the surrounding country.

This farinha manufactory was one of the most complete we had witnessed. The preparation of the meal is as follows: The roots of the *mandioca* plant, (*jatropha manihot*, Linn.) are first scraped to free them from the rind; afterwards they are held on a large wheel, which is turned round, by which it is rubbed into a thin pap. Then the mass is enclosed in long wide bags, made of bark or reeds, which are hung up and stretched at length. By this extension the bag becomes narrower, and presses out the sap from the mass.* The remaining consistent part is put into large pans of copper, or burnt clay, fixed in the wall, in which it is completely dried by the heat, but that the thick mass may not burn, it is continually stirred by a pole, with a small perpendicular board at its fore-end. The meal thus prepared is what goes under the name of farinha. When the weather became damp, we dried our newly prepared natural curiosities on the pans of the mandioca ovens; but, although they were always watched at night, we, nevertheless, could not prevent some scarce animals from being burnt.

The weather was now very cold, a strong wind blew on the seacoast, and the thermometer, at noon, was scarce at 13° of Reaumur. The country, in which marshes, meadows, copses and woods are intermixed, abounds with interesting animals. Our hunters brought, for the first time, the jocupemba, (*penelope marail*, Linn.) which is very good to eat, and the green tucane or arassaris (*ramphosus aracari*, Linn.) beautiful birds which have short notes of two syllables. The prospect from the buildings was truly agreeable, and of a considerable extent. A telegraph here corresponded with that at *Sagoarema*, which we could distinguish at a distance. *Pitanga* had formerly been a convent, and there still remains the old church. About noon our *tropa* was laden, and after passing through narrow roads, where, in some places, we were obliged to cut down the chumps of trees, which obstructed our progress, we at length reached open meadows, with large marshes, woods, and broad pools of water. Through these we were obliged to wade, a disagreeable circumstance to those who travelled on foot, particularly the Europeans, who were not accustomed to such water-journies on foot. Detained by these adverse occurrences, it was late at night when we reached the *Fazenda Tiririca*, whither we had sent a horseman before to procure quarters. Its owner, the Captain now assigned, as at first, his sugar-engents as a sleeping-place, but when we shewed him our portaria (pass from the minister,) he became complaisant, and invited us into his dwelling; this invitation we declined, being desirous to remain with our people. *Tiririca* is a considerable sugar-manufactory;

* S. Gili's Saggio di Storia Americana, T. II. p. 304, 309, tab. 5.

the sugar works lie at the foot of a green hill, upon the top of which is built the house of the possessor, surrounded by about 20 small huts of his people and negro slaves. The great sugar plantations surround the *Fazenda*; on one side of it are thick high woods, and before the sugar-works is a meadow full of marshes and ponds, enlivened by marsh and water birds, which we could readily have shot from the window. After breakfasting next morning with our polite host, we distributed ourselves in the woods. Mr. Sellars and I went through the sugar-plantations, and some other small *Fazendas*, which are surrounded by pretty orange groves, and then plunged into one of the darkest woods, with which I was ever entertained during our stay in Brazil. High, dead stumps of trees on the border of it still shewed, by their marks of burning, the mode in which the soil had been rendered arable. The wood itself was an opaque wilderness of colossal trees; here grew the *mimosa*, *jacaranda*, *bombax*, *bignoni*, and other trees, also the *pao brazil* (*cæsalpinus brasiliensis*.) Upon them again was a heap of *cactus*, *bromelia*, *epidendrum*, *passiflora*, *baubinia*, *barnsteria*, and other kinds whose tendril-stems grew below on the ground, but whose leaves and flowers were at the tops even of the highest trees. They cannot be examined, without hewing down these gigantic trees, in doing which the iron of the best axe is liable to break, such is the hardness of the wood. Creeping plants wind round the trees, in a truly curious manner. Among them a *baulinia* is very remarkable; its firm woody tendrils are continually growing into arches, which succeed each other; the concavity of every arch is as artificially followed, as if the chissel of a statuary had been used, and upon the opposite convex side is a short obtuse thorn. This wonderful plant, which might be easily mistaken for a work of art, rises to the tops of the highest trees. Its leaf is small and split, (*bilobum*,) but I have never seen the flower, although the plant is common. Other kinds of creeping plants distinguish themselves by a smell or scent, particularly strong, partly agreeable, and partly otherwise. The *cipo cravo* smells fragrant, something like the clove; another, on the contrary, which LA CONDAMINE* mentions as growing luxuriantly on the banks of the Amazon, smells like garlick. Many of these singular plants have long branches hanging down, which again taking root, block up the passenger's way. We were obliged to cut them down with a *facas*, to be able to proceed. Hanging branches of this description, which, when the wind agitates them, will often strike the traveller on the head, are common on all the forest-roads of Brazil. The vegetation in this part of the South American hemisphere is so luxuriant, that every lofty old tree becomes the emblem of a little world, a botanical garden of plants, truly rare, and certainly of an unknown kind. The yellow-bel-

* S. De la Condamine Voyage, etc. p. 74.

lied *surucúá* (*tragon viridis*, Linn.) was very common; its voice was heard everywhere, it is a note which is often repeated, and sinks from high to low. We soon learned to imitate it, and could thus easily entice them to perch at hand, on a low bough, where they were easily shot. Other birds (*dendrocolaptes*, ILLIGERI,) are equally plentiful, and are found in company with the beautiful woodpecker, with a pale yellow tuft (*picus flavescens*), with the red-headed woodpecker (*charpentier à huppe et cou rouge*, AZARA) and the *picus lineatus* pecking against the great stems. We killed many of the small parrots that had a pointed tail, and called here *tiribas*.* Towards evening, I succeeded in obtaining the *paro* (*pie d gorge ensanglantée* of AZARA.) It is a beautiful black bird, of the size of a crow, the front of its neck being the loveliest red. Mr. Sellow did not discover many new plants to-day, but found frequently the beautiful *alstrameria lighu*, Linn. with an agreeable red and white striped flower. He also caught a serpent, which is very common here, and which appears to form the ornament of its species; this beautiful reptile is known here by the name of *cobia coral*, or *coraes*; it must not be confounded with that *coraes* which is described in the works of LACEPEDE, DAUDIN, and others. The one found here is well entitled to the name of the coral-snake; the clearest and most shining scarlet-red is intermixed with black and greenish white-rings on its smooth and beautiful body, so that this harmless reptile, may be justly compared with a string of coral. I have several times put it in spirits, but never could succeed in preserving its red colour. In the Linnean system this species is undoubtedly described under the name of *coluber fulvius*, from some individuals which had lost their colour in spirits.

We supped with our host, but, according to custom, none of the females of the family were at the meal; but to see the strange guests they contrived to peep through the joints of the doors and shutters. Male and female negro slaves waited at the table. On questioning our kind host on several subjects connected with the state of the country, it seemed as if he either could not or would not communicate any information. The next day being Sunday, we set out, after mass, early in the morning. The heat of the day being excessive, we were glad to refresh with some cold punch and excellent oranges. These we could procure in many districts for nothing; they may be eat in the greatest heat, and in any quantity, without the risque of injury to the constitution, except, as it is

* The parrot, known on the east coast by the name of *siriba*, appears to be of a kind as yet undescribed, and which I have called *pittacus amentatis*. It is about the size of a thrush, and has a long tail like a wedge, and measures 8 inches 11-12ths in length; plumage green; the crown and back of the head brownish grey; cheeks and chin green; between the eyes and ears brownish red; behind the ears, at the side of the neck, a yellowish-orange spot; the front of the neck ethereal blue; on the belly and *ileopygium*, a blood-red spot. *Pittacus erythrogaster* of the Berlin museum.

said, in the evening. With cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, we must practise a greater caution.

Tirica being only three hours journey from Parahi, we soon reached the *Fazenda*, which had formerly been a convent. Here was a respectable looking new church, near which was a range of large buildings for agricultural purposes. We noticed in these parts, for the first time, a disease common among the negroes in the southern provinces of Brazil, largely swollen feet, covered with a hard skin, as in the case of the elephantiasis. We did not find here the hospitality we had received from other planters, and were obliged to send to different *Fazendas*, to purchase provisions, the proprietor of this almost refusing us water. After having spent the night under a bad shed which he had assigned to us, we set out early, but first Mr. Capitam rode up to the house to remind the landlord that we should inform the prince regent how well he had fulfilled the kind intentions of government expressed in our papers. This produced a temporary convulsion, but, foaming with rage, he exclaimed, "What is the prince regent to me?"

Continuing our journey, we met on the borders of marshes, surrounded with high copse-wood, many individuals of the Brazilian lapwings or *guer-guer* (*xanellus cayenensis*) so named from guer! guer! being his usual cry, when startled by any thing. He is very common about all the low grounds; the large swallow, with the white collar, is equally so.*

The heat had now become oppressive; not a breath of cooling air, and the glow of the atmosphere, augmented by the reflection of the sun-beams on the dry deep sand.

In a fine wood through which we passed, our hunters shot a beautiful species of maracouá, (*psittacus guianensis*, Linn.), here very numerous. On the other side of the forest we found a number of Indians, from St. Pedro, repairing the road. After passing over some hills we had a view of the large *Lagoa de Araruama*, or *Traruama*, or *Aruama*, being six legoas long, and very broad; it communicates with the sea at the distance of about one legoa and a half north from Cabo Feio.

A forest and some habitations bordered the opposite banks, and the church of the village of St. Pedro appeared on a distant hill. After riding round a part of the lake, we came to the *Venda*. St. Pedro dos Indios is a village (*aldeia*) which the Jesuits are reported to have formed originally of Goaytaca-Indians; the village consists of several streets, and has a respectable church, but the habitations are clay-built huts, as are all in the most isolated settle-

* This swallow (*hirundo collaris*) is of a new fine species, about the size of the German oypaelus. His feathers are of a brownish black, with green reflexions. The tail-feathers have appendages, projecting about the 12th part of an inch. The heels are uncovered, the toes very strong, compressed and armed with sharp claws, bent downwards, to fasten on the rocks. I found these species first among the rocks in the vicinity of Rio de Janeiro.

ments of these parts being inhabited by Indians. They have here a *capitom mor* (commandant or mayor) of their own nation, distinguished, however, only by his title. Besides the priest, there are but few Portuguese here. The Indians have, for the most part, retained their characteristic features, but their dress and language are the same as of the lower classes among the Portuguese; their ancient language being only known to few of them. Their ambition or vanity makes them eager to pass for Portuguese, and they look with contempt on their ruder brethren in the forest, whom they call *Caboclos* or *Tapuyas*. Their women wear their black hair in the Portuguese fashion, tied in a knot above their heads.

The sleeping hammocks of the family are suspended in the corners of their cottages. We also found among them many earthen vessels, made of a grey-coloured clay. The men are good sportsmen, and well practised in shooting with fire-arms; the boys will shoot very well with small bows, made of any wood, and here called *bodoc*. These bows have two strings, which are kept asunder by a couple of short pieces of wood; in the middle the two strings are united by a sort of net work, upon which the clay bullet or the small round stone (*pelotts*) is laid. The string and ball are drawn back at the same time with the fore-finger of the right hand, which, being suddenly withdrawn, an impulse is given to the latter. These bows are in use all along this coast, and on the *Rio Doce*, they are even used by the men, to defend themselves against the Botocudi, who have fire-arms. They are very adroit in the use of them, and can kill a small bird, or even a butterfly, on the flower, as M. de Langsdorf reports, at a considerable distance.

One of the causes of the little cultivation, and indifferent character of these Indians, may be traced to the bad treatment which they formerly experienced from the Europeans, who scarcely consider them as men, and connected with the names of *Caboclos* and *Tapuyas*, entertain the notion of beings merely made to undergo oppression and tyranny. They still evince a propensity for an unrestrained life; they are addicted to strong liquors, and averse to labour—not very punctual in keeping their word, and with none, or very few, distinguished to illustrate their character. They are, however, not deficient in their intellectual faculties, but easily comprehend what they are taught, not without indications of art and cunning. An unrelenting pride and a prevailing predilection for their forests, seem to be impressed on their temperament. Many of them are yet attached to their old prejudices, and the clergy complain of their being bad christians. They are admissible to holy orders, but few as yet have taken them. One individual of the more savage tribes, who had officiated with general respect, for several years, as priest in *Minas Geroes*, suddenly absconded from his parish, and it was found that he had returned

naked among his brethren in the woods, where he had taken several wives. The negroes in the Brazils, very different from these Indians, exhibit ability and perseverance in the acquirement of arts and sciences, and some of them have risen to a certain degree of celebrity.

The dances now common among the Indians are borrowed from the Portuguese; of one of these, called *baducca*, they are particularly fond. Directed by the sound of the viola, (guitar,) the dancers throw themselves into several indecent postures opposite each other, clapping their hands, and making a noise with their tongues. The *caig* is not forgotten here; at present, this is only made of maniocca-root, maize, or batatac; the root is scraped, cut in pieces, boiled, masticated, taken with the fingers out of the mouth, and thrown into a vessel, wherein, with water upon it, it is left to ferment. After this process, it forms a rather intoxicating sourish beverage, in taste not unlike whey. It is generally taken warm.

The way of living in general of these Indians resembles that of the old Indians on the coast. The Portuguese have adopted among other things, this manner of preparing the mandioca flower. They had formerly a coarser kind of it, called *uy-entau*, and another, rather finer, called *uy-pu*, which name, *uy*, is still known, even among these civilized Indians. They prepared their *mirgau* in those early times, by throwing the mandioca-flower into their broth, where it rises, and forms a nourishing pap; the Portuguese have also adopted this. They used to pour the mandioca-flower on their sides, when they were eating, and throw it with so much dexterity into their mouths, that they did not lose a single grain. Their modern descendants, as well as the Portuguese planters, do the same. The old *tupinambas* knew in their time a very good kind of mandioca-root under the name of *uypi*, which they used to fry in the ashes and boil in water; their descendants, who call the root either by the same name, or *mari diocca doce*, still do the same. Notwithstanding their making a profession of the christian religion, many of them only go to church for appearance, and that but seldom, while at the same time, they are very superstitious, and have many ancient prejudices.

In *S. Pedro*, we frequently conversed with the inhabitants, sitting before their doors to enjoy the cool of the evening. Neither *capitão mor*, a rational old man, nor the other inhabitants, could conceal their suspicion of our being sent as English spies, and even the production of our *portaria* could not entirely remove their doubts. The English politics are not much liked in Brazil; and all strangers, whose light hair and fair skin appear to manifest a northern descent, are accounted of that nation.

As the country seemed to contain much for our examination, we

remained here several days. Our hunters brought us some *micos* (*simia fatuellus*, Lynn. the horned *sohui*) the sloth with the black collar*, a species yet very little known, and some others. We have since found the latter frequently to the south, but never farther north. The following day being Sunday, all the inhabitants for some miles round, poured in to hear mass at *S. Pedro*. We also went to church, before which, withered palm leaves stuck in the ground, the exterior symbol of a fast festival, formed an avenue. A capitam of the name of *Carvalto*, who was also here, was very attentive to us. He had his *roca* (plantation), in the neighbourhood, and in the adjacent *villa* of *Cabo Frio*, a house which he pressed us to make use of during our stay. Here in *S. Pedro* he was our Cicerone, and invited us repeatedly to his dwelling in the neighbourhood. This offer Mr. Sellow accepted. At mass we saw a number of dark brown Indians, retaining their original aspect, a sight not a little interesting to strangers. In the evening they danced in the house of this capitam mor, and were very merry with the *caig* liquor. The clergyman too was here; but it seemed as if he was not held in much account out of the mass.

By the visit which Mr. Sellow had paid to M. *CARVALTO*, we became, in some measure, acquainted with the various products of the great woods near *S. Pedro*. These forests are filled with the most beautiful wood for timber, as well as with officinal plants. Brazil wood, *pao Brazil* (*caesalpina Brasiliensis*, Lynn.) is found in abundance; also *ipe* wood (*bignonia*) of different kinds, with great yellow and white flowers, of which one is called *ipé amarello*, but another, which is one of the strongest for ship-building, bears the name of *ipé tobacco*, because its split kernels produce a bright green dusky powder. There is also the *pekeá*, with a fruit agreeable to the human palate, and indeed a common food for monkeys. The *pitoma*, *oleo paido* (*laurus*) *ipeuna* (*bignonia*), is the hardest wood of all. As it is elastic and very light, the Indians sometimes make their bows of it. Here is also the *imbiú*, *jacqua*, *grumbari*, and *mazaranduba*, which, has a milky sap between the bark and the splint, of which the Indians make bird-lime; the *grauna* and *sergina* (a *cassia* or *mimosa*, which casts off its leaves) one of the prettiest and thickest trees. It is light, can be used like lime and poplar wood, and they make canoes out of it. Here are the *jarraticupitaya*, with an aromatic bark, which is used as a medicine by the Indians, the *jacaranda* or *bois de rose* (*mimosa*), a beautiful black brown, firm and heavy, useful for joiners, and has a faint but agreeable smell, like roses, the white splint is not used, only the inner blackish brown kernel. The *curianna* (*cerbera* or

* The sloth with the collar (*bradypus torquatus*, ILLIGER) is a new species, and as yet nondescript. It is little different in form and make from the *Ai*, its colour is various, a mixture of grey and red, the head more inclined to red, and mixed with white upon the upper part of the neck is a large spot with long black hairs. This species has besides three toes like the *Ai*, and not two as ILLIGER in his *Prodromus* relates.

gardenia) a very light wood, with which spoons and plates are made, and whose bark produces a milky sap; the *peroba*, a hard firm wood for ship-building, which is used by the agents of government, and is therefore declared to be its property; the *canella* (*laurus*), very aromatic, smelling like cinnamon, with the *caubi* (*miniosa*), *mojole*, *sepepira*, *putumaju*, called here, and in Rio de Janeiro, *arariba*; and many other kinds. Officinal plants are also found here in abundance. I can mention only some of them, as the *herva mocira do sertam*, with a taste similar to cloves, the *ceos-tus arabicus*, which is used for a certain venereal complaint; the *ipecacuanha preta* (*ipecacuanha officinalis*, ARRUDA); no doubt the *raiz preta*, represented in Part I. of *Eschevege's Journey in Brazil*; *ipecacuanha branca* (*viola ipecacuanha*, Linn. or *pombalia ipecacuanha*, Vandelli), and the *buta**, which is said to possess the quality of the bark.

After having frequently hunted with the Indians, in the neighbourhood of S. Pedro, we left them in the afternoon, and betook ourselves to Cabo Frio, which was only a few hours journey distant. A delay which one of our mules occasioned, gave us an opportunity of killing a pretty species of *maracana*, which is described under the name of *psittacus macavuanha*; it lives in the woods, and often gets upon the bushes and maize plantations of the Indians, where it does much damage.

Late in the evening, we crossed the *Lagoa* near the villa of Cabo Frio, and were received by Capitam Carvalto into his house. Cabo Frio is a well known cape; it is formed by high rocky mountains, before which lie some rocky islands. A small fort is built upon one of these small islands, in a bay near the coast. A *Lagoa* enters the land in the form of a semi-circle, and on it lies the *Villa do Cabo Frio*. It is a small place with several unpaved streets, and low houses, of which, however, some have a very neat and friendly exterior. The tract of land on which the villa lies, has partly a marshy, and partly a sandy ground, far near to the the *lagoas* is marsh, and nearer to the sea deep sand, in which many kinds of bushes grow. Here we discovered some new plants, amongst others, two bushy *andromeda**, the one with pale yellow, the other with rose-red flowers. The whole surrounding country is covered with lakes and marshes, on which account this country is reckoned unhealthy; but the inhabitants maintain that the strong sea-winds materially improve the atmosphere.

The inhabitants of the villa draw their support from the exportation of some products, such as farinha and sugar. Some *lanchas* carry on a coasting trade with it. Formerly this country, like Rio

* We have found this plant so efficacious in its blossom or with fruit, rather difficult to determine to what class it belongs. It is perhaps a *convolvulus*.

† Professor SCHRADER at Gottingen, to whose kindness I am indebted for the determination of most of the plants mentioned in this book, has declared these two plants to be new, and as yet undescribed kinds of this genus.

de Janeiro, was inhabited by the powerful race of the *Tupinambas* and *Tamoyos*, who, in LEARY'S time, were united with the French against the Portuguese. SALEMA attacked them at Cabo Frio in 1572, and defeated them; whereupon they withdrew to the interior of the country. The Portuguese afterwards settled here. In the latter half of the 17th century, a small number of them lived here; the village too of S. Pedro was then built; a small fort was, according to the account in Southby's history of Brazil, almost without garrison.

On the invitation of a capitam living here, to see his sugar-works, we embarked early on a Sunday with him; our host, Mr. Carvalho, and a clergyman, accompanied us. They laid, as usual, reed mats (*esteitas*), on the bottom of the canoe to sit upon. The old *Tupinambas* and the races related to them, made use of this kind of craft; the Portuguese have only preserved them. They are hewn out of a single log of wood, particularly light, and the Indians know how to manage them. They have them of different sizes; some are so small, that one cannot move much, without being in danger of upsetting the canoe; others, on the contrary, are hewn from such immense thick logs, that they are pretty secure even in sea, if it be not too rough. The man who governs the canoe stands upright, and keeps his equilibrium so well, that by his motions he does not cause the slightest shaking. The rudders have in front a shovel of an oblong form, and are managed by the mere hand in small canoes, a few clever *canociros* are capable of pushing along such a light vessel as swift as an arrow. We found the water of the *Lagoa* of small depth, and so clear, that we could plainly perceive the white sandy bottom with its coral beds; this shallowness made us often stick fast. Gulls, sea-swallows, white herons, and strand snipes swarmed around the *Lagoa*. Two kinds of cormorants are here very common; the greyish brown cull*, and another bird very similar to our cormorant; both are fishing here in the waters, and approach very near the houses of the *villa*. The fazenda of the capitam, surrounded by his negro-huts, is built upon a green hill, and has a beautiful situation. Mountains and heights covered with woods and bushes are seen all round, which, contrasting with the shining bright green of the sugar plantations, form an agreeable interchange of colour; on the left, several mirrors of water, friendly dwellings, and distant blue hills, enliven this landscape. We saw the sugar manufactory, which appeared to be very well managed. They pour a strong lie on the sugar-juice, from which they intend to make rum, in order to thicken and purify it. They obtain this by the infusion of warm water on the ashes of a certain kind of *polygonum*, which is called *cataya* in the Indian language, but *herva de bichu* by the Portuguese. This plant has a very bitter peppery taste, is used

* Perhaps the *petit fou de Cayenne*. BUFF. pl. 973. (*Pelicanus parvus*.)

also in many disorders *, and is of great use in the preparation of rum. The most considerable fazendas have a church, a chapel, or a large room, where, on Sundays and feastdays, mass is read. The traveller ought never to neglect mass, for the inhabitants set a very high value on it; they treated us always kindly and politely where we observed this rule, but treated us with coolness and disgust where we did not attend church. After mass we accompanied the host back to the *villa*, where the same day, we observed a curiosity of this country, namely the genuine cocoa-palm (*cocos nucifera*, Linn.) Farther north this beautiful tree is very common, as the after part of this journey will show, but very scarce in the southern countries. On the eastern coast, it bears the name of *cocos de bahia*.

On a *fazenda* in the neighbourhood of Cabo Frio, were, as I have been assured, two date-palms (*phœnix dactylifera*, Linn.) which bore fruit; but since they have cut down one of them, the other does not bear.

We now made hunting excursions in all parts of the country; and soon obtained different animals, particularly *guariba*, without doubt the species which has been described under the name of *stentor*, or *myctes ursinus*, and whose loud voice is frequently heard in the woods. This wonderful animal is distinguished by the large stimmencapses in the throat, which Mr. Humboldt, in his observations on zoology, has assigned in his fourth table to another species of this genus. On account of the long beard of the male *guariba*, he bears on this coast the name of *barbado*. In St. Paul he is called *bujio*, and farther north *guariba*. Besides this ape, we caught the one with two long tufts of hair on its head (*simia fatuellus*, Linn.), and the small red sahui (*simia rosalia*, Linn.) Neither are very scarce here, but are not found farther north.

On the bank of the lagoons and marshes, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Mangibushes (*rhizophora*, *conocarpus*, and *avicennia*) we found a number of holes in the ground. The dwelling of this kind is here called *guayamú*, it must not be mistaken for another which is taken on the sands of the sea-coast, and bears the name of *ciri*; both kinds are mentioned by MARCGRAF. The *guayamú* is larger than the *ciri*, and has an unspotted dark slate blue colour. These animals are difficult to catch, for at the smallest noise they retire to their holes; I therefore resorted to the means of killing them with sparrow-shot. They form a chief part of the food of the Brazilians, whose indolence often goes so far, that they resort, when they are in want of fish, to this, to our ex-

* On Rio S. Francisco this plant is successfully used in the disease which is called *O Largo*, the enlargement. This disorder is occasioned by an enlargement of the rectum caused by weakness, according to the description of an old Hungarian physician, who lived there, and has described the disorders of the country. The plant should be boiled, the liquor which is obtained from it be allowed to cool and then taken as a dyster and bath.

perience, miserable food; in the sand-bushes I frequently found two different kinds of lizards, of which the largest is DANDIN'S *lacerta Ameiva*, and has a green back, and prettily spotted sides. Here too I obtained the skin of an immense serpent, the *boa constrictor*. DANDIM unjustly represents Africa as the only country of this serpent, for it is the commonest of the Brazilian kind of the genus *boa*. The most of this species are known on the east coast by the name of *jiboya*.

Capitam Carvalho promised to send to us at Rio de Janeiro, the considerable collection which had much increased, particularly in marsh and water birds, during our stay at Cabo Frio. We found in the mean time reason to become distrustful of the politeness exercised towards us by this man; for it was but too clear that the greatest self-interest was his motive, for he went so far as to compel us to give him a certificate of the important services which he had rendered to us. We were quite as unfortunate in the acquaintance of the apothecary of this place, a man who seemed to interest himself very much in our labours, and in whom we first imagined some abilities. But we soon observed that he was not quite right in his mind; and notwithstanding our patience with his weakness, we were at last compelled to treat him more seriously, for he spread several prejudicial reports in the villa, for which he nevertheless, as we afterwards learned, was kept some days in confinement by the police.

CHAPTER IV.

JOURNEY FROM CABO FRIO TO VILLA DE S. SALVADOR DOS CAMPOS DOS COAYTACASES.

Intermediate Stages, &c.—Campos Novos.—River and Villa de S. Joao.—Rio das Ostras.—Fazenda of Tapebucá.—River and Villa at Macahé.—Paulista.—Coral de Battuba.—Barro do Furado.—River Barganza.—Abbey S. Bento.—Villa de S. Salvador on the River Paraiba.

ON the 9th we sent our luggage over the lake, and on the 8th left the neighbourhood of Cabo Frio in the company of Mr. Carvalho, proceeding slowly along the borders of the lake. When we had entered the forest, our mules, which had become intractable by several days' rest, ran away in all directions, and it was a work of some difficulty to get them together again. This trick they repeated, like so many wild colts, throwing off the boxes, breaking and tearing their harness, and it was only by the aid of some Portuguese sportsmen, who were hunting in these parts for

deer, that our *tropeiros* finally succeeded in catching them. The deer are of two different species; Agaro describes them under the names of *guaxupita* and *guazubira*, which Mawe erroneously calls fallow deer. The other has well described the four species of stags found in Brazil, and in the greater part of South America. Of these the most common is the *veado mateiro* of the Portuguese, the red-deer or *guaxupita*. This animal is common, and the flesh much eaten, though very dry and coarse.

After having marshalled our *tropa* in the best order we could, we continued our march through high forests, frequently interrupted by watery meadows, covered with reed. These, as we expected, were found to be the abode of multitudes of herons, ducks, lapwings, and similar birds. Every where we heard the cry of the *quer-quer*, and in the forest were often entertained with the melodious voice of the *araponga*. Several species of shrubby *eugenia* presented their black, ripe, very pleasant fruit, about the size of small cherries. We rode through stately venerable forests, consisting of slender trees, covered with white or red-brown bark, at the foot of which blooming mimosæ and justiciæ diffused their odoriferous scents. Here we also met with constructions or edifices of the *termita* ant, between eight and ten feet high, indicative of their antiquity. Our mules frequently sunk deep into marshy spots, whilst we had to endure the annoyance of the *marimbondos*, (erroneously called *mirabunde* by Mawe,) a kind of noxious wasp, whose stings produce a violent but short pain, and swelling. The *baginwillaca Brasiliensis* was blooming with the most beautiful red flowers, and the thickly scattered large yellow flowers of the trumpet trees *bignonia* rose high to enliven and embellish the dark tops of the other trees.

In a large marshy meadow the jabirú, (*ciconia Americana*, or *tantalus loculator*, Linn.) and several species of herons, particularly the snow-white *egretts*, were seen stalking about with a sort of careless pride. The cattle here have to wade rather deep in water where they feed on the marshy grass. A large serpent, the green çipo, (*colibar bicarinatus*,) between six and eight feet long, did not escape our notice, darting by us, like an arrow, through the high grass; and on the bushes, bordering the meadow, we could see a flight of *maracanas* (*psittacus macaruanna*, Linn.) settled. Advancing into another forest, the wild oranges, (*laranja da terra*, of a luscious taste, afforded us a sort of cold collation. The sweet scent of their blossoms attracted a number of colibris. * Leaving the forest, we beheld, on a gentle declivity, rising from a large meadow, the large *fazenda* of *Campos Novos*, or rather *Fazenda do Re*, built, at least in part, by the Jesuits. Near the

* Oranges must be engrafted even in Brazil, otherwise the fruit will contract an insipid, and rather bitter taste.

house of the owner, a *capitam* extends to a range of negro huts, laid out in a square, and forming a small village.

Being obliged to wait here several days for some mules which had stayed behind, we profited of this delay to examine the country. A hunter showed us here the skin of a monkey, called by the inhabitants *mono*. We killed some of them afterwards, and found them to be of the species called *ateles*; * it is the largest kind in all the parts wherein we travelled, and their skin is used by the hunters for covers over the locks of their guns. The forests of *Campos Novos*, at some distance from that *fazenda*, are filled with them. Our hunters had killed several *guaribas*, or *barbados*; one old male ape was brought us yet alive. In the neighbouring marshes, we found, suspended on reeds and grass blades, clusters of fine rose-red eggs of the marsh-snail, described in Mawe's Travels under the name of *helix ampullacea*. This snail is very common in all the dried-up marshes. We also found, in all the forests which we had passed, the large land-snail, shewn by Mawe as a variety of the *helix ovalis*. The colour of this creature is of a pale orange, but that of the house is mostly of a pale brownish yellow. Here we observed, on the branches of the shrubs, the nests of a species of wasp, (*pelopæus lunatus*, Fabr.) made of clay, and about the size and shape of a pear. By breaking it, we found dispersed between the mass from five to six or seven larvæ, or complete wasps. If not the same, it is very nearly related to that described by Azara.

The copse in this region consists of a species of *gardenia*, called here *cuiranna*, a species probably not yet described, making a good wood for timber. Being at some distance from the sea, the woods abound with monkeys and game. The beautiful forest, (*mato virgem*,) which extends in an almost uninterrupted range from *Campos Novos* to the river *S. Joao*, a distance of four legoas, and which we had now entered, was not undeserving of our notice. We soon reached a picturesque marshy spot, surrounded by young cocoa-palms and *heliconia* bushes, which form, as in contrast, the underwood to the large lofty forest trees. The green, blue, and yellow suracua (*trogon viridis*, Linn.) was very common here; by imitating their call we shot several males and females. Here we saw, curiously entwined, the *çipos*, and a particularly beautiful *banisterius*, mostly with yellow flowers, and remarkably shaped stems, also very grand webs of the cocoa-palm, an undescribable ornament of the forest; the *bromelia*, beautifully flourishing in the upper branches. The white

* *Ateles hypoxanthus*, with long limbs, and a strong long tail; the hair pale yellowish grey, often a yellowish red at the root of the tail; the face of a fleshy colour, strewed with blackish dots and spots. Whole length, from the tip of the nose to the end of the tail, 46 inches and 8-12ths. The thumb of the fore-paws is only a short stump, and this distinguishes these animals from Geoffroy's *Arachnoides*, which are without it.

- Brazilian Country-house at Paraita

procnias (*araponga*) was in abundance. The road now lay through deep sand. On a crooked stem I found a serpent of a lead colour, from six to seven feet in length, which I shall designate under the name of *coluber plumbeus*.^{*} First shooting it, we with some difficulty persuaded the negro that had the care of our plants, to carry this harmless creature, wrapped up in a cloth, suspended in a pail, over his shoulders. In the meantime, our hunters had shot several *tucanes*, *arassaris*, (*ramphastos aracari*, Linn.) *surucuas*, (*trogon*,) and the small red *sahui*, (*simia rosalia*, Linn.)

Towards evening we reached the banks of the river *S. Joao*, which runs into the sea near the villa which is built here. It is from 300 to 400 paces wide, and is crossed with canoes; our beasts, however, forded it a little higher up. We landed on the other side, near the *villa da Barra de S. Joao*, a small place with several streets, and tolerably good buildings for the country; its church, built by the Jesuits, stands on rather a solitary rock, near the sea shore. This villa is one of the spots where travellers and goods coming from *Minas Geraës* undergo an examination, and are searched, on account of the prohibited exportation of precious stones. We found here five or six brigs at anchor. An English smith, who had settled here, told us that several English ships had strayed to this remote place, and that he intended to procure for himself the appointment of vice-consul. He repaired some of our guns very much to our satisfaction, as being what is seldom to be met with in this country. The want of men capable of repairing guns is severely felt by the naturalist who is travelling in the countries of Brazil. They cultivate, near *S. Joao*, much rice and *mandioca*, and lands hereabouts are said to be very fruitful, particularly up the river; even sandy spots bear plentifully when well watered.

From the sandy isthmus between the river and the sea, on which the villa is built, we wind along the coast farther north. In a plain we found the scarlet *amaryllis*, with a double cup, also yellow-blossomed *banisteries*, and a fine species of myrtle. On our left we had the *Monte de S. Joao*, a towering solitary ridge, at the foot of which were high forests, and in front of these marshes covered with copse-wood, stretching toward the sea.

After traversing several *mandioca* plantations, we came to a fine hill, covered with cocoa-palms, and projecting into the sea, which here received a brook, called *Rio das Ostras*. The waters of this rivulet are clear, and its banks beautiful. A Portuguese married to an Indian woman lives here with his family; he serves in the militia, and is ferryman at the same time. A bridge is

^{*} It was 6 feet, 1 4-12ths inch, long, having 224 belly scales, and 79 pairs of tail scales. The upper parts are of a dark lead colour, the lower ones of a fine yellowish white, shining like porcelaine.

greatly wanted in this place, for no sooner have we loaded our *tropa*, with trouble enough, at S. Joao, in the morning, than we are obliged, after a few hours, to unload them again on this spot.

On the opposite bank we took shelter from the rain in some empty loam huts which we found there. Before arriving at the sea-shore, again, on this side, we had to scale hills covered with a kind of cane, from thirty to forty feet high, called *taquarussu*, or the large cane. Its colossal stems of six inches in diameter, bend gently in their rising, the leaves are feathered, and the branches have strong short thorns, which make this thicket impenetrable. These *bambusæ* are very welcome to the sportsmen, for by cutting them under the knot, the stems of the younger sprouts are found to contain a cool, pleasant, although rather insipid, sweetish water, which instantly quenches the burning thirst. This remarkable plant flourishes in mountainous dry countries, wherefore it is most frequently to be found in the capitania of *minas geraes*, where they made drinking cups from its stem. Proceeding along the sea-shore, we found, near some scattered habitations, another useful plant, the *agave foetida*. The smooth, stiff, leaves, from eight to ten feet long, form a strong hedge, from the midst of which rises a stem thirty feet high, bearing at the top greenish yellow blossoms, which give a peculiar appearance to the landscape. The marrow of the stem, called *pitta*, is used by the collectors of insects instead of cork. We now reached the *fazenda* of *Tapebuçu*, situated on a hill near the sea, the owner of which, an ensign of the militia (*Alferes*), received us very well. High forests rise behind the *fazenda*, which is only separated from them by a *lagoa*. From the eminence on which the house is situated, we beheld a plain, covered by an impenetrable wood, in the middle of which stands the *serra de Iriri*, an isolated chain of mountains consisting of four or five conical heads, crowned with wood. More to the left, in a southern direction, presents itself the solitary *monte de S. Joao*.

They cultivate on this estate, *mandioca*, maize, and a little coffee; the *lagoa* contains much fish. The orange trees around the habitations attracted a fresh number of colibris. Our hunters killed in the neighbouring forests, parrots, maracanas, tucanes, pavos, and other fine birds. Our herbariums too were much enriched here. I found many species of cocoa-palms, among others the *u'si*, the fruit of which was just ripe, and the prickly marsh-palms, *tucum*, having a stem about fifteen spans high, which, as well as the stalks of the leaves, are covered with sharp prickles. MAWE mentions the plant, but gives it dentated leaves of the shape of a lancet, whilst it, in reality, has feathered *frondes*, the *pinnulae* of which are pointed with full borders. ARBUDA gives a better description of it, but has not examined the blossoms; for the rest

it seems certain, according to M. SELLOW's opinion, that this tree does not belong to the genus of the cocoa. The green *pinnulae* have very strong firm fibres; when the leaf is broken, the upper green skin draws off, and the fibres hang free; these are twisted into strong fine green strings, of which particularly beautiful fishing nets are made.

This palm grows here plentifully, and bears small, hard, black nuts, containing an eatable kernel. From another species they take the inner leaf before it is unfolded, draw off the sheath, and separate the leaves, which are adhering together by means of a sticky juice, with which they cover houses; they also make neat mats with them. We found in these dark forests the *ipé* tree, covered with deep yellow flowers, and another *bignonia*, with large white blossoms, grew in the marshes. The proud *sapucaya*-tree (*lecyrthis ollaria*, Linn.), which towers high above the giants of the woods, has small leaves and large fruit, hanging down like pots, and which actually open by a lid, and pour out their large edible kernel; the monkeys, especially the large red and blue *araras* (*psittacus macao* and *ararauna*, Linn.) are very fond of them. It is, however, difficult to obtain this fruit; for that purpose the tree is commonly cut down. The Indians climb it, particularly by means of the creeping plants or *cipos*, which very much facilitate the ascent. On another hunting excursion, we examined the blossoms of a palm-tree, which, according to M. SELLOW's conviction, is of a new genus. Its fine yellow blossom clusters hung down, gently curved; the *spatha* was large, of the shape of a boat, and as well as the feathered leaves, remarkably beautiful. On felling the tree, we found the wood very hard, but on reaching the porous kernel, it fell immediately.

On the 15th we took leave of the family of our kind host, and entered on our journey to *Macahé*. From Tapebucu to the river *Macahé*, the road leads for four *lagoas* through a deep sand, almost uninterruptedly, along the sea-shore; on some rocky points, projecting here and there into the sea, we discovered a great quantity of mosses and mussels; there was, however, little variety in them. The wind was very high on this spot, and the sea broke itself with great violence against the shore. A range of hills rising from the sandy beach (*praya*) was covered with fine species of trees and shrubs, which were kept down by the wind, and appeared as if they had been clipped; among these we found a large white-blossomed passion flower, of the square *cactus*, likewise with white flowers.

It was now spring, and we had hitherto found the weather rather cool, and never warmer than it usually is in Germany on warm summer-days. The last 3 miles and a half of the journey led through a thick forest, where we shot *tucané*, *arassaris* and the small blackish cuckoo (*cuculus tenebrosus*). Many species of trees

of the tender species were now without leaves, though most of them keep theirs during the winter in Brazil. The greater part were now budding, some were in blossom, and others bore blossoms and fruit at the same time. Drenched with rain, we arrived at the *villa de Macahé*, on the river of that name. This river, of a tolerable size, after having flowed for about fifteen *lagoas* along the *serra de Iriri*, empties itself here into the sea. In the time of Livy, this district was inhabited by savages, who called it *Maghé*, and were in war with the *Uetacas* or *Goaytacases* on the river *Paraíba*.

The small *villa de S. Joao de Macahé* lies scattered among bushes on the bank of the river, which forms at its mouth, a circle round the projecting nish of land. The low houses are, for the most part, cheerful and neat, built of clay and timber, and white washed. They have court-yards formed by stems of the cocoa-tree, in which goats, pigs, and different sorts of poultry are running about. The inhabitants carry on some trade, with the produce of their plantations, consisting of tarkina, beans, maize, rice, and a little sugar; they also export timber, for which reason there is always some small coasting craft, *sumacas* or *lanchas* at anchor. The *Gorulhos* or *Guarulhos* Indians are said to live, united in villages or *aldeas*, up the river in *Sertam*. After having been compelled by the rainy weather, to stay here for some days, we collected some fine seeds of trompet-trees, and other husk-plants, and set out again on a Sunday afternoon.

A fresh rain accompanied us for one *lagoa* and a half into an underwood and forest along the sea-shore, as far as the *fazenda de Baretto*, where we arrived at night, and took possession of an empty house. In some marshy meadows and forests, we saw numbers of shining insects flying about, among others the *elater noctilucus*, mentioned by Azara, with two bright green shining dots on the breast.

The night-swallow (*caprimulgus*), in whose loud cries the Portuguese pretend to discover the words *joao corta pao*, flew very frequently with a gentle flight, about the dark forest roads, and often sat down on the ground before us. It reminded us of the European owl (*strix uluco*, Linn.), whose place it fills here.

The bad weather continuing, we remained during the 18th of September at *Baretto*, and increased our collection by some interesting birds. I shot a couple of the white and black milan, with the forked tail (*falco furcatus*, Linn.)

We were glad to leave *Baretto*, our people having got to serious fighting in the two public-houses of the place. On account of the deep sands along the sea-shore, we arrived late this day at the place of our destination. We met on the road with mimosa hedges round the gardens of some habitations, and a domesticated cocoa-tree (*cocos nucifera*) loaded with fruit, a true scarcity in this neigh-

bourhood. We proceeded then through mandiocca-fields, where the plants were placed between the cut and burnt wood, and the ground raised round them, as is done with the potatoes in Europe; farther on we passed through marshy spots, with upright white-flowered little bignonia stems, and high forests. The ruins of a large house, besides other objects, made us conclude that the district had been formerly in a better state of cultivation. We noticed an incredible number of *urubus* (*vultur aura*, Linn.) which had collected round some carrion, and seemed so little afraid, that they were actually sharing their booty with a large dog, and did not suffer themselves to be disturbed by our presence. We also saw here large flights of long-tailed parrots, (maracanna's and perikitto's.) All those that we shot had their beaks dyed blue, from a certain fruit which was just then ripe. We shot some *tucanes*, and commonly perceived, on the highest dry branches, single birds of prey watching for their booty, especially the lead-coloured falcon (*falco plumbeus*, Linn.) which rushes with a bold swift flight upon its victim.

Here we also saw the tree, called by the Portuguese *tento*.* It has dark-green feathers, red leaves, and bears short, broad husks, with fine dark-red beans, which the Portuguese use for counters, (*tentos*.) We did not see its blossoms. The sand-bushes produce here a great many interesting plants. In marshy places we found a tree from eight to ten feet high, apparently related to the *bonnetia palustris*, with large white flowers, a fine species of *evolvulus*,† a small *cassia*, with yellow blossoms a pretty blooming creeping *asclepiadca* (*echites*) with fine white and rose coloured flowers, a new *andromeda*, with deep red flowers, and the two species of *andromeda*, already found at *Cabo Frio*, with several others.

Towards evening our caravan reached the sea-shore, where the ruins of an old chapel, in a melancholy, dreary, sandy country, completely harmonized with the wild roarings of the foaming sea, small stunted bushes grew towards the wood, and bore testimony of the strength of the prevailing winds. We continued our journey upon a small neck of land between the sea and a long extended *lagoa* till night, when we reached a single shepherd's habitation, called *Paulista*, where our hungry stomachs found nothing but a little mandiocca-meal, and some maize for our beasts; luckily we had provided ourselves at *Baretto*, with some salt-meat (*carne seca*) and beans (*feigoês*). As the house was pretty large we remained here the following day, in order that we might rest from our fatigue. The Brazilian aysterlaters (*hæmatopus*) ran in crowds about the shore, and many of them were killed by us. In the neighbour-

*This is the *arnosia coccinea*. Jacks. in the *Transact. of the Linn. Society*. A new species, which was first found in Guinea. *Willdenow* does not mention it.

† A new species, neither described by *Persoon*, *Willdenow*, *Ruiz*, nor *Pavon*.

ing woods, which were mingled with cocoa-palms, we shot several very small owls, of the kind which the inhabitants call *caburé*,* but which must not be mistaken for that so called by MARCGRAF. We felled some palmetto-palms, which are frequent here, on account of their pith; this tree belongs to the neatest and slenderest of the cocoa kind; its stem is a thin, high shaft, covered with rings; a small top of from eight to ten; bright green leaves of the shape of quills move high above in the air; under this beautiful head ornament stands, on the silver grey stem, an addition of the lively green colour of the leaves, in the upper part of which the young leaves lie rolled and folded together, they contain, in their middle, the tender yet unopened blossoms, but those already formed break out from under the green cover. If this addition to the stem for the cover of the young leaves be cut off, the interior is found so tender and pithy, that it may be even eaten raw, but when it is cooked it is a still better food. We found the wood very hard, and it cost not much trouble to cut down the tree with the wood-knife (*jacao*.) The *toccam* palm was likewise blooming in marshy places, as also in the sandy parts were a new kind *stachytarpheta*, and a pretty round *cactus*, similar to the *mammillaris*, which has in its upper surface white wool, which contains small deep-red flowers. Mr. Sellow considered this kind to be new. Our ornithological collections were not much increased here, for excepting a few marsh-birds, we found very little that was new. The *sabia da praya* (the coast-thrush, *tardus orpheus*, Linn.) sings along the whole of this coast, which, with but an indifferent plumage, has a beautiful note, and may be reckoned one of the finest singing-birds in Brazil. The small white *geckot* was very frequent on the buildings, running about the perpendicular walls, as also the lizard with the black collar;† they are spread over the whole of the country that I have seen. On the banks we found very few mussels, and also here in the marshes we saw the above-mentioned nest of a kind of wasp, (*pelopæus lunatus*, Fabr.)

From *Paulista* we followed the downs. Large marshes and lagoas grown over with reeds, in which the grazing cattle and horses are often wading to the middle, extend into the country; lapwings

* *Strix ferruginea*, 6 inches 7-tenths long, rusty-red, with some pale yellow or white spots on the scapular and wing feathers: a great white spot on the under part of the neck; tail unspotted, rust colour; the lower parts of the body bright yellowish and mixed with white, with rust-coloured long stripes; iris deep yellow. This owl, without ears, seems to bear some relation to Azara's *Éaburé*.

† Probably Daudin's *gecko-spinicunda*.

‡ *Stellio torquatus* appears to be related to, or the same with *stellio quetz-paleo*—Daudin. This species varies very much in colour. When young it has dark long stripes on its back, which disappear when it grows old; then it turns to a silver-grey, spotted with shining purple, and copper-coloured, and sometimes, brighter dots; the criterion of the species, however, is always an oblong black spot, on the side of the neck, before the shoulder, as likewise three dark stripes running down in a perpendicular direction over the closed eye-lids. The lizard with the black collar is called on the eastern coast *lagarta*.

(*vanellus cayennensis*), herons, gulls, sea-swallows, and ducks, were in great number, the lapwings called *quer-quer* fly about the head of the hummer, when he approaches these young ones, like our species in Europe. Upright cactus trees opened their white flowers, they had square, pent, and hexangular branches, but seemed nevertheless to belong to one or, at most, to two species, for these strange prickly plants vary much in the number of their points according to their age. A prickle of a cactus plant entering into an animal's hoof or joint, easily lames it. In the sand we found the *turnera ulmifolia*, and in the marshes two white-blooming *nymphaea*-species, the *indica*, and another, named by Mr. Sellow, *erosa*, with very large flowers; also, a high white blooming *alisma*, probably also new, with narrow, oblong leaves. This large wilderness is covered with wild cattle, even at a distance of from 18 or 21 English miles from any human habitation. They are annually collected by the owners of the neighbouring *fazendas*, once or twice into a *coral*, or place surrounded with palisadoes, where they are counted and marked. We took up our night-quarters in the so-called *Coral de Battuba*, five legoas from *Pau-lista*, which contains within the fence a large loam hut. The country is a large plain (*campo*), frequently containing water in its shallow depth, which afterwards forms the *lagoas*.

Our provisions being very short, we attempted to kill a beast, but did not succeed that evening. In the hut, which let in the rain through the roof, we got but little rest, being at the same time tormented by an immense number of fleas, and by a host of *bichos do pé* (Sand-flea, *pulex penetrans*), of which we drew, on the following day, a great number out of our feet. This insect penetrates between the skin and the flesh, on the feet, about the soles and toes; sometimes, also, through the nails of the hands. But it is an exaggeration so say that they penetrate even to the muscle-flesh, as they remain between the skin and flesh. Their presence is felt by a violent itching, which afterwards changes into a slight pain; therefore it is well to prick them out immediately, without injuring their body, filled with eggs. By rubbing a little snuff, or *unguentum basilicum*, which is to be had from the apothecaries in Brazil, into the small wound, after the insect is taken out, all inflammation is prevented.

Notwithstanding the morning being dull and rainy, we renewed our chase, and at last succeeded in killing a heifer, which serving to satiate our hunger, we betook ourselves to hunting. We killed an ibis, with a naked flesh-coloured face, described by AZARA under the name of *curucau rasé*, likewise two species of falcons, a fine new species of kite,* and the *fulco busarellus*, with a rose-coloured

* *Falco palustris*, 19 8-12 inches long, a yellowish white (owl-crown, like our *falco evanescens*), mixed with dark brown, surrounds the head; over the eye a white stripe; lower parts of a reddish pale yellow, with dark brown long stripes; lower part of the

body and yellowish white head. Near the house I found a nest of the bentavi (*lanius pitangua*, Linn.) with eggs in it, which has the shape of a baker's-oven closed at the top.

In the large lagoas in the plains north of *Battuba*, innumerable marsh and water-birds are to be found. We fell in with about thirty of the rose-coloured spoon-heron (*platalea ajaja*, Linn.) but notwithstanding all our precautions, we could not succeed in killing one. The lagoas are separated by dams, upon which we found bushes in which there are always some birds of prey, of which we killed some. On the border of a lake, I perceived the antunga, (*plotus anhinga*, Linn.) At a distance of from four to five leagues from *Battuba*, we came to a place called *Barra do Furando*, where the lagoa *feia* is connected with the sea. The lagoa *feia* is usually ruffled by the wind, and therefore often dangerous for canoes; for larger ships it is often too shallow. At low water the *Barra do Furando*, is blocked up. This whole district contains a great many lakes along the coast, several of which are not marked in the maps. With this quantity of water, and the fruitfulness of the soil, this district might be made one of the most fruitful in Brazil, if it were inhabited by a more industrious people.

Having embarked our baggage on the lake, we continued our road along the downs, amusing ourselves with the sight of many plovers, (*charadria*), strand-snipes, and oyster-fishes (*hæmatopus*), which were picking up a number of small insects, as often as the waves retired. The great number of ducks and marsh-birds which we found here, was really remarkable. Large blackish flights of the *anas viduata*, Linn. and of the whistling green-shouldered species, described by AZARA under the name of *ipcutiri*, rose at our first shots like a sheet. This latter species is the most common in that part of Brazil which I have seen.

As it was growing late, and we could not cross the lagoa that evening, being at the same time threatened with a heavy fall of rain, we returned a little distance back to a small hut, where five or six soldiers were watching to prevent the smuggling of diamonds. The soldiers lit a good fire for us, gave us mandioca meal and dried salt meat, and we chatted all the evening with them. These militia soldiers, of rather a brown colour, wear white cotton shirts and trowsers, their necks and feet remaining naked; each of them wears, like all other Brazilians, his rosary about his neck. A musket, without a bayonet, is their only arms. In the day-time they are fishing in the lagoas, which furnish them with food, besides the mandioca meal and salt meat which is given to them. They have, therefore, ropes made of twisted bulls' skin, extended before their huts, on which they dry the fish. The hut, being a guard-house, contained several rooms,

neck dark brown; thighs and rump rust-red; all the upper parts dark brown; pinions and tail-feathers ash-colour with dark brown cross-stripes.

with some long mats and wooden benches to sleep on. The canoes with the hunters, who had been delayed by the docks, only arrived in the morning, and now the passage begun. Whenever a boat's load was passed, the men in it distributed themselves for the purpose of hunting. Among other things, they shot the ibis, with a red face, (*carao*,) and the *caracara*, (*Falco Brasiliensis*,) a fine bird. United upon the northern bank, we remained exposed the whole day to a heavy fall of rain, (some of our mules having been led away by some horses,) till, towards the evening, a fisherman arriving took us into his hut, where we waited for the fugitive beasts. We went now, through a small underwood, to the banks of the river *Barganza*, a discharge from the *Lagoa Feia*. Here were two miserable fishermen's cabins, where we were well received. They merely consisted of a cane roof, supported against the ground, containing a couple of small compartments within. Our numerous train was, therefore, obliged to sleep in the open air, there being only room for the Europeans, not inured to the climate. We slept with the families, round about the huts, upon straw, the fire burning in the centre; and they treated us with baked fish and mandioca meal. The good will of these people alleviated a part of the inconveniences to which we were exposed. In the hut in which I slept was a very stout talkative woman, of rather a tawny complexion, who, according to the custom among the Brazilian women of the lower classes, was constantly smoking her pipe. The Brazilians use more frequently segars made of paper, which are carried behind the ear; which fashion of smoking the Europeans learned from the *Tupinambas*, and other tribes of coast Indians, who used to wrap certain aromatic leaves into a larger one, which they lit at one end, (J. de Lery, Voyage &c. p. 189). The pipes in use among the lower orders in Brazil, have a small head of burnt clay, of a blackish colour, with a thin smooth tube, made of the stalk of a high fern, (*samambaya*,) the *mertensia dichotoma*. The Brazilians, of all ranks of society, are yet more fond of taking snuff than of smoking, the poorest negro slave having his snuff-box, made of horn or tin, frequently merely a fragment of a cow-horn, secured with a cork.

As soon as the morning dawned upon us, our fisherman's family began saying their prayers, after which they bathed their children, according to the common practice of the country, in lukewarm water, which the little ones seemed to anticipate with impatience. Cane mats were then spread on the outside of the huts, and we all sat down to a breakfast of boiled fish. Our meal being concluded, the fishermen prepared their canoes to get our mules over the *Braganza*, which is here filled with reeds, by swimming. Thousands of aquatic birds have their nests here; among others, we saw at times the fine red spoon-heron. Among

the fishermen that were passing our *tropa*, we were particularly struck with the appearance of one old man, with a long beard, and a sword by his side; a younger one got on horseback, in order to be our guide through the inundated meadows. His dress was peculiar; he wore a small hood of cloth, a short coat, and trowsers which left his knees bare, and spurs on his naked feet. This little man was, however, very good natured and kind, always riding before us, and seeking, not without danger to himself, the best passages. After suffering under the just apprehension of losing our baggage in the water, we at last, under a heavy fall of rain, reached the end of these meadows.

The last watery spot we crossed in a boat near the church of *S. Amaro*, and our *tropa* now proceeded on immensely large green plains, which already make part of those of the *Goaytacases*, that, extending as far as the *Paraiba*, and from which the *Villa de S. Salvador* is surnamed *dos Campos dos Goaytacases*. Between the grass of this track of land, as well as in all pastures along the eastern coast of Brazil, grows the *sida carpinifolia*, with a shrubby woody stem and yellow flowers; it grows very fast, and frequently shelters a species of *inambu*, denominated *perdiza*, (partridge, described by *Temminck* under the name of *tinamus maculatus*). This yet little known bird resembles our quail in colour, but is rather larger, and stays as long before the setting-dog as our European partridge. After having rode over these plains, in which a great many cattle were grazing, till the evening, we arrived at the large abbey of *S. Bento*. This convent, which belongs to the abbey of *S. Bento* in *Rio de Janeiro*, is possessed of considerable estates. The building itself is large, has a fine church, two court-yards, and a small garden in the interior, in which the beds, walled up with stones, are occupied by balsamines, tuberozes, &c. In one of the court-yards stood lofty cocoa-nut trees, (*cocos nucifera*, Linn.) loaded with fruit. The convent possesses fifty slaves, who have built their cottages, in a large square, before it; in the middle of which a cross is raised on a pedestal. Besides, there are here a large sugar *engenho*, and other buildings for agricultural purposes. Besides the large estates belonging to this rich convent, it is possessed of large herds of horses and black cattle, and receives the tythes from some sugar in the vicinity.

We were here well received, and lodged in rooms with beds, from the large unglazed windows of which we enjoyed a beautiful prospect. In the lower story of the house were the kitchen and mandioca manufactory, where we dried our collections; the cotton which we wanted for them was freed for us from the grains. We spent our time in shooting ducks, which we found here in immense numbers on the large marshes and *lagoas*.

A mulatto, with a stiletto in a button-hole, a sword at his side, and spurs on his bare feet, served as our guide on our farther

journey. The increasing habitations, and the traces of the wheels in the plain, indicated that we were approaching a more populous neighbourhood. Along the road we saw hedges of *agave* and *mimosæ*, behind them blooming orange and banana trees, and near the houses coffee-trees, with their milk-white blossoms. The *cendas* become very frequent on the road, from the doors of which the smiling posts invite the passengers, but usually to pick their pockets. It was yet early when we arrived at the *Villa de S. Salvador*, situated on the southern bank of the river Paraiba, in a pleasant, fruitful, variegated country. Our kind host from S. Bento had assigned to us his house here, where we saw the first newspaper since our departure from Rio; it contained the news of the defeat of the French near Waterloo, which greatly interested even the inhabitants of the town.

CHAPTER V.

Residence at Villa de S. Salvador, and Visit to the Puris at S. Fidelis.

THE plains, which extend northward from the river *Paraíba*, were formerly inhabited by the savage and warlike race of the *Uetacas* (*) or *Goayatases*, ranked by *Vasconcellos* among the *Tapuyas*, from the difference between their language and that of the people of the *Lingoa Geral*. They separated into three tribes, the *Goaytaca-assu*, *Goaytaca Jacorits*, and *Goaytaca Mopi*. Contrary to the custom of the other Indian tribes, they wore their hair long and hanging down, and were distinguished from all their lineage by a clearer colour, a firmer structure of body, and a greater degree of savageness; and they likewise fought more boldly in the open field.

The whole country is covered with detached *Fazendas* and plantations; and, on the south bank of the *Paraíba*, which flows through these fruitful plains, at the distance of about eight leagues from the sea, an important *Villa*, deserving the appellation of a city, (*Cidade*) presents itself. *Villa de S. Salvador dos Campos dos Goayatases*, contains from five to six thousand inhabitants; the population of the whole district being about twenty-four thousand souls. This place, in general called simply *Campos*, is tolerably built, with regular streets, for the most part paved, and neat agreeable houses, many of which have several stories. Close balconies with wooden lattice-work, according to the ancient Portuguese fashion, are still common here. Near the river there is a square, on which stands the public edifice, in which the courts of justice are held, and where also are the jails. In this town there are seven churches, five dispensaries, and one hospital, in which there are about twenty patients. A surgeon has charge of the hospital; and this country has besides better practitioners than are to be found in the other districts of the coast, where medical aid worthy of confidence is often unfortunately sought for in vain. The town is very pleasantly situated, stretches for a considerable space along the beautiful

* JEAN DE LEVY voyage, &c. p. 43.

Paraíba, and affords an agreeable prospect, especially when viewed from the road leading to the river. The bank is every where alive, and an active concourse of men, generally of colour, employed in commercial and other occupations, are here in constant motion.

A considerable trade is carried on at *Campos* with produce of various kinds; but on the lands up the *Paraíba*, the sugar-cane is principally cultivated; and also on the small river *Muriaché*, which falls, on the north side, opposite *S. Salvador* into the *Paraíba*, considerable sugar-works are found. Coffee, cotton, and every other species of produce, thrive admirably; and even the growth of Europe is seen in their markets. The chief object of attention is, however, sugar, and the spirit obtained from it. Among the inhabitants there are persons of property, who conduct their sugar establishments close to the river with sometimes more than 150 slaves; and from such works, besides the rum, from 4 to 5000 arrobes of sugar are made in one year. The improvement of the works is already in agitation, and the use of the steam-engine is proposed. In the year 1801, there were calculated to be then on the *Paraíba* and *Muriaché* in this district, 180 sugar works, among which 89 of the larger were found to be very profitable.

There appears even now in this town a considerable degree of luxury, especially in apparel, in which the Portuguese are very expensive. Cleanliness and neatness are to this people, in Brazil at least, universally common. But, if the interior parts of the country, or the less important *villas* are visited, it will be generally observed, that the planters remain fixed to their ancient habits, without ever thinking of the slightest improvement of their condition. Rich people are there to be found, who, though they send in the course of the year several *Tropas* laden with goods to the capital, and sell perhaps 1000 or 1500 oxen, occupying miserable hovels, one story high, composed of mud, and not even white-washed; with which all the rest of their domestic arrangements completely accord, except cleanliness of dress, which is seldom wanting. The country of the *Paraíba* does not seem to possess a sufficient stock of cattle, though these plains are so well adapted for breeding them: a few mules are indeed reared but they are not so strong and handsome as those of *Minas*, *Geraes*, and *Rio Grande*. The sheep and goats are small, and hogs do not succeed here so well as in other countries. I had not come to *Campos dos Goaytacases* to collect statistical information, (for which I must consequently refer the reader to other works) but in order to learn the natural and national characteristics of the country; which object being here speedily accomplished, my

stay was therefore of short duration; and we hastened to visit what was to us the most interesting curiosity on the *Paraíba*, a neighbouring tribe of yet more uncultivated *Tapuyas*.

We quickly prepared ourselves for this alluring journey, and set out on the 7th of October, leaving our baggage behind us, but accompanied by an officer and a soldier, politely assigned to us as guides by the commander of the districts of *S. Salvador*, *Manoel Carvalho dos Santos*. The *Paraíba*, already laid down in Mawe's little map of his journey to *Tejuco*, rises in the *Capitania* of *Minas Geraes*, flows between the *Serra dos Orgãos* and that of *Mantiqueira*, in an easterly direction, and having received the *Parahibuna*, *Rio Pomba*, and other contiguous streams, rolls, bounded by mountains, through the vast natural forests till it enters, near its mouth, into the plains of the *Goaytaca*—Indians. But we were soon deprived of the view of the beautiful river, along which our route at first lay, and the banks of which we found ornamented with the *Mimosa*, the *Bignonia*, and similar productions of nature. Near the town there stood some lofty palms, which were succeeded by fine meadows and groves. In the pasturages we found large flocks of the *Crotophaga Ani*, (*Linn.*) the *Cuculus Guira*, (*Linn.*) or *Annu Brance* of the Portuguese. This bird, which is mentioned by *Azara* under the name of *Piririgua*, has not been long known in the country of *Campos*, and seems only to have come down within these few years from the highlands of *Minas* to the plains upon the sea. We had abundant occasion to be delighted with the beauty and fertility of these regions. A row of large *Fazendas* occupy the bank of the river, and extensive sugar plantations are intermixed on the lively plains with wide pasture-grounds, where graze large cattle and horses, and some mules. In a meadow, adjoining several dwellings, we beheld with admiration one of those colossal fig-trees, *Figueiras*, of the Portuguese, which may be esteemed one of the most propitious of Nature's gifts to hot climates. The shade of this stately tree revives the traveller, when he takes up his rest under its incredibly wide-spreading branches covered with shining dark-green leaves. In the higher boughs of this tree we found the curious nest of the little green *Todus* with a yellow breast. It was of a globular shape, formed of wool, and close at the top, with only a small entrance. In Brazil a far greater number of birds build these close nests than with us; probably because there the tender fledglings have more enemies. At some miles from *S. Salvador* the mountains began to rise; and, on the other side of the sugar-cane grounds, we already perceived in the distance the high natural forests. In the woods red spots were conspicu-

ous which arose, however, merely from the young leaves of the *Sapucaya*-tree, which, on their breaking out in the spring, are of a rosy hue. It was now the most favourable season of the year for travelling, as the sprouting foliage every where exhibited itself in the most delightful variety of colours; a lively verdure adorned the landscape, and the agreeable temperature of the air was extremely grateful to us natives of the north, and unaccustomed to much heat.

After a journey of about three hours we again approached the *Paraiba*, and were strongly affected by its beauty at this place. Three islands partly overgrown with old and lofty woods interrupt the smooth course of the water, whence the stream, not inferior in breadth to the German Rhine, glides rapidly along, exchanging, on the green hills which distinguish its banks, woods and groves with large *Fazendas*, the red-tiled roofs of which present an agreeable contrast to the green foliage, and around which the huts of the negroes afford an appearance of little villages. One of the plates presents a view of a country-seat of this description. The valleys which intersect the banks are filled with marshes, in which a high-growing species of *Bignonia* creates the semblance of a decayed forest. Both trunk and branches are of an ashy grey, and their thin dark-green leaves give them a very dull melancholy aspect; and the more so, as they always grow crowded together in plots: the flower is however pretty, large, and of a white colour. There is here a number of other beautiful plants; and, among the rest, a tree-species of *Cleome*, thickly overspread with very large white and rose-coloured tufts of flowers. The yellow and white *Bignonia* diversified our road, and the upright stems of the *Allamanda Cathartica*, (Linn.) with large yellow blossoms, adorned the productions of the bank. When we had accomplished the half of our journey, our guide conducted us to a *Fazenda*, the master of which, a captain, politely invited us to dinner. In the front of his house, which, from an easy rise commands a most beautiful prospect of the river, there stands a majestic *Bignonia* of the species called *Ipe Amarello*, covered with large yellow flowers, which burst out before the leaves. Its timber is very firm, and may be easily wrought.

Resuming our journey in the afternoon, we ascended the *Morro de Gamba*, a steep hill on the bank of the river, and, having ridden along its ridge through a thick wood, we were surprised, when we again entered into open space by a magnificent view of the river below. The remarkably rocky eminence of the *Morro de Sapeteira* was particularly conspicuous, and in contrast with the green cheerful hills, on which the inha-

bitants had built their smiling abodes, heightened the charm of the scene. Immediately under our feet, at the bottom of the steep side of a mountain, there was a small flat spot of meadow ground, where a number of habitations, erected under high palm-trees, formed a delightful group. Our narrow path ran high up the ridge, and then sank down again into the valley where, as we approached each *Fazenda*, the senses were regaled by the sweet smelling bloom of the orange-tree. We then arrived at a marsh, over-grown with reeds, and the greyish-white-blossomed bignonia rising from 20 to 30 feet in height. On the branches of the latter a great many birds of the *Ardea Nycticorax* species, differing only in size from the German *Nycticorax*, had built their nests, and on every nest the old and young were standing together viewing the strangers with curiosity. Our huntsman shot some of them, but could not get them out of the bogs. These marshes, though we did not see any, are said to breed a great number of *Jacare's* (*Crocodylus*). After traversing a pleasant diversified country, we arrived about night-fall at the *Fazenda do Collegio*, and reached, before it was quite dark, the little *Rio do Collegio*; the deep flowing stream of which, though completely drowned, from our cattle having fallen, in consequence of the slipperiness of the footing, we all passed in safety.

We soon after entered a thick natural wood, on the bank of the river, which extends to *S. Fidelis*, a distance of half a league. It was now dark night; the road was very narrow, often rising suddenly over the steep bank, extremely uneven, and blockaded with dry wood and fallen trees. The soldier, who led the way, skilled in the road, dismounted with our people to clear the passage, and we were frequently compelled to lead our horses through considerable tracts of ground. At length a steep and deep ravine, across which a bridge formed by the trunks of three trees had been thrown, presented itself before us. But this obstacle, though it nearly cost us some of our cattle, we however likewise overcame by patience. A number of fluttering insects sparkled in the darkness of the forest, the *Caprimulgus* screeched, the large *Cigararras* were apparent at a great distance, and the peculiar cry of a host of frogs, resounding through the solitary, nocturnal wilderness. We then arrived at a level meadow on the bank of the river, and suddenly found ourselves among the huts of the *Coroados-Indians* at *S. Fidelis*. Our guide immediately rode up to the house of the Reverend Pater *Jodo*, and requested, through one of his slaves, quarters for the night, but we received a brief refusal, and had it not been for the kindness of the Officer, in whose house we were so well entertained at noon, we must

have lodged beneath the open sky. In the unfurnished and almost empty dwelling of this man, we however, found accommodation and slept soundly.

S. Fidelis on the beautiful bank of the *Paraiba*, here tolerably broad, a village of the *Coroados* and *Coropos* Indians, is a Missionary station, and was established about 30 years ago by some Italian Capuchin monks. There were then four Missionaries, of whom one still remains; a second lives at *Aldea de Pedra*, seven or eight *Legoas* farther up the river; and the other two are dead. The Indians, who live at this place, belong to the race of the *Coroados*, *Coropos*, and *Pures*; the last of whom, still wild and free rove about in the utmost state of barbarism betwixt the sea and the northern bank of the *Paraiba*, and spread westward to the *Rio Pomba* in *Minas Geraes** opposite to *S. Fidelis*: they hitherto appear peaceable, but at *Aldea de Pedra* they have lately been at war with the *Coroados*. The principal residence of both these tribes is *Minas Geraes*, but they extend hither on the *Paraiba* and the sea coast. On the right or southern bank dwell the *Coroados*, and at *S. Fidelis* some *Coropos* who are now all civilized, that is to say settled. Their boundaries stretch to *Rio Pomba*. On the left bank of the river they are still in a state of nature, though they build better huts than the *Puris*, with whom they live in warfare, and by whom they are said to be feared. These Indians are, as has been stated, almost all settled, the *Coropos* entirely, the *Coroados* for the greater part; yet they have scarcely begun to lay aside their wild manners, customs, and sentiments; for only four weeks before our arrival, the latter, at *Aldea de Pedra*, had shot a *Puri*, on one of their expeditions, and celebrated in consequence a grand festival for several successive days.

Scarcely had the morning appeared, when we betook ourselves to the huts built by the Missionaries for the *Coroados* and *Coropos*. We found these men still extremely original, of a dark brown skin, a completely national countenance, strongly marked features, and raven-black hair. Their houses are very good and roomy, built of mud and wood, and roofed with palm leaves and reeds, like those of the Portuguese. Their ordinary clothing consists of white shirts and breeches of cotton stuff, but on Sunday they are better dressed, and not to be distinguished from the poorer classes of the Portuguese, though even then, the men often go bare-headed and bare-foot: the

* The *Corograssa Brasilica* (Vol. 2. p. 59.) describes the situation of the *Puris* on the lower *Paraiba* incorrectly; for, according to that account, the savages live here already collected into villages, which is not actually the case.

women, on the contrary, are more nice, sometimes wear a veil, and are fond of ornamenting themselves. They all speak Portuguese, though among themselves they sometimes use their native language.

The languages of the *Coroados* and *Coropos* are nearly allied, and the *Puris* generally understand both. Our young *Coropo Francisco* spoke all the three languages. The difference of language among the various tribes of the primitive inhabitants of Brazil is an interesting subject, and worthy of close investigation. Almost all the tribes of the *Tapuyas* have a peculiar language. From the similarity of a few unconnected words among so many different dialects, attempts have been made to trace the origin of this race to the European nations, but certainly without foundation. *Papa* and *Mamma*, it is true, signify among the *Cambevas* or *Omagnas* exactly what they imply with us,* and the word *Ta* may in the *Coropo*-tongue have the same meaning as in German, but except such unimportant and accidental instances of agreement, there exists not the slightest analogy between these languages and the idioms of Europe. The peculiar arms of the *Coroados*, and to which they still much adhere, consist of bows and arrows, which differ only in some slight respects from those of the *Puris*. The feathering of the arrows is chiefly obtained from the red *Araras* (*Psitticus Maçao*, LINN), which are found higher up the *Paraiba* at *Aldea da Petra*. In these arms, like all their kindred tribes, they are very expert, and they occupy themselves much in hunting in the woods before their huts.

Our most important object was now to form an acquaintance with the barbarous *Puris* in their primitive woods. We proceeded therefore to the opposite bank of the *Paraiba*, and received a very good reception at the house of a *Furriel*, who immediately sent his brother into the forest to inform the *Puris*, that strangers wished to speak to them. This was an unequivocal sacrifice offered by our host to his courteousness towards us; for these people not only bring him no advantage, but even occasion him much injury. When they are amicably treated they come down to the vicinity of the plantations, but even then they use the productions of the estate, as if they had been intended for themselves; and often rob the negroes, who have business in the adjacent woods, of their shirts and other clothing. This horde of *Puris* had their station not long since at *S. Fidelis* and are supposed to belong to those who

* *S. de la Condamine, Voyage, &c.* p. 54. Even among our Antipodes, the New Zealanders, children call their father *Pah-Pah*, see *Collins's Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*. Lond. 1798, 4 p. 535.

appeared in hostilities at *Muribacca*. This much is at least certain, that they received at *S. Fidelis*, with incredible rapidity, the account of a murder committed by one of their people on the sea coast, which proves that they have a very near communication across the woods; and it also appears, that they maintain an intercourse from the coast to *Minas*.* The situation of our entertainer's *fazenda* was extremely agreeable, as it stood on the beautiful *Paraíba*, which is here in many places as broad as the Rhine. The thick, dark, and lofty forests are diversified by the pleasant verdant hills which compose the bank of the river, and on which numerous *fazendas* are erected. In some parts these wild picturesque woods spread widely out, even on the bank, and extend, without interruption, back into the country in all directions. From the higher ranges of the mountains, dark and awful vales are seen intersecting the wilderness, gloomy and thick, and filled with trees of gigantic height; nor is their stillness often interrupted even by the head of a solitary skulking *Puri*. Behind the *fazenda* we ascended a hill, and had there a sublimely beautiful, though terrific view into the vast tremendous desert. Scarcely had we rejoined the numerous company assembled at the foot of the height, when we beheld the savages issuing from a side valley, and advancing towards us. They were the first of these men whom we had seen; and our joy at their appearance was equal to our curiosity. We hastened forward to meet them, and stood before them overcome by the novelty of the spectacle. Five men and three or four women had accepted the invitation to come and see us, and were accompanied by their children. They were all of short stature, none being taller than five feet five inches, and generally, women as well as men, broad and thick made.† With the exception of a few, who had clothes bound round their middle, or wore short breeches received from the Portuguese, they were all perfectly naked. Some had their entire head cropped; while the naturally strong and raven-black hair of others, only cut over the eyes and in the nape, hung down their necks. The beard and eye-brows of some were cut; but in general they have little beard: it forms, with the greater part, only a thin wreath round the mouth, and hangs

* In Minas they are yet numerous. It was here attempted to transplant them, and make slaves of them, in order to civilize them; but this purpose completely failed. *Eschwege's Journal*. Hest. 1. S. 98.

† Among all the inhabitants of the East coast whom I saw, I must consider the *Puris* the least. According to *Freyreiss*, these men are more strongly made in the *Capitania* of *Minas Gerais* than the *Coroados*; but this I did not find confirmed at *S. Fidelis*.—*Eschwege's Journal*. Hest. I. S. 205.

nearly three inches in length below the chin.* Some had red spots painted on their forehead and cheeks with *Uruc* (*Bixa Orellana*, LINN.) and on the breast and arms they had all made dark-blue stripes with the sap of the *Genipaba*-fruit (*Genipa americana*, LINN.) these are both the colours which the *Tapuyas* use. Around their neck, or over their breast and one shoulder, they wore a string of threaded, hard black berries, in the front part of the centre of which there were interwoven the corner teeth of apes, ounces, cats, and other animals of prey, though many had necklaces of this kind without teeth.†

The men carried in their hands long bows and arrows which as well as all their other property they readily bartered for trifles. We received these extraordinary beings in a friendly manner. Two of them had been brought up with children among the Portuguese, and consequently spoke a little of the language of the latter; whence they are often of the greatest use to the *fazendas*. We presented them with knives, rosaries, small mirrors, &c. and divided among them small bottles of rum. We then announced to them our intention to visit them early in the morning in the woods, if they would receive us kindly: after this, and when we had promised to bring agreeable presents for them with us, they were exceedingly pleased, and returned with loud shouts singing into their wilderness. Scarcely had we set out in the morning, when we perceived the Indians again issuing from their woody valley. We sprang forward to meet them and greeted them with spirits, and hastened with them to the valley. As we rode round the sugar-works of the Fazenda, we found the whole horde of *Puris* stationed there on the grass. This naked, brown-skinned multitude, presented a most extraordinary and interesting spectacle. Men, women and children crowded together, regarded us with a mingled aspect of timidity. They had all decorated themselves to the utmost of their power: a few of the women only wore a coverlet round their hips or over their breast, the rest were perfectly naked. Some of the men had ornamented themselves with a piece of the skin of the ape called *Mono* (*Ateles*,) bound

* Many writers have run into a great error by calling the *Am* beardless, although their beard is generally thin and weak. In *Sypotus* is said to have lived a race of the Aborigines, who being distinguished by a stronger beard were thence stiled *Barbados* by the Portuguese.

† The ornament here alluded to consists of dark-brown, hollow, longitudinal bodies, which in shape are very similar to a *Dentalium*, and are supposed to be of animal origin, till stricter examination shews that they are formed from a barky substance, and are hence, without doubt, the same thorn. They may be produced on the *Carowids* of the *Paraíba*.



their forehead. Some of the women carried their little children by the means of bands fastened over the right shoulder, and others on their back, the band being fixed across their forehead, which is also their usual method of carrying their provision-baskets on their expeditions. Some of the men and young women were much painted; they had the red points on their forehead and cheek, and, in part, red streaks on the face; on the body of others were to be seen black streaks, both lengthwise and across, intermixed with points; and several children were covered all over with the same description of small black spots. The mode of painting seems to be a mere matter of taste, and quite arbitrary among them. Some of the females wore bands round their heads; and it is besides a custom with them to wear a tight band round their ancles and wrists, in order, as they say, to render those parts slender and elegant. The figure of the men is in general stout, thick, and broad, and often very brawny; the head thick and round, the face broad, and generally with strong prominent cheek-bones; the eyes small, black, and sometimes awry; the nose short and broad, and the teeth very white. Some, however, were distinguished by sharp features, small, curved noses, and very lively eyes, which, in a few instances, had a friendly expression, but, in general, sunk beneath the projecting forehead, cast forth a black stern glance.

One of the men was distinguished from all the rest by his Calmuck-physiognomy; he had a thick round head, the hair of which was cut off to the length of an inch; a very muscular squab body; a short broad neck, a large flat face, a small nose with wide nostrils, a thick mouth, thick black eye-brows, highly arched, and squinting eyes, somewhat larger than those of the Calmucks usually are. *Von Eschwege* adduces, as a peculiarity of the *Puris*, the smallness of the male sex; but I must confess, that I found in this respect no remarkable difference between them and the other tribes; the *Puris* are usually very little, and the whole Brazilian race is, in this point, inferior to Europeans, and still more so to the Negroes.

All the men here carried large bows and arrows. Some of the South American people, however, especially those on the *Maranhão*, use short-feathered lances of hard wood; and others as those of *Paraguay*, *Motto Grosso*, *Cuyabá*, *Cuyana*, and the *Tapi*-tribes on the east coast of Brazils, make use of short clubs, though every where the chief arms are the bow and arrow. Only a few tribes who inhabit the places of South America, the *Pampas* of *Buenos Ayres*, and some countries of *Paraguay*, being always on horseback, use, as their principal weapon, a long lance, and carry a small bow and short arrow.

The Tapuyas of the east coast, on the contrary, use as their only arms an immense bow and arrow, which, like the *Paya-guas* in Paraguay, they do not carry in cases, but, on account of their extraordinary length, merely in their hand. The bow of the Puris measures more than 6½ feet. It is smooth, formed of the hard, tough, dark-brown wood of the *Airi-Palm*, the string being of *Grawathr* (*Bromelia*.) The arrows of the Puris are more than six feet long, and made of strong knotty reeds, (*Taquara*,) growing in the dry woods, and mounted at the lower end with fine blue or red feathers, or with those of the *Craz Alector*, Linn.; or the *Jacutinga* (*Penelope Leucoptera* :) the arrows of the *Coroados* are made from a different reed, with small knots. The arrows of all these tribes are of three kinds, distinguished by their points. The first is the proper war-arrow. It has a broad top, made of the plant already mentioned, under the name of the *Taquarussu*, (*Bambusa*,) cut sharp on the edges, and brought in front to a very fine point. The second kind has a long point of *Airi-wood*, with several barbs on one side. With the third sort, which has but a blunt point, and is furnished with several knobs, they shoot small animals. None of the tribes which I visited on this coast use poisoned arrows; for, luckily, the ingenuity of these people, which is still at a very low ebb, has not advanced so far.

Our first curiosity being satisfied, we requested the Puris to conduct us to their huts. The whole troop immediately proceeded, and we followed on horseback. The road led into a valley, where we crossed the sugar plantations, after which the path became narrow, till we arrived at a few huts, (*Cuari*, in the language of the Puris,) in the thick wood, which may certainly be ranked among the most simple dwelling in the world. The hammocks, which they form of *Embora*, (inner rind of a sort of *Cecropia*,) is fastened between the stems of two trees, and to both these a little higher up, a cross-piece is fixed, against which large palm-leaves are laid in an oblique direction on the windward side, with a bedding below of *Heliconia*, or *Pattioba*-leaves, and, in the neighbourhood of the plantations, of Banana leaves. On the earth near a small fire, lie flocks of the *Crescentia Cujete*, or some calabash-shells, a little wax, various trifling articles of ornament, canes for arrows and arrow-heads, a few feathers, and provision, such as the banana and other fruits: the bows and arrows of the master stand against one of the trees; and lean dogs attack with a loud bark the stranger that approaches the wilderness. The huts are small, and so exposed to the weather, that the brown inhabitants are often seen thronged together in a crowd around the fire, and seated among the ashes to procure shelter from

the storm; at other times, the man lies tranquilly stretched in his hammock, while the woman keeps up the fire and roasts a piece of flesh on a pointed stick. Fire, called *Poté* by the *Puris*, is one of the chief necessities of life to all the Brazilian tribes; and they never let it go out even in the night, because, being destitute of clothing, they would sink under the cold without it, and because it keeps off all wild beasts. They leave these huts without regret when the surrounding country ceases to afford them sufficient nourishment, and remove to places where more animals of chase are to be found. Their game, when prepared for food, has a very disgusting appearance, as they tear it asunder, half raw, with their strong white teeth, and the skin is not taken off, but only singed black. They also tear to pieces the flesh of their enemies out of revenge; but there remains no trace among the *Tapuyas*, of the east coast at least, of their eating their dead, in order to shew the last mark of affection towards them, as some old authors declare.* The Portuguese maintain, and with apparent probability, that they consume the flesh of their enemies, but this they would never confess, and in their replies to our questions on the subject, ascribed the custom only to the *Botocundos*. Mawe, the English traveller, relates, that at *Canto Gallo* they eat unplucked fowls; but this I never witnessed among savages, and here they even gut them; so that it must have been a mistake of Mr. Mawe.†

As soon as we reached the huts a traffic commenced. We presented the women with rosaries of which they are very fond, though they tear off the cross and laugh at the sacred relic of the Catholic Church. They also delight in woollen caps, knives, and red handkerchiefs; the women are highly pleased with mirrors; but scissars they do not value at all. In return they willingly gave us a great many bows, arrows, and carriage-baskets. These baskets are composed of green palm-leaves; which exhibit when they lie upon their back a bottom of wicker-work, and on the sides is a high rim; above they are generally open, and only laced over at certain distances with string or bass. The savages bring a great number of balls of wax for sale, which they collect from the wild bees. They use this wax, which is of a dark-brown colour, in preparing their arrows and bows, and also in forming candles, which they sell to the Portuguese. These candles burn very well, and are made by winding a wick of cotton round a thin piece of wax, and rolling the whole firmly together. They set a

* *Southey's Hist. of Brazil*, Vol. X. p. 379. † *Mawe's Travels*, &c. p. 121.

high value on their knives, which they carry attached to strings tied round the neck and hanging down the back ; and which often consist merely of a piece of iron, though by constantly whetting them on stones, they render them very sharp. If a knife is given to them they generally break the handle, and make a new one after their own taste, by tying the blade tightly in between two pieces of wood.

When we had finished our barter, we remounted our horses and proceeded towards some other huts situated farther up the wood. The way was toilsome, full of tree-roots, and constantly ascending and descending over hills; some of the savages swung themselves up behind and rode with us; and a whole troop of *Cozoado* Indians from *S. Fidelis* accompanied us on foot. We found in the thick wood, in a small solitary valley, the house of a Portuguese, who lived among the *Puris*. Henceforward the way became easy, and we soon reached the huts of many savages, where a multitude of lean dogs again assailed us. The *Puris* seem to have had these dogs from the Europeans; they call them *Joare*, and I found them among all the aboriginal tribes on the east coast.* In the huts there were, in particular, a great number of women and children; and in some of them several hammocks, though one only was in general to be seen. One Puri sold his hammock to me for a knife: others bartered their ape-skin brow-bands, their necklaces, &c. M. Freyreiss treated with a Puri for his son, and offered several things for him. The women gave their advice loudly in their peculiar singing tone, and sometimes with sorrowful gestures: most of their words ended in *-a*, and were drawled out, which occasioned a noisy, curious concert. It was evident that they were unwilling to give up the boy; but the head of the family, an elderly grave man, spoke a few impressive words, and then stood in deep thought, with his head sunk downwards. Two knives, a shirt, a handkerchief, some strings of glass pearls, and a small mirror, being ultimately offered to him, he could not withstand the temptation, but immediately brought a youth out of the wood, who being ugly and ill-made was rejected; after which the savage brought a second, of a more agreeable exterior. The indifference with which this youth learned his destiny is incredible: he never changed countenance, took no leave, and seated himself, perfectly contented, on the crupper of Mr. Freyreiss's horse. This insensible indifference, under events both of sorrow and of joy, is found to exist among all the

* *Von Humboldt* found in Spanish America naked dogs; we saw nothing similar on this coast.—*Ansichten der Natur*. S. 90.

American people. Their most important object of solicitude is food; their appetite is constantly craving; hence they eat generally in haste, and with greedy staring eyes, their whole attention being fixed on the provisions. The sugar plantations of the *Fazendas*, in the neighbourhood of which they take up their station, generally allure them; and they may there be seen sitting and sucking the cane for half a day. They even cut off large pieces of this plant, and carry it with them into the woods. The sap of the sugar-cane is not, however, liked by the *Tapuyas* only; for the sucking of it is a common custom with the lower classes in Brazil. *Koster* says the same of *Parambucco*.

On returning from the wood, we rode back with a *Puri* behind each of us to the *fazenda*; where the whole body, both men and women, presently assembled and demanded refreshment. The man who rode behind me, stole my pocket-handkerchief, and though, when surprised in the fact, he promised to give me his bow for it, contrived to mingle with the crowd, and avoid my notice. They might be easily managed by a friendly line of conduct; but the planters treat them in a most erroneous manner, considering them as beasts, and immediately speaking of the *Chicote*, or whip, which naturally excites them to anger, and engenders hatred and strife. With us strangers they were much pleased, on account of our upright and good behaviour towards them; and they observed from our light coloured hair, that we belonged to a different nation. They give the name of *Rayon* to all white persons. As the *Fazenda* would not admit of a *Farinha* to entertain all these persons, the master of the house, to satisfy their loud clamours for food, gave us a small swine, which we presented to them, with orders to shoot it for themselves; and thus obtained an opportunity of seeing with what savage cruelty they prepare animals for their sustenance. A hog was eating near the house; a *Puri* stole up to it and wounded it above the chine; it ran off squeaking and trailing the arrow after it. The savage seized another arrow, and having struck it in the fore-shoulder-blade, caught it. The women had in the mean time hastily lighted a fire. When we had all collected at the place, they again shot the swine first in the neck, and then in the breast in order to kill it. The animal was not however quite dead, and lay crying and bleeding piteously; but, without much consideration or suffering themselves to be moved by its yells, they cast it alive into the fire to singe it, and laughed with one accord at the sounds which pain forced from it. Our loud expression of displeasure at this barbarity, however, increasing, one of them advanced and stuck the tortured animal

in the breast with his knife, after which he scraped off the hair, cut it into pieces, and divided it. (*) From the smallness of the swine, many of them returned unserved and displeased to their forest; but scarcely had they departed, when a sack of meal arrived for them from *S. Fidelis*, which we sent after them.

Barbarous insensibility is, as this and many other examples evinced to me, the chief feature in the character of these savages. Their manner of life leads to this consequence; for it is the same circumstance that renders the lion and tiger blood-thirsty. A spirit of revenge, a certain degree of jealousy, an invincible inclination to freedom, and an unsettled, uncontrolled life characterize these people. They have generally several wives, some even four or five, when they can support them. They do not usually ill-treat their wives, but the husbands consider them as their property, and they must act according to their will; hence, while the man walks at her side carrying only his weapons in his hand, the woman goes loaded like a beast of burden. Some authors, and among the rest *Azara*, have denied all notions of religion to these American nations; yet this assertion seems to be so much the less warrantable, as this author has himself communicated the opinions of some of the Indians from Paraguay, which, without doubt, have their foundation in a yet imperfect system of religion.† For myself, I have found, among all the tribes of the *Tapuyas* that I have visited, demonstrative proofs of a religious belief; hence it is with me an irrefragable fact, that there is not a single nation of the earth totally destitute of religious ideas.‡ The wild Brazilians believe in various mighty beings, of whom they acknowledge the most powerful in the thunder, under the name of *Tupa* or *Tupon*. In the appellation of this supernatural spirit, many tribes, and even some of the *Tapuyas*, agree with the *Tupi*-tribes or the Indians of the *Lingoa Geral*. The *Puris* ascribe to him the name of *Tupan*, which *Azara* also quotes from the language of

* As little as on the present occasion, did I find any where afterwards confirmed what *M. Freyreiss*, says in the 1st part. S. 208 of *V. Eschwege's Journal of Brazil*; viz. that the savages never eat the flesh of animals which they have killed themselves.

† *Azara*, Voyage, &c. Vol. II. p. 34 in the note.

‡ That the Minister at *Joao Baptista* does not allow that he found any idea of religion among the *Coroados* proves nothing; for as he grants that religious notions exist among the still more uncultivated *Puris*, the *Coroados* must certainly likewise entertain some. It is indeed now ascertained that they fear a powerful supernatural being called *Tupan*. *Von Eschwege's Journal*.

the *Guarani*; another proof of the affinity of this nation with the race of the east coast. Idols are no where seen among the *Tapuyas*, and it is only on the river Amazon, that certain images have been found, which seem to have a connexion with the religious creed of the inhabitants. The greater part of the Indians of South America have an obscure idea of a great deluge, and various traditions of this event, current among them are collected in *Simam de Vasconcellios, Noticias curiosas do Brasil*.

We did not accept the invitation of our kind host to remain all night, but returned to *S. Fidelis*, where, finding the Indians greatly displeased, because we had given so much to the *Puris* and nothing to them, we bought from them, by way of satisfaction, some more bows and arrows. We then visited Pater Joao, before the window of whose house flows the beautiful *Paraiba*, of which there is here a most noble prospect. It is the most considerable river in the *Capitania* of *Rio Janeiro*, containing before its debouchement, near *S. Fidelis*, 72 islands. The stream was at this time at its least height, but in the rainy season, December and January, it overflows its banks.

From this place there are two roads, one to *Minas Geraes*, the other to *Canta Gallo*. This latter place derived its origin from some gold searchers, and remaining long concealed in the great forest, received its name from being at length discovered by the crowing of a cock.* When the Jesuits established themselves in the country around *Canta Gallo*, it was inhabited by a very white race of Indians. The first settlers obtained gold sand, brought in proper cases to the *Paraiba* by the Indians, in exchange for trifling articles.

Having again left *S. Fidelis* we returned to the house of the *Furriel*, whither the purchased boy was also brought, to see what effect it would have upon his relations; but, to our great surprise, no notice was taken on either side, and such complete indifference maintained as I never witnessed in any other tribe. They are not however deficient in affection to their younger children; but the son being deemed his father's property till he can provide for himself, the latter pays little regard to him after that period.

Taking leave of our host and the Indians, we rode down the left bank of the *Paraiba*, in order to gain a knowledge likewise of this side, which is indeed as well cultivated and diversified as the right. We saw great *fazendas* surrounded by noble trees, among which, we found the *Sapucaya*, with its

* Mawe's Travels, Cap. IX. p. 120.

young rose-coloured leaves, and covered with large flowers of a peculiar form in full bloom.* We halted at the house of *Senhor Moraes* who had prepared some subjects of natural history for us. Some Families of *Puris* came meanwhile up, and encamped near the house. These savages have a particular affection for this worthy Planter, who always treats them in a friendly and ingenuous manner. Without regarding the considerable damage which they often occasion to him, he always allows them the pillage of his orange and banana-trees, and of his sugar-cane fields. A man such as he, who possesses their love and respect, will be the first to succeed in withdrawing them from a state of savageness, and uniting them in *Aldeas*, or villages. On our again setting out, he accompanied us through hilly ways down the bank where we had often to pass over difficult places on the steep precipices; we then entered a grand gloomy forest, in which very beautiful butterflies were fluttering about. We found here close to the bank a small island surrounded by steep rocks, on which stood some old trees covered with the bag-formed nests of the *Cassicus hæmorrhous*. Plantations of sugar-cane, rice, and coffee, but of the last not many, and islands, partly cultivated and partly overspread with wood, added variety to the scene. Towards evening we arrived at a considerable *Fazenda*, built on a plain near the river, where, being well received, we resolved to spend the night. On the opposite side of the valley rose a high mountain, and on this the *Morro de Sapeteira* with several tops.

On the following morning, after our horses had been collected on the meadow, we continued our journey, and arrived at mid-day at the *Muriähe*, which, though not broad, is deep and rapid, and occasions much damage in the wet seasons. It rises in the *Serra do Pico* in the territory of the *Puris*, is said to be navigable for seven leagues, and has one *Caxocira*. On its banks there were considerable fazendas, where much sugar is cultivated. A small canoe carried us over the stream, and by evening we reached the spot, where the *Villa de S. Salvador* extends itself on the opposite bank. At this part we found an old Indian village, *Alde de S. Antonio*, which the Jesuits had formed of the *Corulhos*-Indians but which now contains no *Caboclos* among its inhabitants.

* In an essay by Captain *Marlier* in *Von Eschwege's Journal*, S. 113, this tree is improperly called the *Cocus de Sapucaya*; it has nothing in common with Palms.

CHAP. VI.

JOURNEY FROM THE VILLA DE S. SALVADOR TO THE RIVER ESPIRITO SANTO.

*Muribacca—The hostilities of the Puris—Quartel of the Barreiras
Ita pemirim—Villa Nova de Benevente, on the Iritiba—Gora-
raparim.*

ON our arrival at the Villa we made the necessary preparations for our farther journey northward along the coast; engaged two new hunters, and a soldier to act as a guide; and, having taken leave of the commandant, and other inhabitants from whom we had experienced civilities, we left the Villa on the 20th of November, and followed the bank of the *Paraíba* to its conflux with the sea. The town extends to some distance on the bank of the river, and affords a beautiful prospect. The thick mass of roofs, partially overtopped with lofty palms, rises above the stream, here tolerably broad, and constantly crossed by canoes managed by negroes; while the back-ground presents a view of the distant blue mountains.

Our journey was this day very toilsome, partly because our cattle had become wild through too long rest, and partly from the necessity of making openings in the herd enclosures, which both detained us and threw our sumpter-beasts out of their proper order. We saw in this neighbourhood very fine steers; and, indeed, in the Brazils generally, this useful domestic animal is full of flesh and well made. The ox-hides of *Buenos Ayres*, *Monte Video*, *Rio Grande*, and other parts of Portuguese and Spanish America, are famed for their size; and the horns of the cattle are also much larger than they usually are in Europe. Horses are here likewise bred in abundance. The country was variegated and agreeable; and several national curiosities presented themselves; among the rest the bluish Halcyon, (*Alcedo Halcyon*, Linn.) of which we obtained some specimens. About noon we arrived at the house of a *tenente*, who being from home his wife afforded us accommodation; he returned,

however, during the night, and accompanied us in the morning towards *Villa de S. João da Barra*. The weather was excessively hot; the swamps of the woods, nearly dried up, appeared overspread with a thick covering of yellow and whitish butterflies, which were seeking moisture. This concourse of butterflies to wet grounds is a sure harbinger of the hot season; and they may sometimes be seen like clouds swarming about a piece of water. The view of the *Paraíba* was concealed from us by bushes; and the sandy soil proved that we were near the sea. When we had reached the bank of the river, a species of hunt, completely novel to us, presented itself, being that of the *Jacare*, *crocodilus scolcrops*, or alligator of this country. This amphibious animal lives in all the rivers of the Brazils, and especially in marshy places and standing water. The last are easily discovered by certain large-leaved water-plants, *Nymphaea Pontederia*, the branches of which spread their leaves horizontally over the surface. Among these the experienced observer perceives the *Jacare*, peeping its head lurkingly out of the water, though it is sometimes seen in the middle of the stream, especially in dead, slow-running brooks. Thick bushes with slender stems from eighteen to twenty feet in height, belonging to a tree furnished with large woolly heart-shaped leaves, (apparently a *Croton*) very nearly related to the *Tridesmys*, (*Monocia*) covered the shore of the *Paraíba*. Between these it is easy secretly to approach the bank and view the *Jacare*, as it basks with its head above the water, watching its prey. As at first we approached the water without thinking of these creatures, or observing the necessary silence, we heard the noise which they make on diving into the river; and this, inducing us to proceed more carefully to learn whence it arose, we found the *Jacares* to be the cause of it. With a double-barrelled gun, loaded with middling shot, I hit one of these animals in the neck; it sprang up, rolled itself on its back, and then sank down. We destroyed three or four more in the same manner, but had no means of getting any one of them out of the water; our huntsman, however, having killed one in a slow running stream at a little distance from us, we were enabled, on coming up to them, to procure a man and canoe from some neighbouring fisher-huts, who, searching the bottom of the water with a fork, brought up the animal. This *Jacare* was about six feet in length, of a grey greenish colour, with some dark cross stripes, especially on the tail; the under side of the body had a bright yellow unmixed appearance. Greatly rejoiced to possess this beautiful, and to us yet novel creature, we placed it upon one of our beasts of burden; whence it diffused widely around a most disgusting musk-odour. The *Jacare* of the east

coast of Brazil is far inferior in size to the huge crocodiles of the old world, and even of those countries of South America which are situated nearer to the equator.

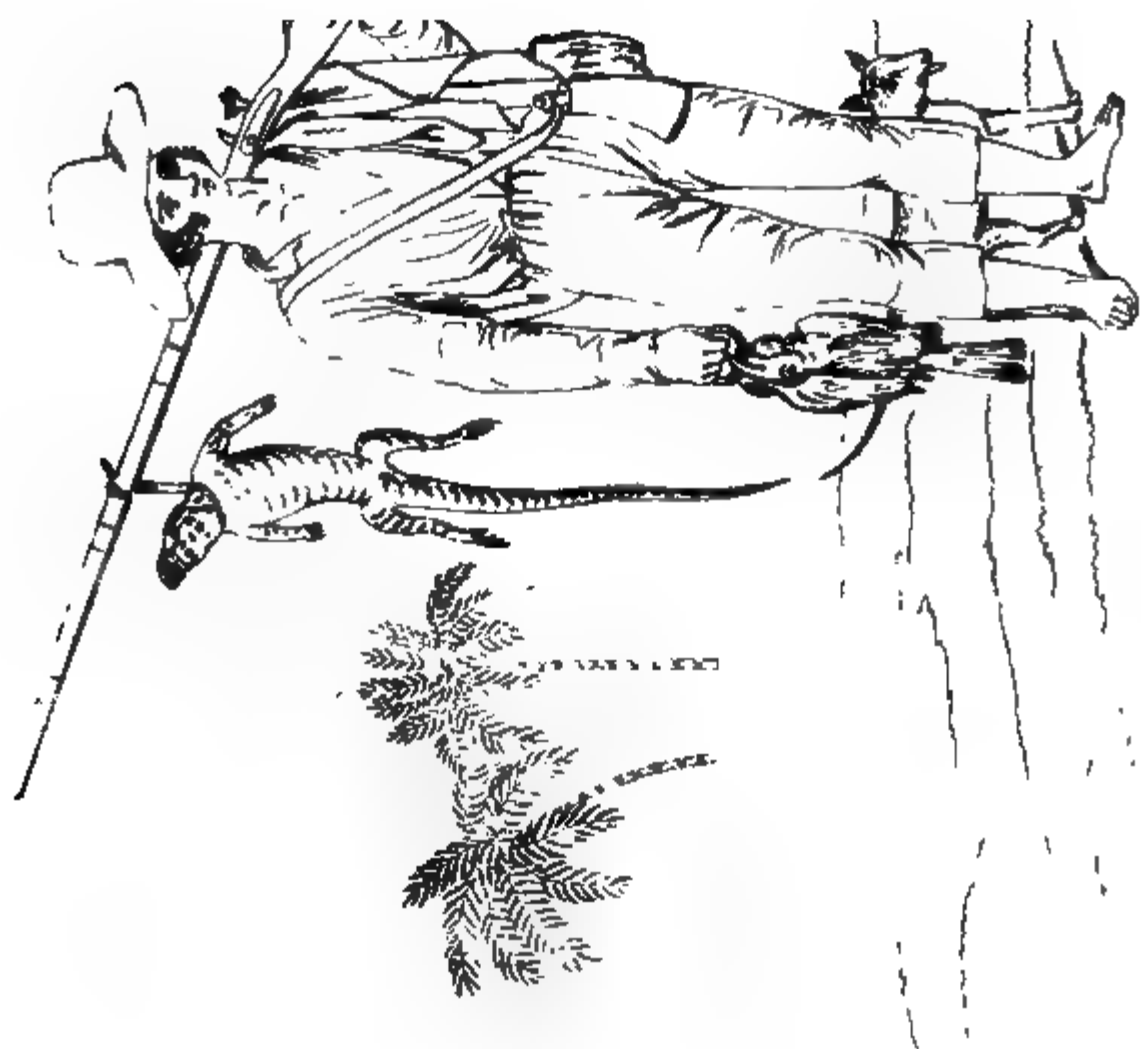
The Paraíba nourishes an extraordinary number of Jacares, and they sometimes serve the negroes for food. Many fables are reported concerning their rapacity; but those mentioned here, being of a species not exceeding eight or nine feet in length, nobody fears; though the fishermen shew the scars of their bites on their feet, and it may be maintained, not without foundation, that a dog swimming over the river was once caught and consumed by them. In the brook where our *Jacare* was killed we could count several of them at a glance, but having shot too widely at some of them we rendered them shy of us and could not obtain another. Not far from the brook we found on the sandy ground bushes of the *Eugenia Pedunculata*, a known beautiful shrub that produces the pleasant-tasted, red, pulpous, four-cornered fruit, which is known in the country under the name of the *Pitanga*. It sits singly on its *pedunculus*, and the entire plant is covered with it; it afforded us an agreeable refreshment. The *Acajú*-tree, (*Anacardium occidentale*, Linn.) was at this period in bloom. At length we arrived at the *Villa de S. João da Barra*, not far from the mouth of the *Paraíba*. By the intervention of our conductor the *tenente*, the *Casa da Camara*, or place of residence for the crown-servants, was assigned to us. It is a commodious house with many good rooms, and a court-yard in which orange and goyava-trees (*Psidium pynferum*, Linn.) are planted, and which were now partly in bloom. *Villa de S. João da Barra* is a place which cannot be compared to *S. Salvador*, having only one church and unpaved streets, with mean single-storied houses, built of wood and clay. But, on the other hand, the river is here navigable for pretty large vessels, brigs, and sumacas, and there exists an immediate communication with the sea: all ships bound for *S. Salvador* must sail past it, though the arm of the river near the place is shallow, and the proper course lies on the farther side of some islands. The inhabitants are almost all sea-faring people and fishermen, to whom the trade of *S. Salvador*, in the produce of the country, affords support. Our hunters, who had gone on before us, had obtained various animals, and had also brought with them alive two of the *Dasypus* kind. These curious creatures are common in the Brazils, and there are various sorts of them. Those which we possessed are here called *Tatu-peba*, but in most parts the common or real *Tatú*, *Tatu verdadeiro*, and afford a very palatable food. During the night we had separated both the animals, putting one of them into a sack, and confining the other in a strong place; the former as we found, on wishing

to feed them in the morning, had scratched a hole in the sack, and worked its escape through the thick mud-wall of the building. We spent two days at *S. Jodo*, one of which was consumed in preparing our *Jacare*. The *Juiz* (judge or burgomaster) supplied us with sailors and four large canoes to transport our baggage across the river, the surface of which was rendered so rough by the wind that small craft would have been in danger of upsetting. We constantly heard the roaring of the sea, while, much lower down the river, we coasted round a pleasant island covered with bushes. Among these were a shrub species of *Cleome*, with large white and yellow tufts of flowers and scarlet stamina; the *Malvacea* from twelve to fifteen feet high, with large flowers of a faint yellow colour; and the *Aminga*, a remarkably high-grown species of *Arum*, (*Arumliniferum*, *Arruda*) with large oval fruit and whitish flowers. We now crossed the second arm of the river and a small canal traversing two islands, in which the water, shaded on all sides by high wood, is completely stagnant, and consequently full of *Jacares*. The *Conocarpus* and *Avicennia*, with their bare-bowed roots springing high out of the stem, formed a curious web on the bank, between which we sometimes saw the *Jacares* basking on old stumps and stones; but the motion of the boat defeated my efforts to shoot them. At the outlet of this canal we found on the banks of the island a number of the blue Halcyon, (*Alcedo Alcyon*, Linn.)

Without making any further discoveries we were obliged to content ourselves with having found two species of the *Fucus*,* which is also met with at *Rio de Janeiro*; and catching in a small narrow Lagoa, a Cormorant, with a bill very similar to our Cormorant, (*Carbo Cormoramus*) of which bird there were large flocks diving about, but they were very shy. Northwards from this place, the coast at some distance from the strand is overgrown with a variety of plants, among which the *Pitangeira*, (*Eugenia Pedunculata*) with its well-tasted fruit; a new species of *Sophora*, with yellow bloom; the hexagonal Cactus, and other species of the same genus, are particularly abundant. Messrs. *Ereyreiss*, *Sellow*, and myself, having hastened on before our *tropa*, reached ere night the only *fazenda Madinga* lying on the sea-shore; where our people, detained by a very narrow channel, did not arrive till morning. We met here the *Correo*, or letter-post, which goes from *Rio* to *Villa de Victoria*, but not farther north; and received letters which furnished us with agreeable conversation for the evening. From *Madinga* we proceeded northwards along the sea-shore, wading through

* *Fucus lendigerus*, (Linn.) and a middle-sort of *Fucus*, *incisi folius*, and *latefolius*, Turn. Hist. Tirc.

Figure 1



deep sand, always wet. This sand-road is pleasant and convenient for the traveller, but the mules and horses unaccustomed to the view and noise of the surge often take fright. A troop proceeding over the smooth white sand at the edge of the azure sea, is, when seen from a distance, an agreeable object; for when the coast has no considerable curves the prospect extends so far that the cattle diminish to points. † On the projecting headlands, where the shore has to sustain the strong shock of the breakers, we observed stones perforated by the water in a most extraordinary manner.

After we had followed this *praya* for some leagues, a path conducted us to *Lagoas* surrounded by high woods. Extreme thirst tormented the whole troop; but the waters of the *Lagoas* were salt from the overflowing of the sea, and two huts, in which we hoped to be able to refresh ourselves, were deserted; the well-tasted *petangas* which grew around in great numbers partly indemnified us, however, for our disappointment. As I was afterwards riding on before our people through the high forest where our way then lay, examining the beautiful plants, and occupying my thoughts upon the *Tapuyas*, who often infest these parts, I suddenly beheld, to my no small astonishment, two brown coloured men standing before me. I was about to secure myself against any probable attack with my gun, but I found them to be lizard-hunters.

The solitary planters of this wilderness are fond of the large species of lizards, which, in the language of the Indians of the east coast, are called *Tein* (*Lucerta Teguirin*, Linn.) They are caught by the aid of dogs trained to the game, which, as soon as they approach a lizard, dart as swift as an arrow into its hole, whence it is dug out by the hunter. The men whom I here saw, being quite naked and tanned from head to foot, might easily have been taken for *Tapuyas*. They carried hatchets, and had with them a brace of large lizards, four feet long including the tail; and assured us that we should reach the *fazenda*, at *Muribacca* where we expected to arrive in less than an hour. We soon after entered into the inclosure which announced the district of this place. In the shady lofty forest we found beautiful plants; the shrubs were highly entwined by the noble *Convolvulus* with azure bells. The *Jus* *

* *Tinamus noctivagus*, a new and hitherto undescribed species of *Tinamus* or *Inambu*. It is less than the *Macuca* (*Tinamus brasiliensis*, Lath) thirteen inches, five lines long; the upper part, dark grey—reddish brown; the back, chesnut brown; the head, strong ash blue—spotted black; the lower back and dropygium, reddish rusty brown, but all these parts of the back are streaked across with dark brown; chin and neck whitish; under part of the neck, ash grey; breast, a lively brownish rust—yellow; belly, paler coloured.

made his loud deep whistle resound in three or four notes he is heard in these immeasurable deserts, at all hours of the day, and even at midnight. The flesh of this bird has a very disagreeable taste, like that of all the rest of his kind which is generally denominated *Tinamus* or *Inambus*. When we had emerged from the forest we found ourselves in extensive newly formed plantations. Here on a height, where ancient trunks of felled trees lay piled, like a barricado, one across another in every direction, a beautiful prospect burst upon the sight of the majestic wilds on the banks of the *Itapabuana*; which, like a vein of silver, issues winding from the dark forests and meanders through a green plain, on which, surrounded by large plantations, the great *fazenda* of Muribecca presents itself.

Immense woods bounded the horizon. The numerous negroes of the plantations stood gazing with astonishment at our troop, which, as it emerged from the wood, seemed like the vision of another world. We first reached *Gutinguti* which bears with Muribecca, the common name of the *fazenda* of *Muribecca*; it formerly belonged to a territory of the Jesuits, nine leagues in length, who founded this settlement; at present it belongs to a company of four proprietors. There are already here three hundred negro slaves, of whom, however, only about fifty are strong able men, all entrusted to a *feitor* (Manager,) by birth a Portuguese, who received us in a very friendly manner. The labour of the slaves, consisting chiefly in rooting up the woods, is here extremely hard. The plantations consist chiefly of mandioca, millet, cotton, and some coffee.

Near *Gutinguti* flows the *Itabapuana*, a small river, which when highest waters the meadows. The Chorography of Brazil calls it improperly *Reritigba*,* which is however the *Benevente*; it rises in the *Serra do Pico*, not far from the sources of the *Muriahé*. The wide woods surrounding *Muribecca* are inhabited by roving *Puris*, who here, and at the distance of a day's journey hence, commit acts of hostility. They are considered, and not without probability, to be the same who live in a good understanding with the planters at *S. Fidelis*. They attacked last *August*, on the *Itabapuana*, the herds of the *fazenda*, and shot, maliciously, thirty head of cattle and a horse. A young negro-boy, who attended them was taken when separated from his armed companions, carried off, and, as it is here declared, killed, roasted, and devoured. It is supposed that they had cut off the arms, and the legs, and the flesh

* This river is marked in several maps by the name of *Compapuan*, and some of the inhabitants call it *Campapoana*, but its real name is as above.

from the body to take with them; for the fleshless trunk and head of the boy were afterwards found. The savages then betook themselves to the impenetrable woods. The roasted hands and feet were also recognized, bearing the marks of teeth. The *feitor* exposed to these injuries had conceived for them an indelible hatred, and declared that he should be happy to shoot even our *Puri*-boy. "It is incomprehensible, added he, that the government does not adopt more efficient measures for the extirpation of these beasts; for it is only necessary to go a little higher up the river and immediately come upon their dwellings." Their vicinity is undoubtedly very disagreeable, but it should be remembered that the planters by their early bad conduct to these people have themselves chiefly to blame. In the first period of settlement, avarice and the thirst of gold destroyed all feelings of humanity in the breasts of the Europeans; and they considered these naked brown men as mere beasts created for their service, as is proved by its having been proposed as a question for argument among the clergy of Spanish America—Whether savages ought to be deemed human beings like the Europeans? To prove that the *Puris* sometimes eat their fallen foes, much testimony is to be found in this country. Pater *Jodo* assured us at *S. Fidelis*, that when he was travelling on the *Itapemirim*, he saw a murdered negro without arms or legs, around which a number of *Urubús* was collected. It has been already observed, that the *Puris* would never confess that they eat human flesh, but, after the authentic proofs which have been adduced, their own confession cannot be brought into account. Even our *Puris* allowed that his kindred tribe place the head of a slain enemy upon a pole and dance round it. Even among the *Coroados* of *Minas Geraes*, it is customary, according to the declaration of M. Freyreiss, to put an arm or foot of the enemy into a pot with liquor which the guests then drink. Our stay at *Muribacca* was very productive of subjects for our collection of natural history. Notwithstanding the badness of the weather our hunters were very diligent and out at every favourable moment.

In the great woods and marshes of the *Itabapuana* the *Anas Moschata*, (*Lin.*) to us a new bird, builds its nest. This beautiful creature, of which the tame race is known in Europe by the name of the Turkey-duck, is distinguishable by the dark red, pimpled skin which surrounds the parts about the eyes and the bill; the entire plumage is black, diversified with green and purple; the shoulders of the wings are, in the old birds, of a snowy white, with the young ones, on the contrary, black. The old cock is very large and heavy, and has rather hard

flesh; the young, on the contrary, are very palatable, and therefore a welcome prey to the sportsman. We Europeans were far inferior to our half naked Indian hunters in overcoming the local obstructions of the grounds; and three of the slaves of the *fazenda*, whom, at their own request, we furnished with ammunition, brought in every evening a great many animals which were then divided. Among these there were many herons, ibises, ducks, (*Anas moschata* and *viduata*), the *Ipecutiri*, of (*Azara*,) or green-shouldered duck, the king-heron (*Gorça real*), a hitherto not fully described, but beautiful species, with a yellowish white body and a pretty blue bill,* and the large and small Egrette with their dazzling white feathers.

The *Itabapuana* furnished us likewise with various curiosities. Messrs. Freyre's and Sellow, on a walk up the river, were gratified with a view of a great company of otters (*Lutra brasiliensis*) *Lontras*, which, without the slightest shew of fear, played snorting and blowing about in the water. The Otter, of Brazil is chiefly distinguished from our European Otter by a somewhat flat compressed tail, which *Azara* also remarks, a character which is not however generally to be recognized in the stuffed specimens, and hence has been overlooked in works on natural history. Their skin is tender and handsome, and in the chief rivers, as in *Rio S. Francisco*, where they are called *Auranna* (*Aurannia*), they attain an immense size. We accidentally obtained one of these otters, which was floating dead on the water, though without any visible cause for its death, and still fresh enough to be added to our collection, and it measured from five to six feet in length.

The woods resounded with the drumming call of the Bear-ape (*Mycetes ursinus*), and with the gurgling voice of the *Saüssú* (*Callithrix personatus*, *Geoffroy*) which are here particularly numerous. Our huntsmen sometimes killed four or five of these handsome apes in a short time, by shooting swiftly in upon them whenever they saw a company of them together; and, while re-loading, some of the party endeavoured to keep the poor creatures in view as they fled over the boughs. The *Sauassu* has not yet been described in any work of natural history. It is prettily designed; the head and the fore-hands are black; the body is of a fallow white—grey brown; the long swaggy tail, of a yellow reddish cast. Many of these apes carried their young on their backs, and we found that they were easily reared and became very tame. Among the birds, we discovered an entirely new species of the wood-

* *Ardea tricolor* Latham, or Heron blanc a calotte noir Buffon—Sonini.

pecker which I call *Picus melanopterus*. All the plumage is white except the wings, back, and part of the tail, which are black, and the eye is surrounded by a bare orange-yellow skin.

The two huntsmen, whom we engaged at Campos, had been sent forward to the *Barra* of the *Itabapuana* to hunt for us there, and rejoin us at *Muribacca*; and, as the time assigned to them was long past, and they had our best arms in their possession, our anxiety lest they should abscond from us was not small. We manned a canoe, therefore, with our people in all secrecy; and these falling down the river to its conflux with the sea, surprised the unsuspecting huntsmen, took our arms from them, and dismissed them.

The journey northwards, from the *Itabapuana* required some foresight, as a tract of six or eight leagues to the river *Itapemirim* must be traversed where the Puris have always shewn themselves hostilely disposed. As they had consequently committed a number of frightful murders in this district, it was found necessary to establish here a military post, the *Quartel*, or *Destacamento das Barreiras*. The *feitor* of *Muribacca* resolved to conduct us himself to this post. We proceeded through the high natural forest, across a variable country open and sandy, and marked with frequent traces of the Antas (*Tapirus Americanus*,) and the Deer; and reached, at last, near a high wooden cross, the firm sea shore, where we beheld a wide, extending, but gentle inlet, finishing at a great distance in a headland, and there it was, that on the elevated coast the *Quartel* appeared. We were well armed; twenty guns were ready to be discharged in case of attack, and many of our people had prepared cartridges for themselves, that they might load the more speedily. The soldiers of the *Destacamento* are accustomed to go forward to meet strangers, when they perceive, from a distance, a troop advancing on the white sand of the *Praya*; and thus we soon fell in with a patrol of six men, chiefly negroes and mulattoes, despatched to meet us by the officer, after we had marched along the coast for an hour. About noon the troop reached the *Quartel*, where the commanding officer (*Alferes*,) received us very hospitably. This post consists of an officer and twenty soldiers from the militia. Two houses are here erected immediately over the sea, and some Mandioca and Millet-plantations been laid out, whence the soldiers gain their support. The coast here presents high perpendicular cliffs (*Barreiras*,) on which the *Quartel* being built, it enjoys a fine prospect of the sea and of the coast, north and south, so that approaching, troops are visible from it at a great distance. On the land side a dark natural forest terminates directly at the dwellings

of the Palisadoes. At this place, two months before the present period, i. e. in August, the Puris, coming to plunder the plantations of the soldiers, ventured to engage with them having posted themselves behind the bushes. The result of this conflict, on the side of the soldiers, was the loss of one man and two dogs; but of the Puris three men were carried off, either dead or wounded, by their countrymen. Since then the post has been undisturbed, and the savages have not again shewn themselves on the coast. As trophies of this event, the collected arrows of the *Tapuyas* are preserved in the *Quartel*. The officer commanding here keeps always a guard of three men at the mouth of the river *Itabapuana*. This detachment remains there for an unlimited period, and had already been nearly a year, a truly melancholy station in such a wilderness, where even the food is bad, and the dwellings consist only of mud-huts covered with palm-leaves! The house of the officer is indeed commodious, and has several chambers; but the decayed roof is not sufficient to withstand the penetrating rain. The origin of the establishment of the *Quartel* was the murder of six settlers in the vicinity of this spot, lower down on the sea shore. Seven persons, having been at church, were returning from the *Itapemirim*, about six years ago, when they were attacked by the *Puris*, and five or six of them were butchered. One man only was fortunate enough to escape; a young girl endeavoured also to get away by instant flight, but she was overtaken and cruelly murdered. It was afterwards found that the arms and legs had been cut off from their bodies, as also the flesh from the trunks. Soon afterwards the *Puris* surprised a soldier and killed him. We received, at the *Quartel das Barreiras*, much interesting information from the commanding officer relative to the *Puris*. He assured us, among other things, that these savages actually wish to be allowed to live in peace with the Portuguese, which fully coincides with their desire expressed to M. Moraes at S. Fidelis. Such a pacification would be extremely advantageous to this coast; for, as the inhabitants are much scattered, they are constantly exposed to the cruel attacks of these insatiable barbarians, and the country is in danger of being depopulated, if other policy is not adopted. The savages appear as lords of these woods, now suddenly at one place, and then at another, and vanish again with equal rapidity, as was experienced in the attack at *Ciri*. They know all the recesses of the forests, are prudent and crafty, and intimately acquainted with the weak points of the Portuguese settlements; and many of them also understand a little of the language of the latter. ~

On the Sabbath day, held at *Barreiras*, the woods were explored, on which occasion the soldiers accompanied and guided us. Our entire booty was confined to some ducks, (*Anas viduata*,) and an interesting new bird,* belonging to the family of the *Cotingas*. Near the coast swam the great *Tartarugas*, (sea-tortoise,) which in the spring seeks the shore, and raises its round thick head slowly above the surface of the water. The night was accompanied by a violent storm, and the rain descended in torrents, from which the open roof of our abode hardly afforded us the means of sheltering ourselves.

From the negligence which prevails in keeping up this only road along the coast, and where neither bridges nor passable roads are formed, we made, on the following dull day, a very unpleasant journey, having run the hazard of losing our best mules in a place close to the huts of the *Quartel*. As we had still to proceed four leagues in the district disturbed by the *Puris*, we provided for a good close order of march, and advanced slowly under military protection, on a firm and even sand-flat, along the high ridges of the shore, which consist of yellow, or white and bay-coloured loam,† and of strata of iron-veined sand-stone. In the defiles and on the heights of the coast, the country is every where surrounded by thick woods, far into which no one dare to go on account of the savages: we, for our parts, had nothing to fear, though our people regarded with horror the place where the *Puris* had immolated their six victims. After the lapse of some hours we reached, on a low part of the coast, the *Povoacao Ciri*, which is now quite deserted.

The *Puris* made a sudden incursion here in August last, murdered in the first house three persons, and spread such a terror, that all the inhabitants immediately fled. Two houses only on the other side of a small *Lagoa* continue still occupied, and their armed inhabitants consider themselves safe. The savages, on the occasion alluded to, returned into the woods with the iron utensils, and provisions which they found in the houses. After this attack, the *Serjent Major* of *Itapemirim* made an excursion with fifty armed men, into the woods to discover the *Puris*, and found a convenient path, broad enough for a horseman, which led to some of their habitations, and thence farther into the

* *Procrias Melanocephalus*, the head deep black, with one eye, the iris of which is vermillion-coloured; all the upper parts green-finch coloured; the under parts yellowish green, with dark stripes; eight inches seven lines long.

† According to the researches of Professor *Hausman* of Gottingen, this fossil, which constitutes a principal material of the greater part of this coast of Brazil, belongs to the hardened *Steinmark*, with which it agrees in all its characteristics, and to which also the Saxon *Wunder-Erde* is referred.

forest, but he met with no Indians, and was obliged, for want of provisions, to turn back without success.

On the other side of the *Lagoa* in *Ciri*, near the above-named huts, our four soldiers took leave of us. We now proceeded from the sea and entered a fine wood, where here and there we encountered plantations. These places are, no doubt, subject to the depredations of the savages; but all the inhabitants are sufficiently armed. The wood became continually more beautiful; the high slender stems wove with their boughs a thick shade, so that the path, overgrown on all sides, appeared similar to a narrow harbour-walk. On the higher, dry boughs of the ancient lofty trees, we saw a great number of Falcons seated, watching for their prey, particularly the bad coloured (*Fulco Blumbeus*, Linn.) which is here very common. The white Milan, with the Fork-tailed Falcon (*Falco Furcatus*, Linn.) one of the most beautiful of the birds of prey belonging to the country, flew also in abundance over the wood.

We should have had excellent sport at the place but for the mosquitoes, by which our hands and faces were immediately covered, while our mules and horses suffered exceedingly from the stinging-flies, (*Matuccas*)* We soon arrived at open meadow lands, where bogs and *Lagoas* swarmed with ducks, mews and herons. At noon we gained the river *Itapemirim*, on the south bank of which lies the *Villa de Itapemirim*. It is seven leagues distant from *Murihecca*,† a small and still new place, and has some good houses, but can only be styled a village. The inhabitants are partly poor planters, who have their establishments in the neighbourhood, and partly fishermen, with a few mechanics. The captain commandant, or commandant major of the district of *Itapemirim*, usually resides at his adjoining *fazenda*; in the town itself lives a serjeant major of the provincial militia. The river, in which some brigs lie, is narrow; but it allows some trade in the produce of the plantations, consisting of sugar, cotton, coffee, rice, and some maize and wood from the forest. A fall of rain in the mountains gave us an example of the dangerous and rapid floods which take place in the rivers of the Torrid Zone; for the stream, on a sudden, almost overflowed its banks; it is, however, always somewhat more considerable than the *Itabapuana*. The hills from which it flows are conspicuous at a distance by their remarkable, indented, conical summits; and are called *Serra de Itapemirim*. They are known on ac-

* *Southey* writes improperly *Muluca*.

† *Lehre* mentions this country under the name of *Tapemiry*. See his *Travels*, p. 45.

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count of the formerly established gold-works. *Minas de Castello* is situated near them, at about five days' journey up the river. But this country was so molested by the *Tapuyas*, that the few portuguese settlers residing there abandoned it about thirty years ago, and came down to the *Villa* and its neighbourhood. Up the stream, on the *Itapemirim*, still dwell the barbarous hordes of the *Tapuyas*, but particularly that of the *Puris*; and, as the *Mineiros* affirm, a yet wilder race, to which they give the name of *Maracas*. The massacre at *Ciri* is imputed by some to these last savages. Considerably down the river roam the *Botocudos*, the true tyrants of this solitude. It is related, that once, after loud shrieks and great clamour, proceeding from the neighbouring wood, had been heard, at a *fazenda*, situated on the river, some wounded *Puris* came there and sought protection of the Portuguese, informing them that the *Botocudos* had fallen upon them and killed a great number of their tribe. From all this it appears at least evident, that these woods are filled with hostile, independent savages. The *Tapuyas*, according to the current report on the *Itapemirim*, destroyed, about fifteen years ago, forty-three Portuguese settlers. Nevertheless, a way has been opened through this unsafe wilderness, extending from the *Minas de Castello* to the boundaries of the *Minas Geraes*, a distance of twenty-two leagues. The Capitan Mor of the district received us, on the production of our passports, very politely, and immediately supplied us in our dwelling with a number of the necessaries of life; as wood, water, and other requisites, for for which we returned him our personal thanks at his *fazenda*. This estate lies on the river, surrounded by fine meadows, where cattle of every description feed.

After a stay of some days we left this place. At a small distance from the town the river is crossed near its *embouchure*. In the swamps we found in great abundance the *Jatropha urens*, which affected the naked feet of our hunters more than the most pungent nettle; for the small prickles of these plants penetrate even through the clothes. In the low marshy lands, and on the river-banks of the whole coast, the beautiful blood-red *Tijé* (*Tnagara Brasilia*, Linn.) is very common; on the contrary, it is seldom found on the mountains and in the interior woods. At the mouth of the *Itapemirim* we found large flocks of a species of Mew, (*Larus*) and also Sea-swallows, (*Sterna*); Plovers, (*Charadrius*) and Sand-pipers, (*Tringa*) stocked the coast; on the sand of which the little night-swallows (*Caprimulgus*)*

* Probably the same bird which Vieillot calls *Caprimulgus Popetui*. See *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux de l'Amerique septentr.* Vol. I. Tab. 24.

also abound, and a larger sort are found in the paths of the woods. According to Marcraf, the Brazilians call this bird, in the country of Pernambuco, *Ibiyau*; on the coast which I travelled over they are, however, called *Bacuraú*.

From the intenseness of the heat we suffered much thirst, for which our young *Puri* taught us a remedy. It consisted in breaking out the stiff middle leaves of the *Bromelia* shrub, in the corners of which much good matter collects from the rain and dews; and catching this water by quickly applying the leaves to the mouth. We found, during the day, on the projecting promontories of the coast, stony hills, on which a vast number of wild palms were growing; the *Hæmatopus*, the Plover, and the Sand-piper were every where growing.

We took up our quarters for the night at the *Fazenda de Aga*, close to which extend great woods, filled with wild animals of every kind. A large Ounce, (*yaguarete felis onca*, Linn.) had the night before killed a mare belonging to the proprietor, and hunters were still out searching in vain for the predatory beast. The *Morro de Aga*, an isolated mountain, consisting of rocks with naked rugged sides, and surrounded with lofty hills, rises out of the neighbouring woods. I here for the first time heard with astonishment the frog called *ferreiro* (smith) by the Portuguese, from its voice being similar to the noise made by a copper or tin worker when he uses his hammer. Another object of natural curiosity was a thick bush of a hitherto unseen species of *Heliconia*, which always bends downwards the stalks of its flowers, at a certain height, and then raises them again with the point upwards; many flowers with scarlet-red sheaths cover the curving part of the stem; this magnificent plant forms a perfect arbour. The *Praya* contains here a few species of double-shelled muscles and snails.

Not far from *Agá* we reached the *Povoação Piuma*, or *Ipiuma*, inhabited by some Indian families, where a strong rivulet, only navigable for canoes, flows into the sea. There was also here a wooden bridge, provided against the swelling of the stream, 300 paces long; which is a rarity in this country. The banks of this rivulet are thickly overgrown, and the water, like that of the greatest part of the forest-streams and little rivers of this country, has a dark coffee-brown colour. There are found in the valleys at this place, and also on the dry heights, frequent thickets of a strong fan-reed, from sixteen to eighteen feet high, which bears on a somewhat compressed stalk a beautiful fan of long lancet-formed leaves entirely edged; these grow almost out of one point, and from the middle of them shoots a long smooth shaft, on which the flowers hang down from above like a banner. This fine species of reed is here called *Ubá*;

farther northward, on *Rio Grande de Belmonte*, it is named *Banaa brava*; and the natives use it in the fabrication of their arrows. Such thickets often extend over whole districts. In a small pleasant vale we found a wood of magnificent shady trees, as the *Cecropia*, *Cocos*, *Melastomia*, among which flows the dark brown brook *Iriri*, adorned with a picturesque bridge of the trunks of trees. Toucans, and the Maitacca, (*Psittacus menstruus*, Linn.) are here numerous. In the hollow of a tree we found also an immense bush-spider, (*Aranha Caranguecheira*.) We rode next through a hilly country, diversified by woods and meadows, and arrived in the evening at the last height on the river *Benevente*; where we were suddenly enchanted with a beautiful prospect. At the foot of a hill on the northern bank stood *Villa Nova de Benevente*,—to the right appeared the light blue surface of the deep, and to the left the river *Benevente*, which spreads itself out like a sea, but all around is dark lofty wood, beyond which rocky mountains bound the horizon.

Villa Nova de Benevente was built on the river *Iritiba*, or properly *Reritigba*,* by the Jesuits, who collected here a multitude of converted Indians. Their church, and the monastery immediately connected with it, still exist: the last, where we had our residence, is made into the *Casa da Camara*. It stands on a rise above the Villa, and commands, particularly from the northern balcony, a grand view. The sun set in the ocean which lay before us, and changed its wide expanse into a sea of fire; the bell of the monastery tolled loudly to the *Ave Maria*, and every head was uncovered for evening prayer;—silence reigned in the extensive plains, and the voices of the tamus and other wild animals resounding across the river alone interrupted the stillness of the night. A number of pretty little brigs lay in the harbour, and led us to the false conclusion that no unimportant trade was carried on, but we were soon corrected. There is here very little traffic, and these ships had only sought shelter from the wind. The Jesuits had at first collected here 6000 Indians, and formed the most considerable *aldeia* on the coast; but of these the greater part, driven away by the severe regal services and by slavish treatment, dispersed themselves into other countries; so that at present the whole district of *Villa Nova*, including the Portuguese, does not contain more than eight hundred souls, of whom six hundred are Indians. But notwithstanding the diminution of inhabitants, the trade has since increased; for the exports twenty years ago

* On F. den's maps the river is called *Iritibu*; on Arrowsmith's, *Iritiba*; but the villa is not marked on either.

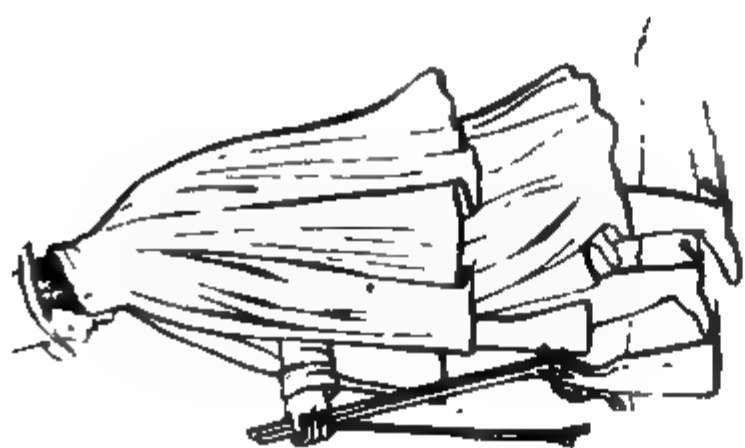
did not amount here to more than 100,000 reis, (about 317 florins), and are now risen to 2000 cruzados, without calculating the exported sugar. The independent wild Indians, particularly the Goaytacases and the tribes of the Tapuyas, under which are comprehended the tribes of the Puris and Maracas, used formerly to harass this colony on the Iritiba very much; but the priest assured us, that these wild hordes had never again appeared, since the institution of an annual festival with processions and devotional exercises, celebrated on a certain day throughout all the district to the Holy Ghost. Villa Nova is itself a small place with some well built houses, but it became more lively on the Sunday, as all the inhabitants of the neighbouring country assembled to attend mass.

The commanding capitam (Captain) of the provincial militia in this district belongs to the regiment of *Espirito-Sancto*, whose chief, Colonel Falção, is at Capitania. He came on Sunday to visit us, and had the politeness, in consequence of our inquiring about good hunters, to send some people acquainted with the nature of the grounds; and we found occasion, besides these, to engage a skilful Indian. These men procured us many interesting animals, and among the rest several *Saïassu*-apes, which cause their voice to be frequently heard here on the banks of the river. Two of our huntsmen found in the wood a large venemous serpent; it lay tranquilly in a deep hole where it could not be easily at got; one of the hunters therefore mounted up a low tree, and thence killed it. This handsome serpent, which is called in the country *Curucucu*, attains from eight to nine feet in length, and a considerable thickness, and has a yellow reddish colour, with a row of dark brown rhomboidal speckles on the back. The form, scales, and tail, shews that it is the great viper of the woods of *Cayenne* and *Surinam*, described, though rather incorrectly, by *Daudin*, under the name of *Lachesis*. * Its bite is much dreaded, and said to cause death in six hours.

From the *Iritiba* we next came to the river *Goaraparim*. Marshy meadows and morasses extend themselves almost to the sea, groves vary the scene, and noble forests sometimes delight the traveller. Here the sea, the hilly coast of which is covered with woods, is continually heard to roar.

At one place we reached a most beautiful little wood entirely consisting of *Airi-palms*.

* Marcgraf mentions this serpent under the name *Curucucu*; but in latter times, Counsellor Merrem, one of our most celebrated Reptiliologists, in the first book of the *Annals of the Watteraun Society, for Natural History*, has described and sketched an imperfect skin of this creature.



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Strong young trees of this description rose on high with dark brown upright trunks surrounded by rings of prickles: their handsome feathered leaves screened the moist ground from the noontide burning sun; others of less age, and as yet without stems, composed the underwood, over which the decayed palms, withered and rotten, inclined like mutilated pillars. On these trees, thus falling into decay, the yellow-crested woodpecker (*Picus flavescens*, Linn.) or that beautiful species with red head and neck, (*Picus robustus* *) solitarily flapped its wings. The flowers of the fiery coloured Heliconia covered the lower shrubs, around which a fine creeper (*Convolvulus*) bearing the most superb azure blue bells, wound itself. The wood creeping plants presented themselves in this magnificent wood, in all their extraordinary windings and forms. Struck with wonder we admired the sublimity of this wilderness, which tucane, Pavos (*Pie a gorge ensanglantée*, Azara), Parrots and other birds alone animated. Our huntsmen shot in all directions of the way, and filled their bags with booty. On the other side of the wood we arrived at the *Povoação de Obú*, a few fishermen's huts at the distance of 2 leagues from *Villa Nova*. A *Povoação* (Village without a Church) named *Miaipé* lodged the *tropa* for the night. We had taken up our quarters in a highly situated house, where there were also other men, who regarded our *Puris* with astonishment, and observed all his motions. We were well received in this commodious abode, and had a large chamber, on the floor of which a clear fire was lighted, that soon dried our wet apparel. Not far from *Miaipé* lies the *Villa de Goaraparim*, whither a road leads crossing some rocky cliffs projecting into the sea. Near the *Villa* a narrow arm of the sea flows with salt water up the land, bearing the name of *Goaraparim*, and generally described as a river.

The *Villa* has 1600 inhabitants, the whole district about 3000; this place is a little larger therefore than *Villa Nova de Benevente*. The streets are not paved, except at the houses, and there badly; these small buildings have in general only one story. The place is on the whole poor, yet there are some considerable fazendas in the neighbourhood. One of these having 400 Negroes is called fazendas de Campos; and another with 200 Negroes *Engenho Velho*. On the death of the proprietor of the former, an universal disorder arose; the slaves revolted and ceased to work. A Priest informed the heir in Portugal of the state of his possession, and offered to restore

* This name was assigned by the naturalists at Berlin, after Azara described this bird in the 4th Vol. of his travels, p. 6. Where he calls it *Charpentier a huppe et cou rouge*.

order, provided an interest in the property were secured to him; the conditions were granted; but the ringleaders of the slaves murdered him in his bed, armed themselves and founded a republic of blacks in the woods, not easily to be molested. They used the fazenda for themselves, though they did not work much, but lived free and hunted in the forest. With the slaves of this fazenda, those of *Engenho Velho* also made themselves independent, and a company of soldiers could effect nothing against them. These negroes employ themselves much in seeking some superior productions of this wood, as the odoriferous Peruvian and *Copaiva Balsam* (*Oleo de Copauba*), and also another species. An incision is made in the tree, and on the discharge of the sap, the wound is covered with cotton, which imbibes the resin. There is a belief current in regard to these operations, that the tree must be cut at the full of the moon, and the sap collected at her wane. The negroes bring these products for sale in small wild cocoa-nut shells, the opening of which they close with wax. This balsam is so fine, that in the heat it escapes thro' the shell of the nut. More healing virtues are however ascribed to it in the country than it deserves. *

The wild negroes of both the fazendas receive strangers kindly, and shew themselves by their conduct to be very different from the runaway slaves in *Minas Geraes* and other places; who are there stiled from the villages (*Quilombos*) which they form in the woods, *Gayambolos*. These, especially in *Minas*, fall upon travellers, rob them, and often kill them; hence particular hunters are there employed with the name of *Capitães do mato*†, whose sole office is to go out and kill and take the blacks or *Gayambolos* in their lurking places.

The commanding officer of the militia at *Goaraparim* gave us a polite reception, and assigned a house to us for our night-quarters. We sailed in the morning past the villa along the river, flowing in a most picturesque direction between pale-green groves of *Mangue*-trees, (*Conocarpus*), bounded by woody, verdant heights, and having on its northern bank a fishing village. We then rode through large swamps filled with beautiful violet-blossomed *Rexea*-bushes, and over hills nobly adorned with *Airi* and other palms, the numerous varieties of which afforded endless occupation to our curiosity, till we arrived in the extensive *Uba* or Fanreed-grounds near the

* See *Murray apparatus medicaminum* Vol IV. p 52.

† In *Pernambuco* they are styled *Capitães do Campo*. See *Koster's Travels* p 399.

Perro Cao, and crossed the little river by a wooden bridge. We now followed the course of the sea shore to *Ponta da Fruta*, where several dwellings, situated in a copse, presented the appearance of a scattered *Povoacao*. The inhabitants, colonists from Portugal, and negroes, received us well. They support themselves with difficulty by their plantations and fishing. Not far from *Ponta da Fruta*, on a distant mountain, is seen the monastery of *Nossa Senhora da Penha*, near *Villa do Espirito-Santo*, which lay about five leagues off. Woods, meadows, and groves, are interspersed with large marshes of reeds; where numerous white and other herons resort, and many new plants invite the stranger. On the grass of the sandy bank of a lake, I found, in great numbers, the *Cipo-serpent*,* which has its name from the slender, flexible nature of its form. It is of a dark olive-green, yellow on the under side, five or six feet long; and though perfectly harmless, the Brazilians, who hate all snakes, destroy it wherever they meet it. I found here the skeleton of an immense individual of this species in a corrupted state. At the little river *Jucú*, over which is a long ruinous bridge, we found on the sea a fishing village, rode through a beautiful primitive forest, and, finally, reached *Villa do Esperito-Santo*, on the river of the same name.

CHAPTER VII.

RESIDENCE IN THE CAPITANIA AND JOURNEY TO RIO DOCE.

Villa velha do Espirito Santo, Cicade de Victoria,—Barra de Jucu—Araçatiba—Coroaba—Villa Nova de Almeida—Quartel do Riacho—Rio Doce—Linhares—and the Botocudos inveterate enemies.

THE river *Espirito Santo*, which discharges itself into the sea with an impetuous force, hath its rise amongst the mountains on the confines of the Capitania of *Minos Gerães*, and winds itself in many meanderings through the vast primitive forests of *Tapuyas* downwards; on the borders of which

* *Coluber bicarinatus*: probably a new species chiefly distinguished by a row of keel-like scales on both sides of the back.

the *Puris* and *Botocudos* alternately range, and issue from the foot of those lofty mountains which stretch themselves out in a lengthened chain to the sea; amongst which the most conspicuous is the *Monte de Mestre Alvaro*.

On the summit of a high hill covered with trees in the immediate vicinity of the town is the celebrated monastery of *Nossa Senhora da Penha*, one of the richest in the Brazils, dependant on the Abbey of *St. Bento* in *Rio de Janeiro*, wherein is a miraculous image of the blessed virgin, heretofore resorted to by an immense concourse of pilgrims, although now only two priests are maintained there.

The town of *Espirito Santo* consists of mean, low, clay huts, unpaved and evidently falling into decay, since the building of *Villa de Victoria*, in a more pleasant situation about half a league higher on the north bank of the river a small, pretty, pleasant spot, which has latterly been much improved. The *Cidade de Nossa Senhora da Victoria* is a very neat, agreeable place, composed of respectable houses, built after the old Portuguese fashion, having balconies with wooden lattices before the windows. The streets are well paved, and there is an immensely large princely edifice, the Jesuit's convent, where the Governor resides, who has at his disposal a company of regular soldiers. Besides several monasteries, there are one church, four chapels, and a hospital. The city is nevertheless dull, and possesses few attractions to invite strangers to visit it from curiosity.

The coasting trade is however not inconsiderable, a number of *Lanchas*, *Smacks* and other vessels are constantly here, and *Frigates* and *Ships* of the greatest burthen can sail up to the town; the *Fazendas* in the neighbourhood produce a great quantity of *Sugar*, *Mandiocca flour*, *Rice*, abundance of *Bananas*, and other produce which are sent coastwise.

A number of forts defend the entrance of this magnificent river *Espirito Santo*, one of which is placed immediately at the mouth, a little higher up is a second battery, faced with stone, mounting eight pieces of iron ordnance; further on, between this and the town, situated on a hill is a third battery, mounted with seventeen or eighteen guns, besides others of smaller calibre.

The town is a pleasant and hilly spot, somewhat irregular but very agreeable, the river flowing past, and is on all sides enclosed with lofty mountains; in some places fields exposed to view, but frequently rugged, bare and over-run with the reed-cane and weeds. The brilliant mirror of the wide expanding river, is adorned with numerous verdant islands, whilst inland the eye is delighted in every direction wheresoever it roves.

Persons unaccustomed to the climate are sometimes subject to fever, which is attributed to the water of the place, but it may with equal propriety be ascribed to the quality of the food and influence of the atmosphere; the free use of cinchona and the fresh exhilarating sea breeze at Barra de Jucá speedily produce convalescence, and effect a cure. Barra de Jucá is a small fishing town, situate at the mouth of the small river Jucá, which falls here into the sea, passing by the considerable fazendas at Coroba and Aracatiba. The houses of the fishermen are scattered about the town, in the middle of which is a swing bridge over the river, leading to the house of colonel Falcão, who has many fazendas in the vicinity, the most considerable of which is Aracatiba four leagues distant.

The woods afford good sport to those who are fond of the chase. A variety of animals are found in them, particularly a new delicate species of the *Gaculus Leucocephalus* of Geoffrey, which unite in small herds, and feed on nuts and a sort of wild cocoa palm; the porcupine; the *Cony* of Azara; and others. Amongst the birds, which are abundant in these extensive forests, is the superb blue *Nectarinea Cyanea*, (the *Certhia Cyanea* of Linnaeus) and the various species of Manakin *Pipra Parola*, the *Erythrocephala*, and *Leucocilla*; besides one, a non-descript which I denominated *Strigilata*,* a new beautiful kind of *Tanager*† and an exquisitely splendid species of the *Procnia Cyanotropa*,‡ whose feathers vary in colour as the light is changed in its inclination.

These small beautifully feathered Manakins may always be expected to be found on a certain tree; the blackberries of which they make their favorite nourishment, and delight to feed upon. Roe-bucks are also met with in great abundance, but in order to take with more facility such large and scarce animals which shun the neighbourhood of the towns, it is best to proceed two or three leagues farther up, in the wide spreading woods that border on the Fazenda of Aracatiba. The way is at first very agreeable, although in the beginning it lies through swampy loose sands with a great many water plants. The ascent is hilly, through thick brakes of young cocoa palms, and other lofty trees. A reedy grass covers the

* *Pipra Strigilata*, smaller than *Pipra Erythrocephala*, crown of the head, deep red, cody olive green, belly whitish, streaked with a redish brown.

† *Tanager Elegans*, head bright yellow; back black, with yellow streaks; with shining greenish sky blue under the neck and breast; the sides and belly green.

‡ *Procnia Cyanotropa*, which when held against the light, the body seems wholly a splendid sky blue; if turned from it, then it appears a shining light green; the rump, chin, and throat black; the under part of its body white. — In the Berlin museum is one, called *Procnia Ventralis*.

open spots, in which the steel-glittering finch, the *fringilla nitens* of Linnæus, shows itself in great abundance; an in-offensive large snake of the genus *Coluber*, which the natives know by the name of *Caninana*, is frequently to be met with, and which is faithfully described in Merrem's Natural History of amphibious Animals.

The great forest of *Araçatiba* presents a frightful wilderness, resounding with the screaming of parrots, and the noise of the *Sauassu* apes. Cipos and other strikingly peculiar kinds of shrubs interweave their giant-like stems in this impervious thicket; the splendid flowers of the reed cane, the down hanging tendrils, and the tree-embracing fern shrub all flourish here in luxuriant growth; and every where in moist places the young cocoa palms adorn the underwood, while here and there the *Cecropia peltata* exhibits its silver-grey slender stem. After pervading this deep embowering gloom so long, the light suddenly burst upon us, and we were most agreeably surprised to find ourselves at the foot of the lofty Morro de Araçatiba, with thick forests, on one side, waving their heads on towering rocks on another side. The eye is relieved from the effects of the broad glare by pleasant verdant plains, whilst in the distance are descried the two small turrets which decorate the seat of the fazenda de Araçatiba. This estate employs four hundred negro slaves; in the neighbourhood are two thriving plantations, particularly of sugar-canes. It is the most considerable fazenda we have observed in our whole journey; the building has an extensive façade two stories high, and a church; the negro-huts, with the sugar-works and buildings for the husbandmen, lie at a small distance from the house, at the foot of a hill. Somewhat about a league hence, in a wild uncultivated spot encircled with a forest towards the river Jucú, is a second fazenda called Coroaba, belonging to another proprietor. The government has at St. Agostinho about forty families, which have come to settle here from the islands of Terceira, St. Michael, and some few from Fayal. These people live here in the greatest poverty, and complain bitterly that they had been most cruelly deceived by specious promises, none of which had been fulfilled.

Gladly would we have remained at Coroaba, but the impossibility to accommodate so large a party, made it necessary for the present, to stop at Barra de Jucú. We had also a very important object in view, which we expected at Capitania (so is the district of Espirito Santo commonly called for brevity) viz. to send to Caravellas in order that our travelling companions might not be put to any inconvenience; to prevent which, M. Freyreiss and myself determined immediately to

undertake the journey to Caravellas, that we might there regulate our affairs.

Our journey was quickly arranged; and a small well armed party accompanying us, we quitted Barra de Jucú, and that part of our troop which we left behind, returned to their occupations at Coroaba. We arrived at Pedra d'Agoa, standing on a hill by the side of the river, in order to be conveyed over the Espirito Santo with our two saddle and four pack-horses. At this place we observed on the other side of the ridge of mountains, a very remarkable rock, the *Jucutucoara*, not far distant from villa de Victoria. This immense block of stone is covered with pale green hillocks, some of which are clothed with small shrubs, and resembles very much the celebrated Dent de Jaman, in the Pays de Vaud. Fronting this, near the river, lives the friendly Fazenda, Rumao, facing whose house is the Pigeon island, (Ilha des Pombas) in the middle of the river. The view of the heights from this side of the river, whence *lanchas* and fishermen's canoes sail, is delightful.

The following morning our canoes made their appearance, and conducted us over the river, one thousand paces broad at this part. Our way was through a valley which ran in various directions, and led immediately amongst the mountains, of which *Jucutucoara* forms one of the most important. Near to this is a pretty white house, a fazenda belonging to a M. Pinto. We passed the small river Muruim, over which there is a wooden bridge, and then after we had rode through some swamps we reached the sea coast. Upon turning the eye the extensive chain of mountains of Espirito Santo is distinctly seen, but as soon as we come to that part betwixt the first distant high mountains, they are no longer visible. Three leagues distant from Capitania, we took up our quarters for the night in the small village of Praya Molle.

There are several houses scattered about in this place, the inhabitants of which are very fond of music and dancing; one played the (*violas*) guittar, and the young people danced the *Baduca*, in which the body undergoes various contorsions, beating the time with their hands, and snapping two fingers of each hand alternately, in the manner of the Spanish castanets. Although the taste for dancing and music is general throughout these parts, yet they evince no disposition for the pleasures of the table, at least in most places. From Praya Molle, we arrived the following morning at the village of Carapebucú; all the way from this place, the forests extended forwards to the sea, crowning every bay, and ornamenting every point of land with waving verdure.—Already invited by the warmth of the approaching summer, these woods abounded with

butterflies, particularly the *Nymphales*. Here too we found the curious purse-formed nest, of a small bird of the genus *Todus*, or flat-bill, which is constantly to be found near a peculiar kind of wasp's nest (*marimbondo*;) which, as the natives assert, is to secure itself from the attacks of its enemies. I had an inclination to approach this bird's nest, but the wasps showed themselves so effectually, as to compel me to retreat.

In the thickets along the coast, a great number of wretched families reside, subsisting on the produce of their little plantations and fishing; they are principally Negroes, Mulattoes and other people of colour, with but few whites among them; they complain of their distress and poverty in such pitiable tones, that their prayers are most commonly productive of the desired effect. Hence, northwards, we found no more Creoles or Mulattoes, only Indians drawn together in a state of civilization, whose lonely habitations lay scattered up and down in a rich shady wood of superb lofty trees. Obscure intricate winding paths led from hut to hut; in the clear chrysal waters of the brooks, we beheld the naked youths in all the simplicity of nature, with their dark brown skins and coal black hair sporting in the stream; objects like these united with the stillness of the scene, carry the mind back to that primæval state of happiness and bliss from which mankind have fallen.

In this forest ramble we met with beautiful birds; the gold-green *Jacamar* (*Galbula magna*) perched on slender twigs, on the watch for insects; and we heard unknown notes in this lonely wood. After we had travelled about four leagues, we issued from the wood and discerned right before us upon a height across the gulph, the Villa Nova de Almeida.

Villa Nova is a large Aldea of civilized Indians. Here is a large stone built church belonging to the Jesuits who reckon within a circle of about nine leagues, about 1200 souls; the greater part of the inhabitants of Villa Nova are Indians, but there are some Portuguese and Negroes. In the library of the Jesuits there are some very ancient manuscripts of the order, but the superiors have seldom felt any esteem for its contents and have destroyed or dissipated this treasury of knowledge, in a scandalous manner.

The Jesuits taught here in former times the *Lingoa geral*, and their chapel of Dos Reis Magos was very magnificent; the district is but thinly inhabited and poverty reigns here in splendid misery. The Indians bring food for their subsistence which consists of Maize and Mandioca on their horses, and expose sometimes wood and earthenware which, with their fishery in the sea and in the river Saüanha or Dos Reis Magos that flows by the Villa, is altogether not inconsiderable. Sellow, who

came lately to this place, found great advantage in the peculiar method of catching fish with the twigs of the *Tingi*-tree, which the great Condamine, has shewn to be the practice on the river Amazon, it is as follows: they cut off twigs from the *Tingi*-tree, split them at the end, bind them in bundles and whirl them in the water, particularly where the water has a slight fall; in the mean time, these make a sort of hedge across the same and thus the fish collected to that spot are easily taken, for they become stupified and driven over to the other side, die, or are so stunned as to be taken up with the hands. The plant with which this violent operation is performed, is a sort of Genus *Paullinia*, and *Jacquinia obovata* (a shrub with red berries and inverted oval leaves;) they grow in the bushes on the coast and are named from their productions, *Tinguy da Praya*. They mentioned here that a sea-monster, never before seen, had been lately killed by an Indian. It had feet which resembled the human hand, was very large, and a quantity of oil was drawn from it; the head and hands were sent to the Governor of Capitania.

All our endeavours to procure more accurate information concerning this animal were fruitless, for the very skeleton had been destroyed; it appeared however, from the account, that it was the *Phoca* or *Manati* species.

The wood through which the *Saüanha* flows, is called in the ancient Indian dialect *Apyapqtang*, in which the *Coroados* and *Puris* dwell; we were also told that another tribe the *Xipotes* dwell higher up betwixt the *Rio Doce* and the *Saüanha*, but the information received from persons residing only in the towns of these different tribes is very unsatisfactory and not to be depended upon.

From *Saüanha* forwards to *Mucuri* the sea coast is nearly bare of Indian families, their speech is throughout Portuguese, and they have laid by their bows and arrows for the musquet. Their dwellings also differ but little from the Portuguese settlers, and their chief employment is fishing and cultivating their plantations.

A few miles northward lies the great fishing river *Pyrakä-assu* at the *Barra* (or mouth) of which is a small *Povoação*, of a few houses, called *Aldea Velha*; further on is a considerable village of the Jesuits, who at present have a numerous assemblage of Indians under their government. Their principal subsistence is on fish and mussels, and at present there is on the other side of the river an immense heap of mussel-shells lying together; this eating of shell-fish is supposed by many authors to have been the custom of the ancient inhabitants. We arrived at *Aldea Velha* in the cool of the evening;

six or seven straw huts with only one decent house form the whole of this place. The house belongs to the commandant of the district, a lieutenant of a regiment in the garrison of Espírito Santo. This station was considered as a sort of banishment by the officer who had resided here some years, and who complained bitterly of the want of provisions and of every thing to make life agreeable, almost the only food to be obtained being the flour of Mandioca and fish. The passage hence is dangerous, and our crazy canoe could scarcely be kept from foundering. We noticed flights of cross-bills (*Rhynchops Nigra*). On the further side of the river, the plantations of the Indians lie scattered about: their husbandry produces chiefly Maize, Mandioca and Baga (*Ricinus*) from which oil is obtained.

Landing here, we took another ramble in the forest, where, amongst a variety of flowers, swarmed the most beautiful butterflies; we also met with a sort of wild pheasant, which is an extremely shy bird and difficult to be taken; it is called *Jucupemba* (*Penelope Marail*) of Linnæus.

Returning to the coast, we proceeded about four leagues further, and took up our quarters for the night at Quartel do Riacho. We found here various kinds of *Facus*, or sea tongue, which are thrown up by the waves, and but few *Conchilia*. On a cluster of rocks in the sea, the steel-blue shining swallow (*Hirundo violacea*) had built his nest. On the coast lie, wide from each other and scattered among the bushes, the solitary habitations of the Indians, some of whom venture far out at sea in their canoes, to procure fish. Quartel do Riacho is a military station, having an inferior officer and six soldiers for the purpose of sending forward the orders of government and connecting the post with Rio Doce. The officer here was an intelligent man who gave an interesting account of the war in the woods of Rio Doce with the hostile tribe of the Botocudos, we were also informed that we now were near the borders of the wilderness where this people dwelt.

These savages, whose warlike spirit keeps the Portuguese in continual alarm, have the character of being anthropophagi, or man-eaters. And besides this horrid practice they are extremely treacherous, for whenever they enter any place with apparently peaceful dispositions, they soon throw off the mask and display their hostile intentions, so that no good understanding can long subsist with them. Seven leagues and upwards on the Rio Doce, for some years back, on the spot where the Povoação de Linhares is built, was a military post (Destacamento) with seven soldiers, and provided with some cannon for the protection of the road to Minas. The savages at the first were driven back effectually, but becoming more and

more acquainted with Europeans and their arms, they presently lost all dread.

The lately deceased minister of state, the Conde de Linhares, in consequence of this event formally declared war against them, and under his orders there were erected several military posts, and others were strengthened for the protection of European settlers, and the intercourse with Minas, by way of the river. Since then, the Botocudos have not made their appearance, except children, the whole race, even the aged, being rooted out. This extirpation was conducted with much cruelty, from a belief that whenever an enemy had fallen into their hands, he had been killed and devoured. Notwithstanding a peace was concluded and that the Portuguese showed every where their friendly disposition, yet many were slain by their formidable arrows, so that not the least spark of good faith was looked for in these wild people, who, on every occasion, glut their revenge.

By the laudable and philanthropic exertions of the Conde des Arcos, the Botocudos in the Rio grande de Belmonte who had held out, were conciliated to terms of peace. In this he so well succeeded, that the traveller in passing through this seat of war to the Rio Doce, in the neighbourhood of Rio Grande de Belmonte, finds perfect security. We set out early in the morning, accompanied by two soldiers, from the Quartel do Riacho, and crossed the Riacho (brook) from which the Quartel has its name. The road lay for eight leagues through a deep sand, in the glowing heat of December. The country is covered with the dwarf cocoa-palm; on passing the heights not far from Praya is the Quartel de Comboyos where three soldiers are stationed for keeping up the communication. Here we noticed traces remaining of the large turtles which creep out from the sea to land, and lay their eggs in grooves scratched in the sand. In many places lay parts of the skeleton of this animal, and we were astonished at the hugeness of its skull; one we found weighed above three pounds. The Indians prize the flesh of this animal and collect a good quantity of fat from it; they are also fond of its eggs, of which from twelve to sixteen dozen are found in a single groove covered over with care. These eggs are round (white) with a leather-like covering, and contain a clear watery albumen and a fine deep yellow yolk; they have, however, a fishy taste. We were here much distressed for water to assuage the burning thirst of our cattle; in every part, the ground was so hot that we could find but little refreshment, until relieved by the experience of our young Indian. He took some casks into the bushes and quickly col-

lected water, from the leaves of the bromelia. This water is not like new-fallen rain, pure and clean, but black and foul; we found in it also the spawn of frogs and young frogs. We strained it through a cloth, then mixed it with brandy, lemon-juice, and sugar, and so drank it, which gave us a most delicious refreshment. We frequently found in the shrub bromelia small yellowish-green frogs, also a nondescript *hyla lateola*, of a pale yellowish colour with a black streak across its eye.

We now proceeded on our journey in a fine moon-light night, and in an open place, wholly bare of wood, found ourselves near the mouth of Rio Doce. We arrived fatigued at the *Quartel de Regencia*, a military station of five soldiers, to convey travellers over the river and to hold communication with the village of Linhares. We passed the night in a tolerably roomy house with the soldiers, and noticed that in many of the rooms were wooden clubs and a *troneo*.* The people here live miserably, having nothing but fish, mandioca flour, black beans, and sometimes salt meat; they are of all colours, Creoles, Indians, Mamelukes, and Mulattos. By break of day, on the following morning, we went to satisfy our curiosity with a view of the Rio Doce. That important river (betwixt the Rio de Janeiro and Bahia) stately and majestically rolls its stream down to the sea. Rio Doce has its rise in the *Capitania* of Minas Geraes, whence, by the uniting of the Rio Peranga with the *Ribeirão de Carmo* it has the name of Rio Doce, or two rivers. It flows through a considerable flat, open country, and forms a great number of cataracts, whereof three succeed each other, which are called *Escadinhas*. In the woods, which clothe the banks of this mighty river, abundance of various animals are found; the *Capivara Americana*, two species of wild hogs, (*Diabyles* of Cuvier,) the *Pecari*, or *Cayottu*; and the *Porco a Quechada branca* (*tayetita* and *tugnicati* of Azara) two kinds of deer, (the *guazupita* and *guarubira* of Azara;) above seven species of the cat kind, among which the speckled ounce and the black tiger are the largest and most fierce. Equally as terrific as these beasts of prey and the horrors of this impenetrable wood, is the living inhabitant, the rude, wild *Bôbudo*. For some time past a *picade*, or wood path of great length on the south side of this forest has been opened, although not yet finished; these woods now with proper arms may be passed in security.

* The *troneo* is a punishment for soldiers; it consists of a long board placed on edge, in which a row of round holes are cut, through which the head of the delinquent is thrust. The board incloses the neck, in which the man lies in an horizontal position, stretched out on the earth.

Temporary Huts at Murre I: para.

Linhares, directed his attention particularly to this fruitful pleasant spot; he placed new military posts, and built, about seven or eight leagues up the river, the village which properly after him was named Linhares. To this place deserters and other criminals are sent for punishment and to people this new colony.

We now set out with impatience to make an excursion on the magnificent Rio Doce, and as far as possible, take a view of the theatre of that extirminating war which drove out the Botocudos. The day was warm and calm, and on the 26th of December we went on board, by break of day, in a canoe, accompanied by six soldiers who rowed the bark, being in all nine persons well armed. On the weather-side of the river, where the current is strongest, sand banks appear, which require much caution to avoid; we came safely, though late in the evening, to Linhares. Again by sun-rise we took our departure; the day was fine, and by the aid of the soldiers, who frequently had made the voyage, we found it very agreeable; we did not see a house all along the coast. A great number of large and picturesque islands broke through the surface of the river, crowned with luxurious green and waving woods, some of which had particular names, which will be enumerated hereafter. At high tide the Rio Doce has a yellow disturbed water, which, according to the general opinion, generates the fever of that name.

Abundance of fish is found herein, especially the saw-fish (*priestis terra*) which comes up to Linhares, and to the Lagoa do Jurupanan, where they are taken in large quantities. The woods resound with the chattering of wild apes, especially the Barbados *Myctes Ursinus*,) the *Sauassus* (*Callithrix personatus* of Geoffroy,) one of the most splendid ornaments of the Brazil woods; the Arara, (*Psittacus Macao*, of Linnæus,) or Macau, called in Europe Aras, which was so wild as not to come nigh us; yet we heard his raven screams, and on the stately crown of the high Sapucaya-tree, this magnificent bird can be distinctly seen. Its long tail can be descried from far, with his burning red feathers shining indescribably splendid in the brilliant rays of a noon-tide sun.

Paroquets, Maracanas, Maitaccas, Tiribas, Curicas, Camutangas, Mandayas, and other kinds of parrots in swarms, filled the air with their loud screams echoing from shore to shore. The large stately *Anas moschata* of Linnæus, Corroas, and the Cross-bill, (*Rhynchops nigra*,) the Toucan and the Curucua, (*Trogon viridis*,) united their loud cries to the stunning clatter, making the woods resound. Few settlers are found on the banks of this river, which appeared destitute of wild animals.

and of the still more savage Botocudos. Some, however, now and then made their appearance among the private recesses of the river, as they from time to time rambled to its banks. Towards noon we came to *Carapuca*, (or Cap,) a small island; our tired people finding it impossible to reach Linhares, determined to make for some narrow creek, which we soon found, situated out of the current of the rapid stream; on an island of which we found abundance of the lofty Fan-cane, (*Uba*) of the leaves whereof the Botocudos fledge their arrows. Our soldiers advised us to remove to some other island on the approach of night, and for safety, chose the *Ilha Comprida*, (Long Island;) but finding this not so secure from the visits of the natives, we removed to the *Ilha do Gambin*, where the governor usually took up his abode for the night, when he went to visit the colony of Rio Doce. We found the bushes on shore so thick that we had to clear away the land before we could find a spot to set foot upon. Here we saw the great Owl, (*Curuja*), and the *Anas moschata*; we were much troubled with musquitos in the night.

By dawn of day we left this island and made for the north bank of the river, in a narrow channel, between the *Ilha Comprida* and the main land, where the stream was less rapid. Here we noticed the *Cocos Palmita*, called in other parts *Jissara* with its slender shanks and finely feathered shining green crown, decorating the woods; also, a variety of beautiful flowers new to us, and among them a *Convolvulus* with large white flowers, and a bean-bearing plant of the class *Diadelphia*, with bright yellow flowers so large, that they appeared like garlands hanging on the bushes.

We passed by many other islands where the people of Linhares had plantations. In these islands there is security from the visits of the Indians who have no canoes, and therefore cannot cross over where the river is rather broad and deep. At the *Ilha do Boi*, (Oxen Island,) reside the *Guarda Mor*, and at *Ilha do Bom Jesus*, the religious of Linhares. About noon we discovered Linhares, and landed, after much labour; we went to the house of *Senhor Cardoso da Rosa*, who commands the post from hence to Rio Doce. Soon after we were conducted to the *Fazenda Bom Jardim*, whither we were rowed, with the swiftness of an arrow, by the negroes belonging thereto, and were hospitably entertained at the house of the owner *João Felipe Calmon*, where we found a cheerful party; and left this fazenda at day-break on the 28th of December, highly gratified with their civilities and attention.

Linhares is, as yet, but an insignificant, poor settlement; the houses are low and mean, roofed with the leaves of the

Coco or **Uricana**, built of clay, unplastered, and small. It is built in the form of a square; there is no church yet, but a large cross, of wood, made by cutting off the branches and lopping a huge *Sapucaya*-tree, and fastening a piece of timber athwart. Mass is said in a small house.

The inhabitants have their plantations partly in the islands of the river and partly in the vicinity of the town: on the borders of the wood the *Tenente* Calmon is the only one who has a fazenda with a sugar Engenho or mill. When they first obtained possession of this spot where Linhares now stands, they came over with thirty or forty armed people, and went to drive away a body of Botocudos who had collected together, but who presently fled and left the spot to the invaders. Some of the natives had fallen in the attack, but the new-comers soon found that a hundred and fifty stout archers were not so soon to be expelled; they therefore went another way to work, and, by stratagem, at length drove them entirely out: since that time, now about three years, they have had possession and they have not been any more molested. There are in the woods a variety of trees fit for timber, among others, the *Peroba*, excellent for ship-building. To protect the settlers from insult, they have a Quartel, or detachment of military, which has penetrated into the interior of these immense woods, and thereby affords more secure possession. It was, however, found necessary to provide the soldiers with a sort of armour (*Gibao d'Armas*) to protect them from the arrows of the Indians. It is made of cotton cloth, with many layers of cotton-wool wadded in and well closed. It is wide, and with high collar to protect the neck, short at the arm, but so as to cover the outer part, and reaches as low as the knee; but it is found to be too heavy and troublesome, and not altogether secure, although it was supposed at first capable of resisting a musket-shot. In Capitania and some other places, these *Gibao d'Armas* are made of silk, which are lighter but more expensive. A trial was made by a strong Botocude shooting an arrow at a soldier clothed with this armour with consent; the arrow struck him in the side, but though it rebounded, gave the man a severe shock.

From the fazenda of Bomjardim is a new road to the Quartel do Riacho by the Lagoa dos Indios, near which is a second detachment called the Quartel d'Aquiar, where several Indian families reside, and eight Indian soldiers in the service. From Linhares, in the woods is the Quartel segundo do Linhares with twenty-three soldiers; and on the south side of the Rio Doce is the Quartel d'Anadya with twelve soldiers; and further on that of Porto do Souza, which maintains twenty

men. At Linhares are eight Gibao d'Armas, at Souza four, and at Anayada one, which must always be the first to meet an attack. The post-master of Linhares has a heavy service; he must every month travel the whole district, let the weather be as it may, a distance of ninety leagues. There are at present residing in Linhares an ensign, one surgeon, and one priest; the rest are principally soldiers. This colony appears to be very hardly and uncomfortably treated: whoever is inclined to travel must first obtain leave; and no family dare consume more than one bottle of brandy a month, nor of any other spirits. A colony so managed must soon meet its end, if not better supported; an event, which before the finish of these travels may have to be recorded.

My residence at Rio Doce was one of the most interesting objects of my journey; for, superadded to the most sublime scenes which Nature has produced, is an abundant variety of the most curious subjects in natural history, finding full employment for the most inquisitive in that branch of science, as well from their beautiful varieties as from their manifold species. Richer prospects the traveller can nowhere find than in this journey, amongst which is the Lagoa de Juraparanan, a great lake, not from Linhares; this is not found in Arrow-smith's map, although it is in Faden's, but not in a correct situation. The name comes from the word Parana, which in the Lingoa geral means *great water*.

Vasconcellos, in the year 1682, mentions the tribes of the Tapuyas on the Rio Doce: also Aymores, (Botocudos) Puris, and Patachos; and, though the first apparently ruled these regions, the other tribes wandered to these parts. The same author notes, that some of the Amores, or Botocudos, were nearly as light in complexion as the Portuguese. The war, which raged with so much ferocity at Rio Doce against the Botocudos, rendered it impossible for us to learn more of these remarkable people; for on the approach of an European the alarm is given, and the stroke of an arrow is a sure result of his temerity. Higher up, on the Rio Grande de Belmonte they live peaceably with the inhabitants, and strangers may lodge there in security. I shall therefore reserve all further remarks of this primitive race, to the account of my residence there.

To those fond of field sports the residence at Linhares will be very agreeable. With the feathers of the parrots the Indians fledge their arrows, and their quills serve to make excellent pens, or ornament the heads of the savages.

By practice, the soldiers of Linhares are very expert in following game in the woods; but the Botocudos are far supe-

1871

1872

1873

1874

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1876

rior; it therefore requires the greatest precaution to avoid distant pursuits in the woods and encounters with them. In general the Mineiros, or inhabitants of Minas Geraes, are by far the best wild-hunters, as they are a stouter race of people, and by their wars in the woods, and with this mode of obtaining subsistence, are more experienced. We were presented with the arms and ornaments of a Botocudos; they procured us also a young child of the race, whose mother had been killed in a fight with them. Having accomplished the object of our journey to Linhares, we took leave of the place, in order to proceed further to the north side of the coast. We departed in a convenient large canoe which the Senhor Tenente Calmon lent us.

On arriving at the Ilha do Boi, we paid a visit to the Guarda Mor, who has a good plantation of Milio and Mandioca. We presently learnt that he is a Mineiro, a people who live more on Milio than Mandioca, a characteristic of the inhabitants of that province. In order to reduce the Milio to flour, a maize stamp is used called a (*Preguisa*) or *sloth*. Our comfortable canoe, supplied with an awning, and stored with abundance of provision, brought us in four hours to the Barra, or mouth of Rio Doce downwards, near Regencia, a passage that had taken us a day and a half to make upwards.

CHAP. VIII.

JOURNEY FROM RIO DOCE TO CARAVELLAS, TO THE RIVER ALCOBACA, AND AFTERWARDS TO MORRO D'ARARA, AND BACK TO MUCURI.

Quartel du Juperanan da Praya—River and Barra of St. Matthew—Mucuri—Villa Vicosa—Caravellas Ponte de Gentoo—the River Alcobaca—and Residence at the same.

AFTER passing the night with our friends at the Quartel du Regencia, with much trouble, we conveyed our pack-horses over the river. We followed them soon after, and rode in the afternoon, accompanied by our two friends, from Linhares, two leagues over the deserts and coast, on to the Quartel de Monserra, or de Japeranan da Praya, where seven soldiers are stationed. Close by, is a narrow long lake, called Lagoda de

of wild beasts on the sand, and in a waste the *Remirea littoralis*, a sort of grass: at the approach of night we erected a large hut made of cocoa-tree leaves, and hoped to pass the night in repose, but the multitude of musquitos, which tormented us excessively, rendered it impossible to sleep; a tremendous tempest raged at the same time, and we found ourselves destitute of water, and scarcely any thing left to eat. To our mortification also, next morning we had to seek our beasts which had strayed back to the place where we had so very opportunely discovered the spring of water, by which we lost half a day before we could bring them back. At evening we arrived at *S. Matthæus*, an inconsiderable river, the banks of which were most agreeably ornamented by *Conocarpus* and *Avicennia* bushes; on the north side lay the *Povoação*, which is called *Barra de S. Matthæus*, consisting of about twenty-five houses; the river rises in the woods, and is navigable about nine leagues upwards for sumaccas. On its banks grow the fruitful *Comarca*, to which the abundance of ants in this place very frequently do great mischief; and in the woods grow *Jacarandã*, *Vinhatico*, *Putumujú*, *Cergeira*, and other useful wood. Several small rivers flow into this, the *Rio de S. Anna*, *Rio Preto*, or *Mariricú*, and *St. Domingo* are the most worthy of notice; our troop arrived late at this spot, and were compelled to bivouac; but they were provided with fuel, woollen clothes, and store of provision, and a good spring of pure water. At the small village of *St. Matthew* we were conducted to the *Venda of Capitam Regente*, our papers, and the recommendations of the ministers, procured us every where a favourable reception.

The barra of the river *St. Matthew* is laid down in the chart by Arrowsmith at $18\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and by others $18^{\circ} 50'$; which latter appears to be most correct, because at the spot given by the other, the river *Mucuri* falls into the sea. About eight leagues higher is the *Villa of St. Matthew* which lies in an unhealthy swamp, it contains about a hundred houses, and there are three thousand whites and men of colour by computation in this district. Amongst the latest villas which have been built, the most flourishing are *Comarca* and *Porto Seguro*. About eight leagues above the *Villa de St. Matthews*, is the *Quartel de Galveas* a cultivated spot; about half a league from the *Barra*, upwards, is the Indian Village of *St. Anna*, which contains about twenty Indian families living together, and of whom seventy heads pay tribute. Soon after we left *St. Anna* a *Botoeundo* was killed, he was an aged man he had in his ears and in the upper lip large pieces of wood for ornament. Mon. Freyre's who again visited

this station in the month of February, took this head with him, which is now in the possession of the Professor Sparrman. In the woods on the borders of *St. Matthæus*, are a number of uncivilised Indians, the *Tapuyas* or *Gentios* who are continually at war with the whites.

On the north side roam the *Patachos*, *Cumanaehos*, *Macacalis* called by the Portuguese, *Machacaris* and others onwards to *Porto Seguro*; *Botocundos* also in abundance possess the southern side, they are dreaded by other tribes, whom they treat as enemies, making them pay a small tribute for the support of the common cause. There are many plantations in a *fazenda* up the river belonging to them, but which are continually plundered. In the river *St. Matthew* is found a great rarity which is seldom found in rivers on the east coast, viz. the *Manati Piexe Boi* of the Portuguese. Much obscurity hangs over the natural history of this animal, nor has its formation been much inquired into. It is found in abundance here, it sometimes however makes for the sea and enters other rivers, it has been also caught at *Alcobaça*; it delights in lakes, or ponds overgrown with reeds and grass, and is taken with difficulty; The *Manati* gives abundance of oil, and its flesh is well liked by the natives; the drum of the ear is used as a wonder-working medicine and fetches a good price.

The river is well stored with fish, one from being found near *Piau*, is called the *Piau de Capim* or grass *Piau*, being found near those parts where grass is in plenty. The Indians kill this fish with their arrows, they go in a small light Canoes provided with a bow about three feet long, and arrows about the same length, made of a reed called *Taquara*, and barbed with wood or iron. About half a league from *St. Matthæus*, appears the small river *Guajintiba* which runs into the sea. At this place we were obliged to proceed by water about three leagues further to reach the *fazenda*. As *Itaúnas* which belong to the *Ovidor* of the *Comarca* of *Porto Seguro* Sen. *Marçalino da Cunha*. This small river has its banks decorated profusely with shrubs. its waters are dark brown like most of the small rivers in *Brasil*, and stored with fish; abundance of wild *Ananas* the species *Bromelia*, grows wild hereabouts, they are large, juicy and aromatic; the eatable sort do not grow wild in *Brazil*, but are abundant in the plantations, where they thrive. They here make brandy of them; and for the same purpose they use the fruit of the *Anacardium* and the *Cajueiro*, which grow in sandy districts all over the *Brazils*. The juice of the fleshy part of the fruit is a diuretic, and is esteemed in this country a specific for the *Syphilis*.

and dropsy; the kernel of the fruit is well known by the name of Cachu-nut. Towards evening our passage was very pleasant, we were no longer annoyed by mnsquitos, and through the thick umbrage of the leafy woods, the cheering beams of the rising full moon glittered. From afar at the fazenda, the drum of the blacks sounded, the negro slaves continue as much as possible, the customs of their native country, who according to the general agreement of those who have visited Africa, are every where fond of musical instruments, of which the drum is most esteemed. Wherever any number of negroes are employed in a fazenda, they paint and dress themselves on their feast-days in the way of their country, and enjoy their national dance. We found at the fazenda of As Raismas a young Puri brought from Ouvidor, who spoke Portuguese and possessed a good understanding, was well versed in his native language, and was able to declare the articles of their faith.

An Indian, who had accidentally joined us, conducted us northwards from *Itaunas*; he was provided with arms, and well acquainted with the road. We crossed two small rivulets, *Riacho Doce* and *Rio das Ostras*. The country round about exhibited a most rich appearance. *Os Lenzões* (the white cloth,) next presented itself, so called from the white sand and grass, which is seen at sea, and has the appearance of cloth hanging out. The *Potachos*, who inhabit these regions, have been long at peace. About two leagues further is *Barra de Nova*, with a small village, the houses of which are built on a rising ground: here we rested during the heat of noon, and at the close of the day came to the mouth of the *Mucuri*, a river not rapid, but clothed with thick overshadowing woods, which, with numerous shrubs growing on its banks gave us repose and shelter from the heat. *Villa de S. José do Port Allegre*, usually called *de Mucuri*, is situated on the north bank of the river not far from its entrance. It contains thirty or forty houses, with a small chapel. The inhabitants are principally Indians; poor, and have but little employment. The town-clerk keeps a store, and sells brandy: there is a priest, and two of the inhabitants, in turn, act as judges, which is the general practice in the Brazils. Father *Vigario Mendes* is the only inhabitant who has a respectable fazenda; he has also *milch-kine*, a thing very rare in these parts. The minister of state the *Conde da Berea*, is a great landowner here, and brought a certain engineer from *Thuringen*, named *Kramer*, to direct and superintend the erection of a mill.

Almost all the fine species of wood of the whole coast are

here found together. But as this country was still in the possession of Patachos, and the wild beasts, it was not possible to erect the saw-mill; the minister ordered the high-bailiff of Porto Seguro to repair hither, to assemble the necessary hands for establishing a *fazenda*, and to protect the inhabitants against the Tapuyas. It accidentally happened that Captain Benta Lourenzo Vas de Abren Lima, an inhabitant of Minas Novas, who with twenty-two armed men had penetrated from the frontiers of the Capitania of Minas Geraes, along the banks of the Mucuri through the wilderness, had, just at this time reached the sea coast. His unexpected appearance in the Villa do Port Allegre, induced the minister to issue orders to furnish that enterprizing Mineiro with people requisite to form a passable road through those forests, in the route which he had taken. I had the pleasure to learn from this ingenious man the particulars of this bold and dangerous enterprise. He undertook at his own expense to cut a path through the woods which with several years hard labour he had accomplished with the assistance of twenty-two soldiers and armed volunteers. The Captain and his party were nearly starved in their progress through the wood, having nothing to subsist on but what chance threw in their way. Finally, however, they succeeded in their undertaking and entered Villa de Mucuri amidst the acclamations and *feux de joye* of the inhabitants.

It was now determined to open a road through these forests, in the track of the captain; and to this end they waited only the arrival of the high-bailiff. By degrees, the woodmen who were mostly Indians, arrived and were set to work.

Between the hills of *Minas Geraes* and the east side of this wild wilderness onwards, are still many hordes of *Aboriginal* savages to be met with, and which apparently will remain some time longer, independent of the Portuguese. Measures are taking to construct roads in various directions, in order to convey to this poor and newly-planted colony the products of *Minas*, and to obtain a communication with the principal towns and the sea. As the rivers afforded the speediest passage, it was determined to form these roads along them. One has been opened to *Mucuri*, another to *Rio Grande de Belmonte*, a third on the *Ilheos*, and two others are now constructing to *Espirito-Santo*, and to *Itapemirim* on to *Minas*. The woods round *Mucuri* are filled with the *Potachos* and *Botocudos*. Higher up there are more tribes of the *Tapuyds* in a distant desert, in the confines of which reside the well-shaped, comely *Maconis*, the *Malalis*, and others.

The *Capuchas*, or *Caposch*-Indians. *Cumanachos*, *Machacalis*, and *Panhamis*, or (*Paniamis*), are found in the surrounding

woods. These last four tribes are strongly united with the *Patachos*, and, joined with the numerous *Botocudos*, secure the whole track. They appear to resemble each other in speech, customs, and occupations, and also in some measure to be related to each other; many of the *Maconis* who live distinct and separate have been baptized. The *Malatis* are a much weaker race, residing at a good distance from Rio Doce near to Passanliã. The speech of these two tribes differ widely from each other, the fifth race have the same shape, customs, and speech, and bore holes in their under lip in which they put a thin slip of cane which they tinge with (*Urucú*) red. They cut their hair short and round about the eyes; some also shave the tops of their heads: they, as well as the *Tapuyas*, paint their bodies red and black. They also believe thunder to be a supreme Being, which they call *Tapan*, a name which many tribes, and amongst others the *Paris*, as well as the coast tribe, the *Tupis*.

After staying seven days at this place we proceeded on our journey in the cool of the evening. The full moon shone serenely bright and sparkled on the still surface of the glassy sea, compensating for the dull uniformity of the road over the sandy plain. The great night-swallow* flew smoothly and swiftly over us, but too high to be brought down. At break of day we descried *Villa Vicoga*, which consists of about one hundred houses; beyond which we noticed the *Pamara*, or royal council-house: we rode thither, and found the *Ouvidor* in company with two sea captains, Jozé da Trinitade, and Silveira Jozé Manoel de Araujo, who were appointed by government to make astronomical observations, and form a chart of the coast.

Amongst the people belonging to the *Ouvidor*, were ten or twelve *Botocudos* from Belmonte, and a young *Machacali*, the sight of these *Botocudos* thrilled us with horror, never were such disgusting, strange, ill-favoured human beings ever before seen. Their original leader resembled a huge block of wood, he had his under lip and lap of his ear bored through, the lip was widely stretched forward, the ears hung down to his shoulders, like great wings, his brown body was covered with filth; they were, however, well familiarized to the *Ouvidor*, who had them constantly with him in his chamber, in order the

* This bird is a non-descript of this genus, which I have named *Caprimulgus Othercus*, from its raising itself to such a considerable height in the air, and skimming round like a hawk. It is twenty two inches long, has a rusty, reddish, dark-brown, and blackish-speckled feather. The upper feathers of its wing are a blackish brown, speckled, a blackish, brown-speckled band goes across its breast.

better to gain their confidence. Most of these Indians had suffered by the small pox with which they were marked all over in the body, and which, with the sickness that had followed, had so reduced their flesh as to add still more to their disgusting and revolting appearance.

As the Ouvidor recommended the journey to the Mucuri, we first proceeded to Caravellas and then to the river Alcobaca. The canoe glided smoothly along the Peruipé which winds easterly to the sea, in a large arm of which it falls in conjunction with the Caravellas. Cocoa-palms grow abundantly here and give the land a particularly fine character; the milk of the nut has a bitterish cooling taste, but it becomes flat and insipid when brought to Europe. One tree will produce a hundred fruits, which will fetch about five or six dollars. Some planters have from 300 to 400 of these trees, and render them a profitable object of cultivation. Along the shores, the whole way is covered with *Conocarpus* and *Aricennia*, the bark of which is sent to Rio de Janeiro. A tanner at Caravellas employs a number of slaves entirely for the purpose of collecting and carrying the bark of these trees, which is called *Casqueiro*. There is also another species, the *Mangue vermelha*, or *Conocarpus racemosa*, used in tanning, which does not grow so high, and also the egg-shaped leaf *Mangue banca*, (*Ariceneia tomentosa*,) the larger bears fruit like a plumb, and grows taller and more slender.

Our journey towards evening became very pleasant: we sailed from one creek to another, for between *Vicosa* and *Caravellas* the number of islands covered with the *Mangue*-tree, form a complete labyrinth. In these groves the screams of parrots were heard, they were of the species of the *Curica*, the *Pittacus ochrocephalus* of Linnaeus, or *Amazonicus* of Latham. The singular roots of the *Mangi*-tree attracted our notice, which rise high from the trunk and bend down into the water, where they imbed themselves again in the earth and form a bow in every direction. On the bark of this tree a small sort of oysters and the speckled crab, (*Aratu*) are found in great quantities.

A great storm with heavy rain succeeding we were glad to proceed to Caravellas, and took up our residence with the Ouvidor in the house of the Camara. Caravellas is an important trading town of Torto Seguro, well built in regular streets with excellent shops, but is unpaved and overgrown with grass; a good church stands close to the Casa da Camara—Caravellas has a good trade in the natural productions of the district, such as Mandioca-flour, Cotton-wool, &c. About 55,000 Alquieras of flour are sent annually from this

place which at five Patacas the Alquier amounts to about £25,000, and employs several ships to Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and other ports on the east-side. Thirty or forty small vessels are also in use so that frequent opportunities offer of sending letters or travelling by them to Rio.

We now proceeded some miles in a Canoe after which we continued our journey by land; towards evening we arrived at the *fazenda da Pindoba* belonging to Senhor Cardoso where we rested for the night. The country about here is uncultivated and full of impassable woods where neither plantation nor house is to be found. Near Pindoba we passed over a small brook and in a wood of thick interwoven trees echoing with the various notes of the feathered inhabitants, wholly unknown to us, we heard a strange, loud, and shrill note, followed by five or six others; these noisy inhabitants of the wood were in a company together, and as soon as one sent forth a note all the rest joined in chorus. Our huntsman felt a great desire to satisfy his eager curiosity and sprung directly into the thicket, but acting incautiously they cost him much trouble, but at last he succeeded in securing one of these screamers. This bird the *Mascicapa vociferans*, is of the size of a blackbird, of a disagreeable dirty ash-grey colour, about ten inches long, its upper feathers deep ash-grey, the under feathers lighter, breast and under the throat deeper, the ends of the feathers here and there yellowish.

The Portuguese give it the name of *Sebastiam* and in the province of Minas Geraes the *forest thrush*, *Sabia do mato virgem*. We soon after came to the river Alcobaca which is here but small; we arrived in the evening at the *fazenda* of Sen. Munis Cordero and on the north shore lies another belonging to the minister of state; the water is of a dusky colour but contains stores of fish amongst which is abundance of Jacaras; in the water grows the *Arum liniferum*.

Ponte do Gentio has a *fazenda* with a quantity of land belonging to the minister of state; here a Negro had killed one of the tribe of the Patachos in the wood; to be revenged they way-laid him and three of them laid him dead with their long arrows.

At present six families of the Ilhores inhabitants of the Azores reside here together with nine Chinese; some Negro slaves and a Feitor or Steward. The Chinese had been brought over by the government to Rio de Janeiro to cultivate tea, afterwards some were brought to Caravellos and others to this place to work as day-labourers, they are altogether lazy and at first did but little work; they live together in a small house; some of them have been converted and married to young In-

dians. They nevertheless keep up the customs of their native country; their feast days are observed with all due ceremonies, they eat heartily all sorts of poultry, and have little difficulty in finding subsistence in the woods. Their cane huts are very neat and clean; their beds are a perfect pattern of neatness, being provided with fine white hangings, hung in a most tasteful manner looped up with brass-hooks, these beds make a striking contrast with their poverty stricken reed huts in which they are placed.

The Chinese sleep on a fine reed mat, and rest their heads on a small round cushion, we saw them eat their dinner of rice after their Chinese fashion with two chop-sticks, they received us civilly when we visited them, and in but indifferent Portuguese, spoke in exalted terms of their beloved country, and how much superior it was to the Brazils. They opened their chests and shewed us some coarse porcelain and a great many fans which they had brought with them for sale, on arrival, and had kept with very great care. We penetrated into the woods with our huntsmen and with some lazy Mamelukes who lived at this place. A quantity of game was killed, amongst which was the great sloth (*Bradypus tridactylus*) of Linn.

Here we were very near having the misfortune to lose M. Freyreis; he went out in the morning to enjoy the chace, but did not return as usual at noon; evening came on, and darkness spread around, yet he did not appear. Our anxiety increased each minute, I sent people out in various directions to fire off their pieces, in order to give him signals where to find them. At last we heard at a distance the weak sound of a gun let off. We dispatched the Indians quickly with lighted torches towards the spot from whence the sound proceeded; fortunately they found the object of our deep anxiety, and brought him back safely to us at midnight. Fatigued and entirely exhausted he reached the *Fazenda*, and related to us his dangerous adventure; he was invited by a pleasing spot to follow the windings of a narrow path which suddenly broke off, he went farther and farther, and when he sought to return he had wholly lost the direction of the path. The day was now rapidly declining, and as he went further on he marked the trees, in order to find out where he had before been; however, all his endeavours to regain the path were fruitless, he at length ascended a hill, hoping by a more extended view better to find his way: this also was of no avail, on all sides he saw only the impervious untrodden wood. At last he came to a brook, and followed its course in the expectation of reaching *Alcabaca*, and by its shore of finding his way back to the *Fazenda*; this too failed him, the brook soon ending

in a swamp. His situation was now alarming to the highest degree, cut off from all means of subsistence and succour, heated by the fatigue of the ramble, drenched with the waters he had to wade through in the woods, he sunk to the ground. The gloom now came on, and he built himself a hut of palm-leaves; the musquitos teased him so cruelly that repose was impossible: added to which he was kept awake by the dread of visits from the savages and the wild beasts, the more so as he was not provided with the means of making a fire to scare them away; he had therefore resolved to wait with patience the returning day, although he had but mournful expectations to encourage him in the hope that he should then be able by some fortunate circumstance better to succeed, and being also but indifferently provided with powder and shot, he no longer had the means of protecting his life. In this terrifying situation he at length heard with inexpressible joy our signals at *Fonte de Gentio*. Revived by new hopes he now sprang up, and fired two shots in answer, which by the stillness of the night, as we before observed, we fortunately heard.

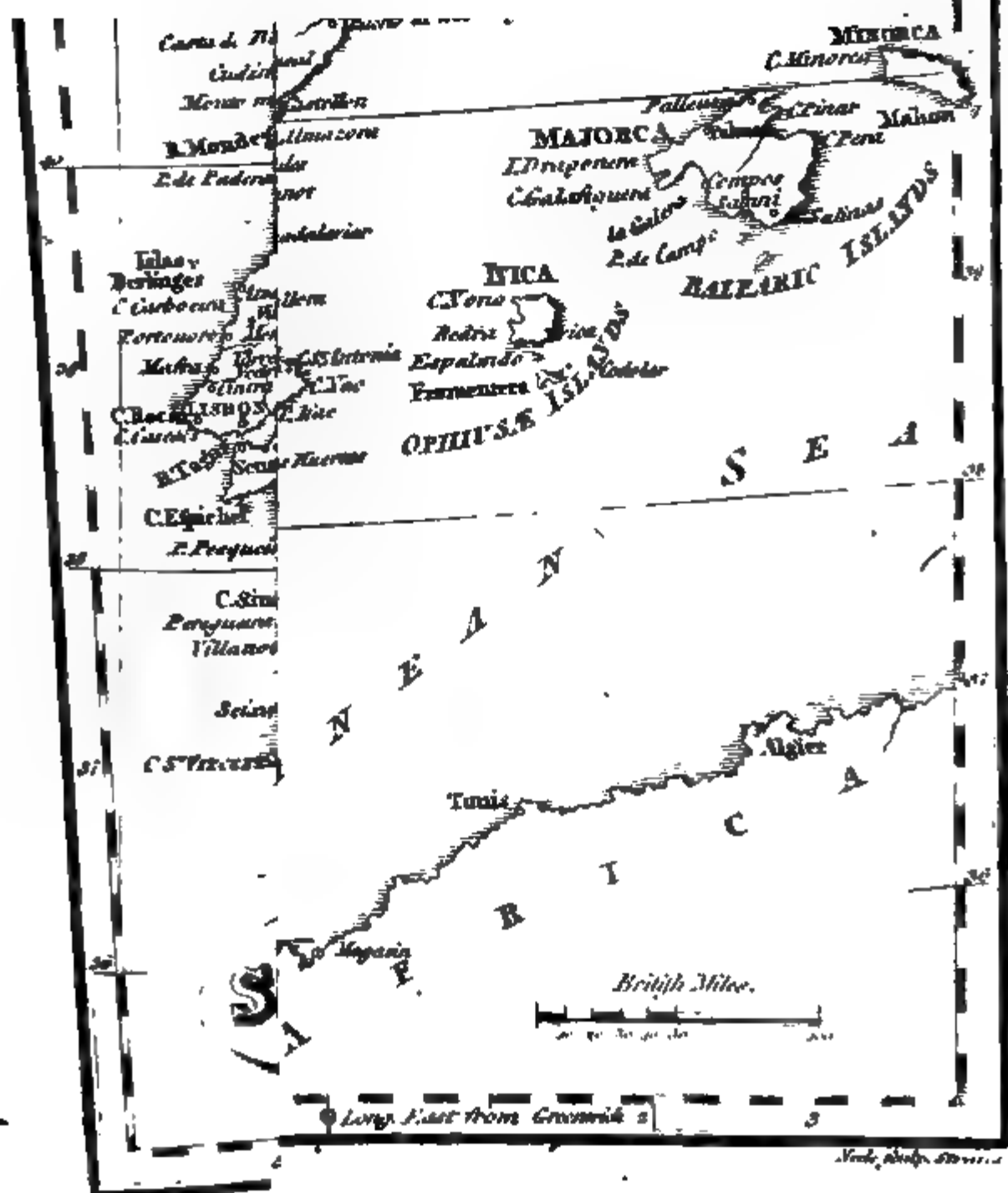
THE Editor of the London Journal of Voyages and Travels hastens to lay before his readers a translation of eight of the eighteen Chapters of which the Travels of Prince Maximilian are to consist, together with accurate copies of the plates connected with those chapters:

Seven of the chapters have not yet appeared in the original German, but were expected in a few weeks when our copy was lately transmitted from Hamburgh, the Public may therefore calculate on the completion of the work in the month after next, when a collection of Engravings will be given similar to those which accompany the present number.

The Map which his Highness has given with his first volume being confessedly copied from Mr. Arrowsmith's Map of South America affording no novelty to the English Public has not been copied.

LIST OF PLATES.

	CHAP.
1. CAPTAIN LORENZO and his Party of Mineros making a path or road through the woods, whose luxuriance and impenetrable character cannot fail to astonish every European	iv
2. A Puris Indian Family in their Hut. The simplicity of which accords with the genial character of the climate, but equally surprising to the inhabitants of Europe	v
3. A Party of the same persecuted and unfortunate Nation on their March through a path in their impenetrable primitive Woods.	v
4. Brazilian Country House at Paraiba, representing also the arboraceous and picturesque character of the Country	ix
5. Temporary Huts erected at Morra d'Arara	viii
6. Hunters robbing the Nest of a Turtle of her Eggs.	vi
7. Soldiers at Linhares in their coats of mail	vi
8. Brazilian Hunters with their Game	vi
9. A Family of Botocudos Indians	ix



TRAVELS
THROUGH
PORTUGAL AND SPAIN,
DURING THE
PENINSULAR WAR.

~~~~~  
**By WILLIAM GRAHAM, Esq.**  
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WITH ENGRAVINGS.

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1820.

B.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

AFTER a slumber of ages, and an abject submission to a yoke of priestcraft which degraded the Spanish name below the standard of the human character, Spain has assumed an imposing attitude, which renders every fact connected with that country deeply interesting to the whole civilized world.

The Editor of this Journal has therefore great satisfaction in submitting to his readers two original works on Spain—one performed by a gentleman connected with the COMMISSARIAT attached to the British army in the late war, and the other a Sketch of the state of Spain on certain interesting points, but valuable as the result of recent observation.

Neither of them were written for the public eye, but on that account they will be deemed more valuable ; because it too often happens that Travels written for publication, are accommodated to public prejudices, and assume a formality of style and manner incompatible with the pleasure afforded by this species of composition, when it results from the unsophisticated feelings of the writer, derived from local circumstances.

These works being preferred on account of their temporary interest, PERTUSIER'S TRAVELS round Constantinople, and some other important works in preparation, are deferred for another month.

Arrangements are making to introduce some of the late Travels in Egypt, which have led to so many very interesting discoveries in the antiquities of that country ; and the Editor hopes to be able, within three or four months, to lay before his readers the result of the pending Voyage in the region of Baffin's Bay.

London, June 10, 1820.

TRAVELS

IN

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, FRANCE,

&c. &c.

IN the month of October, 1812, I bid adieu to my father and old friends, and stepped into the mail coach, in College Green, Dublin, for Cork. Here I fell asleep with regretful ruminations, it being the first time in my life that I had ever travelled.

I was supported in the trial of this separation, by the prospect of gratifying my curiosity in seeing foreign countries, and acting my part under Lord Wellington. I considered myself as now beginning the world on my own account, and I indulged in the hopes of becoming a more useful member of society, and eventually of relating my adventures, on my return home, to all my friends, around the Vicar of Wakefield's fire-side.

We arrived in the morning, about eight o'clock, at Kilkenny, where we were much enlivened by a good cheerful fire and breakfast. I travelled inside, yet found it very cold, and one of the outside passengers was nearly frozen to death during the night. Kilkenny coal emits no smoke, and, when lighted, which takes more trouble than the common coal, it produces a very strong heat, and leaves no ashes. After breakfast, we again went into the coach, and I was not a little amused at observing the delightful country we passed through. There were many passengers who came and went during the day, but they were all silent, except one man, who talked like a parrot, for his tongue never ceased from the time he came into the coach until he left it. He dwelt much on the mail being robbed, and assured us it was likely to be our case. This he seemed to enjoy, so that one would have thought he wished it. "As soon as night fell, perhaps some troop of banditti would start out from the road side and attack us." In consequence, I kept a good look out for every clump of trees that grew near the road side (as Ireland had been much disturbed of late) and my fancy would sometimes picture their hats moving among the trees.

A story which he told us seemed to alarm the other passengers, particularly as we were hastening to the very place where the robbery happened. The coach carrying the mail, about two years ago, accompanied by twenty dragoons, had gone on very well, until the dragoons, who were first, were suddenly dismounted, by the horses tumbling over a rope tied across the road. The dragoons, little accustomed to be unhorsed in this secret way, were alarmed, and a shot being fired in amongst them, they took to their heels, leaving their horses behind, together with their commanding officer, who fainted away with fright. The guard being next shot at, was wounded, and contrived to limp away with the coachman, who, in his account of the enemy, magnified them to four hundred men, completely equipped, with hats towering like a church steeple. Now our informer, to prove the genius of his countrymen, reported that it had all been contrived by a single man, with fifteen or twenty hats placed on a wall; he had three or four pistols, which he fired alternately from behind the hats, as if a body of men were really firing. The coachman seeing this, concluded that a party of the rebels were there concealed, and reported accordingly. The robber, of course, had sufficient time to plunder every thing; but what became of the passengers we were not told. We kept a good look-out for the wall, which we safely passed, and I thought it might have been a well-chosen place to make such an attempt, as the wall was twelve or thirteen feet above the road, and the ground inside not more than four or five feet from the top of the wall: however, we arrived, at seven o'clock, safe at Clonmell.

At the second stage from Clonmell, we came to Fermoy, one of the handsomest towns, perhaps, in Europe. It was principally laid out and built by a Mr. Anderson, Banker and Architect, and who, I am since informed, has much improved it. About ten o'clock at night, we arrived at Cork, winding delightfully along the river Lee for some miles. Cork is 120 Irish miles from Dublin, and we were twenty-six hours on the road: the roads were very good the whole distance, but the times for breakfast and dinner were badly regulated; for, though we breakfasted at eight in the morning, we did not dine, or halt any where to refresh, until seven in the evening.

At Fermoy I had met my friend, Mr. David Gordon, one of the assistant surgeons of the regiment I was going to join. We afterwards kept company all the way, until our arrival on board the Alfred. Next morning, I went out to see the captain, and find out an old friend, Mr. T., with whom I went to change my money for Spanish dollars. This I did at 6s. 3d. each, by which I lost 1s. 9d. in every dollar. Here I must observe, to the disgrace of our moralization, that those are most imposed upon

who have the least protection. It is a blemish in the character of Cork and other sea-port towns, that we must submit to the money-changers, who will give for dollars five shillings apiece, and sell them again at a most enormous profit. This is a particular hardship on the soldier, who must take money with him wherever he is going, where another person can take goods. To a mercantile man it will often be a gain, instead of a loss. In fact, where men have been fighting hard, or in danger of their lives at every step, their comforts should be made more on an equality with the rest of the community; but the very reverse is the case.

In the afternoon, Gordon and I went down to Cove, eight or nine miles from Cork; it is situated on an island, and is the general rendezvous for ships of war. We arrived at seven o'clock in the evening, having walked through a country, the scenery of which is beautiful. Here we found at an hotel several officers of the 20th. Colonel Ross was to command the land forces, which were composed of the sixth and twentieth regiments. Having arrived on board the *Alfred*, a seventy-four gun ship, armed en flute, we sent word to Colonel Ross, then at supper. He appointed us to the *Dover*, of twenty-four guns. Here, for want of room, I was obliged to have my bed in Captain Russell's cabin: he was very friendly to me, as were all the other officers. I slept but little, not being accustomed to the rolling of a ship, and my thoughts occupied with the immense size of the *Alfred* and the *Regulus*, a sixty-four, with their large guns run out at the port-holes.

Next morning early I mounted up to the quarter-deck to look round me, and seeing a gentleman in a blue coat, I took him for a midshipman, and entered freely into conversation with him, and he with me. I asked him several questions relative to the navy, all of which he answered with great good humour. After breakfast, I again went on deck, when I saw this supposed midshipman come out of his cabin in full navy uniform, two epaulettes, and a cross on his breast. I was, of course, surprised to find him the captain of our vessel. He then gave his orders to clear the pennants, which was done in a moment, like clock-work. This was for making signals. Then he ordered two sailors before, for having struck each other. This was preparatory to some hard duty. He also gave notice, before all the crew, that if men fell out amongst each other, or had any cause of complaint, they should report it, and not revenge their own wrongs, so as to be both judges and executioners. In short, if he ever again found any man to strike another, he would order him to be soundly flogged; but in this instance he was lenient, from its being the first offence. The captain concluded by adding, that

any complaint should be properly investigated, and the injured party indemnified as far as possible. The whole crew seemed perfectly contented at the justness of this proceeding.

It was evident that his men were fond of him : one of the sailors told me afterwards that he had sailed nineteen years under him, and never knew him to punish a man without the crew being convinced of the justice of it, nor did he ever punish cruelly. He was, however, when necessity compelled, very strict, and then he punished with severity. This kind of management made him respected and beloved, both by those who were under his command, and those who were merely lookers on. His orders were obeyed with alacrity, more from esteem for his character than from fear. Many of our navy officers, I am sorry to say, tyrannize over their men, so that they tremble at an order, and fear actually prevents, in some degree, the punctual execution of it ; whereas, on board this ship, every command was obeyed with ease, and the duty of the ship moved forward without noise or confusion, just as if no order had been given.

My baggage not having arrived, I was obliged to go on shore, and during my absence the fleet sailed, which put me to a serious inconvenience. I was in a lonely situation, without one single individual that I knew, and having changed my dollars at Cork for 6s. 3d. apiece, I was obliged to pay them away here at 5s. each. I met here, however, a friendly man, formerly a chief magistrate in Jamaica : he had been a planter, and, although nearly sixty years of age, he had come to Ireland, to marry a sister of Lord N. He was now on his return to Jamaica, to dispose of his property, meaning to live in Ireland with his young wife. He was very rich, and paid eighty guineas for his passage. I often dined on board his ship, with the captain, who invited me. Here I also met with an officer named Wrixon, and his family, who was going to Quebec to join his regiment, the 98th foot. Lieutenant W. went every day to Cork, and I was frequently invited to dinner with him. They were, indeed, a happy and virtuous family.

Cove is pleasantly situated on an island, facing the entrance of the harbour, which is defended by Camden and Carlisle forts, one on each side. Spike island, almost in the mouth of the entrance, would blow any enemy's ship out of the water, as it is well defended with four hundred great guns, and others were adding to it when I left it. This harbour, which is the general rendezvous for all ships and fleets bound westward, is sufficient to contain more than a thousand sail, with depth of water for any size. I met here an old school-fellow, going out as a volunteer after the 6th foot. His name was M. His brother Ralph was then a lieutenant in it.

Having been delayed near a fortnight, Cox and I were ordered on board a transport bound for Lisbon. She was a large ship of four hundred tons, and commanded by a tyrant of a captain, who ever flogged his men unmercifully, but particularly his cabin boy. Here we laid in a stock for ourselves, of biscuit, coffee, sugar, butter, &c. but took no meat, as our rations were thought sufficient, all of us liking salt meat, and expecting to make the run to Lisbon in seven days.

Being now on board a large and roomy ship, I proceeded to take a view of my companions. There was Lieutenant Cox, of the Rifle Corps, returning to join his regiment in Spain, having just recovered from a severe wound in his arm; R. a volunteer for any regiment that would take him: he was a rough Irish lad, of good family, with some money, and a letter of recommendation from the Marquis of Waterford to Marshal Beresford. Also Mrs. H., Miss H., and two children. Mrs. H. was the wife of a quarter-master in the Fusileers, but though he did not wish her to run the dangerous chances of war, natural affection led her to make this voyage to join him.

1812. Nov. 5.—We sailed out of Cove Harbour at one o'clock, under a grand salute of twenty-one guns from every fort and ship of war in the harbour. The compliment was not in honour of us, but from its being the anniversary of the gunpowder plot. Towards night we lost sight of land, and I was highly amused at surveying the rocky coast of Ireland. It seemed curious to me, that shipping could find out the entrance of Cove Harbour. I could see no mark to steer by, the mouth or entrance being only a mile wide. As night advanced, I viewed the receding shore with a degree of regret no pen can describe. A melancholy gloom had likewise spread over all the soldiers, except those who had been abroad before. The inhabitants of Spitzbergen prefer their horrid country and half-starved condition, to any other in the world. Custom, however, wears away the regret of leaving it, and life is supported by a power, Hope, without which, man would sink, as it were, to a nonentity.

As the night fell, our spirits gradually lowered, and all was silence, except the whistling of the wind in the shrouds, and the cursing of the Captain. Such delights altogether prevented us from sleeping this night.

Nov. 6.—This morning the weather was fair, and I had leisure to count the number of ships in the fleet. These, amounting to thirty sail, were under the convoy of a frigate of forty-four guns. Mrs. H. went to bed, when she got on board, very ill, and never recovered till we came within view of Belem Castle, near Lisbon. Our principal amusement on board was playing draughts, and every one being sick, except Cox and I, we used to sit at

this game for hours together. I was frequently amused at seeing the porpoises tumbling and rolling about ; but could never penetrate one of them with a musket ball, though I hit several.

We now lived principally on biscuits buttered, and coffee ; but the greatest relish was a dish of potatoes ; these we purchased from the carpenter daily, who had laid in an ample provision. Poor R. was taken very ill, and we had but little mirth or wit, as all were sick about us. On the seventh of November, the wind changed directly in our teeth, and now our real troubles were to begin.

On the night of the seventh of November, the wind rose to a perfect hurricane, so as effectually to drown the noise of our cursing captain, who, however, gave the men two or three drams a piece. From this time, sleep and I parted, till our arrival on shore. The dismal noise in the rigging reverberated as if against a forest, in one continued roar. The waves came rolling towards us, in mountains piled on each other ; the sea appeared white as snow, and we could hardly see the illumination of the ship cutting the water, unless by the brightness from the white foam, which gave a partial lustre to the scene. When the lightning ceased, the tremendous thunder which accompanied it, stunned our ears, till the sounds seemed to roll, at last, to some other world. One of the flashes struck the water, close by us, and disappeared, leaving, in appearance, a thick vapour after it. We could do nothing but look on, and hold firm to the ship's sides ; this was preferable to lying in bed, where one could have no comfort. The straining of the ship's timbers, continually creaking, as she rolled from side to side, we all preferred the deck to the cabin. The rain came down in torrents, and the lightning, when taking leave of us, seemed to set the whole atmosphere in a blaze, so that we could distinctly see as in the day time.

I now found what an excellent seaman our captain was ; he certainly kept the ship steady, when he directed the helm, and he, with the mate, who, by the bye, would joke with him now and then on his temper, kept watch about. In such a time, the wrong direction of the helm would have sunk the vessel, and now it required quick work to alter the windlass, on such a dark and tempestuous night, where hardly the oldest sailor could keep his feet.

On the morning of the eighth, the captain told us we were in the Atlantic, approaching the Bay of Biscay. While he was speaking, the ship made a heel, and going almost on her side, I lost my hold, and was driven with amazing force against the capstern, and from thence to the other side of the ship against one of the main beams. It proved my protection from the sea,

for had I been driven against the boarding only, it must have given way, and I should have been plunged into the abyss, without the most distant probability of succour. The captain was quite surprised when he found I was not dead ; my head and shoulder were severely cut, and bled profusely ; but they did not occasion any pain, after being dressed, and I was well in a few days.

Next day, the weather cleared a little, but our captain was nearly put beside himself, when he saw Cox and I sit down to draughts. He insisted we should throw them overboard ; we demurred ; he begged, intreated, and would have used violence, if he durst ; but, seeing his agitation, we complied, highly amused to think, that the greatest brutes and tyrants are often the most pusillanimous. We continued our course, as well as constantly tacking could do it, until the tenth, when we were able to take an observation, the sun appearing at intervals.

We determined to make much of this day, having been nearly starved for want of our dinners, every day, which, however, it was impossible for any one to get ready. So to work we fell, to assist the cook ; but, when dinner was brought in, we found ourselves unable to keep the things on the table, and, at one swing of the vessel, our soup, that had cost us so much pains, was thrown off the table. We contrived to save the meat, and sat on the chairs which were lashed to the cabin floor ; we held by them for fear of being upset, but R.'s chair suddenly giving way, hit the table so hard, that it knocked all the things off, so that plates, glasses, and tureens, all went smash in one universal wreck. The captain cursed us for our awkwardness, but, having his own plate between his knees, while endeavouring to save a decanter of brandy, he suddenly lost his hold, and all his service went in the same way. We had now fairly the laugh at him ;—however, to make up matters, he treated us with a bottle of excellent Malaga wine, and so we parted for that time.

On the morning of the twelfth, we observed the frigate of which we were in charge, crowding all sail. We concluded she was going to leave us, but our captain cleared up this point. She had made signals to keep close together, which imported that an enemy was in view. In about an hour she was out of sight ; though not half the sails were set that any of our fleet had, at twelve o'clock we came up with her and another ship ; they were lying to ; the stranger proved to be a friend. I was not a little astonished at the distance sailors can see at sea, for they had made the discovery a full hour before we could espy them, even with glasses. When we joined them, the stranger went his own course, and we continued ours.

On the morning of the fifteenth, we had a glimpse of the

coast of Spain, and, in the afternoon, could see the entrance to Corunna. At first, the coast appeared as a mist on the edge of the horizon ; afterwards, it assumed a blueish hue, and seemed to be rising, as we approached nearer. We could distinguish the broken mountains, and at last the trees, houses, &c. And now the wind having, to our great joy, shifted to the north-east, we ran before it, till the morning of the 17th, when we came within view of the Rock of Lisbon, which at first seemed to be only a blue speck. We had lost sight of the fleet, some days before, but now fell in with numbers of shipping crowding in and out of the Tagus. As we approached the shore, we found it adorned with villages that looked delightful ; the convents appeared beautiful beyond any thing I could have imagined, and we might indistinctly mark the oranges on the trees. To add to all this, the day was fine and the weather inviting. We had asked the captain, on coming in view of the rock, whether we should be able to breakfast on shore ; he thought we might ; we were, however, so long in turning round the rock, that we gave up the idea, but determined to dine on shore, if possible.

And now I was completely gratified with every thing I beheld ; we took up a pilot, as usual, and the boat that he came in was the first thing that rivetted our observation. It was very large and shaped like a canoe, sharp at both ends ; it rose eight or ten feet out of the water, being turned in like the head of a fiddle, and the cut-water dotted with large inch-headed nails which stuck out above an inch and a half. This cut-water went up to the top of both fiddle-heads. The boat might contain about thirty men ; it was painted with many gay colours, and sailed with a rapidity I had not witnessed before. One of these pilot-boats was in danger of being lost, very near us, among the breakers, but they hauled down their sail just in time, when not more than five or six yards from them. When they saw themselves running among the breakers, the boatmen set up the most frightful cries.

This sand-bank lies opposite to the mouth of the river, and is, probably, formed by the mud which is brought down, as is usual, coming in contact with the ocean. When we passed it, we came round by Fort St. Julian and Bougie ; the last situated on a sand-bank in the river. It is shaped much like one of our Martello towers. Fort St. Julian can boast of a very strong battery, but it appears to be the only defence of the harbour. The city of Lisbon was about eight miles up the river, with Belam Castle projecting into the river. Buenos Ayres, the highest part of Lisbon, now appeared a sort of magnificent crest, and the landscape from this place was enchanting. Lisbon rose like an amphitheatre, from the side of the river.

Here and there, the eye would single out their convents, particularly one or two on the banks of the river.

At length, having turned to go up the river, we lost the advantage of the wind, which now blew directly in our teeth, and we were obliged to tack all the way, till we dropped anchor about three in the afternoon, before Belem Castle. In our tacking, we had the misfortune to be run foul of by another ship, which, indeed, had nearly sunk us ; but we were not unrevenged, for the other ship's bowsprit was broken in the slings, and all her guns at that side that hit us were broken from their lashings. We could see them rolling about, to the no small vexation and danger of the crew.

Having now ordered a boat alongside, we went into her, with our baggage, and rowed down to Lisbon, a distance of about two miles. I was surprised at seeing such a number of wind-mills on the right bank ; I think I might say, without exaggeration, there were three hundred. It was a truly pleasant evening, the sun shining, and the temperature as warm as it is in England in August. The wind had ceased, and the sun-beams, reflected on the small waves, quivered in consonance with their undulations. It proved to be Sunday, and all the Portuguese were apparelled in their best costume. Our boat rode close along shore ; every fresh object was amusing ; but among all the people, we could see no one waiting to receive us, as we were strangers, and we were obliged to shift for ourselves as well as we could.

We arrived at last in Lisbon, and comfortable it was to get from the ship on dry land again. When we came to take our luggage out of the boat, not fewer than one hundred hungry Portuguese came and actually tore it out of our hands to carry it. We were obliged to put up with this rough demeanor : these wretches put me in mind of the Lazzaroni of Naples ; their cut-throat looks were sure to make us civil. When they had deposited every thing in a safe place, we gladly paid them a *Crusado Novo*, (two shillings and sixpence,) to get rid of them. We next repaired to a hotel kept by one Joze, in Rua das Flores, No. 33, where Cox had been before. The ladies could not be admitted, and were accommodated in another hotel, which we were glad of, and took our leave accordingly, as they had been but indifferent company, and shewed few tokens of polite conversation or education. Miss H—— was the best behaved. Mrs. H. had only got out of her sick bed this day, having never quitted her birth, (a small closet out of the main cabin,) from illness and sea-sickness, since she left Ireland. Miss H. often joined our coffee-parties on deck, when the weather was agreeable.

We parted on this occasion, and, as far as my memory serves, we never saw or heard of them afterwards.

On my arrival in the streets of the capital, I found myself much disappointed: nothing to be seen but narrow, dirty, crooked streets, with no sideways for foot passengers. As the city is built on a hill, many of the streets are steep, and some have steps up them. The houses are seven or eight stories high, and the finest apartments are generally at the top; the ground floors in most of the houses being stables, or shops, &c. In the streets, the sensations are perfectly disgusted, on account of the dirt and filth being emptied out of the windows at night. I have frequently run the risk of some disagreeable rencounters, only escaping by exertion and forecast, as my billet lay two miles from our mess, in Largo das des Olarias. On my returning at night, I used frequently to hear the windows opened, and the cries "Agoa Via," a signal to those below to take care of their heads from the rain, &c. above. This filthy custom is kept up, I am told, in other towns; but it makes the streets intolerably offensive, and more especially in a warm climate. There are few, if any, employed to remove this filth; the heavy rains, which are frequent here, as in all warm climates, being looked for to do the duty.

The water is carried about on men's heads, and sold, a quarter cask, or nine gallons, for a vintin, or 1½d. The Portuguese are remarkably dirty; few of the rooms have any fire-place, the climate being hot enough without them. Charcoal is in general use for cooking, and this gives the air a peculiar and sulphureous smell. In their eating-houses, for the lower classes, their fish are fried on a moveable fire-place outside the door: their fish are Sardinias, not half as big as our herrings: and, with some wine and Agoa dente, they constitute a cook-shop, and are the general diet of the lower orders throughout Portugal. In the country parts it is varied with vegetables.

The Portuguese have, almost all, black hair and black eyes; their dress is much in the English fashion, but the women wear no bonnets, in lieu of which a fine veil is thrown over the head. The men, to make up for this deficiency, wear enormous cocked hats, like what we call opera hats.

There are many capital buildings in Lisbon, and the statue of Joseph II. in Black-Horse Square, is reckoned, by good judges, to vie with any in Europe. The offices of the Inquisition still remain in Russia Square, and I am credibly informed that all the horrid instruments are still there for applying the question, torture, &c. The different sorts of torture outstrip the inventions of the savages in America, and the scenes acted here have been as infernal as any we read of. Thank God, our power

is, at present, predominant here, and I hope will continue so, while I remain here.

Lisbon is surrounded with a number of fine gardens, well stocked with orange, lime, lemon, and fig-trees. These gardens are totally different from an English one, being laid out with large walks, and embroidered with beautiful flowers, though thinly scattered. The orange blossoms emit a delightful scent, in the season. The queen's gardens appear to be the best, and superb beyond any thing I could expect. There are few vegetable gardens any where.

About Buenos Ayres, all persons of condition reside: it is several hundred feet above the river, of which it comprehends a grand view. You can also see St. Ubes, on the opposite side, where the fine Lisbon salt is made. On that side is a sand-bank not so high as Buenos Ayres; some part is cultivated, but not much. The bank coming so close to the river prevents it from expanding into that picturesque scenery which generally enlivens the banks.—On the top of this bank are a number of mills, as I have already stated. Belem Castle is handsomely situated, projecting into the river; but it is not considered of any strength: there are no cannon on it actually serviceable. The Moorish convent at Belem, St. Francisco, is one of the most beautiful moresque, or Gothic pieces of architecture, I ever beheld. The stone of which it is composed, is yellow—and the ornaments about the grand entrance, which reaches to the top of the building, surpass my powers of description; the door is in perspective. We have made an hospital of part of it, for our sick and wounded, and the monks give their assistance, as, indeed, the vast number of them can be of little use in any other way. The castle of Lisbon appears to be strong; it overlooks the town, but could be of little defence to it, as it stands too much in the centre. It might, indeed, annoy any shipping in the river, but it would overwhelm the houses in the town with the concussion.

The river is about a mile over at Lisbon; but after it passes the city, it widens to four or five miles; where, on a sudden, it separates into many small divisions, one of which runs as far as Madrid, the capital of Spain.

Most of the houses have gilt balconies, from the second story upwards, according to the wealth of the possessors. The common staircases are mostly in a very filthy condition, as one family occupy each floor, with a separate hall to themselves. It confirms an old proverb, that every body's business is nobody's, for they should agree to keep the staircase clean among them, but none of them do it.

There is a fine Roman aqueduct near the city, which is still

in use; it was formerly of much greater length, but the various changes of nature have swept part of it away, as Lisbon has frequently experienced, one of the most awful of human calamities, earthquakes. The last was in 1755, on the 13th of November, when most of the buildings were thrown down, and curious to say, the only one untouched was the Inquisition.

Lisbon stood on the south side of the river, in the time of the Romans; after which, it was removed to where the bed of the river now is. The last overthrow left it as it is at present situated. No appearances of any of these destructions remain, although ships now ride at anchor where this city once stood.

I now had orders to join my regiment, and to my great joy, found the 20th regiment had arrived, two days before me, from Corunna, having been thirty-three days at sea. They intended to have disembarked at Corunna; but in consequence of Lord Wellington's retreat from Burgos, they concluded it would be unsafe, and embarked again for Lisbon. Here I met my old friend, Gordon, and as we did not seem willing to part, we agreed to mess together. I next began drawing rations for myself and servant, one ration being one pound and a half of bread, one pound of meat; one pint of wine; two ounces of rice, for soup; one candle, and fifteen pounds of wood per day.

On the third of December, general Peacock, commanding officer in Lisbon, sent me orders to join the 48th regiment, and to move forward with a detachment of it to join the army. Here I took leave of Gordon, with whom I left my extract book, in my own hand-writing, as a keepsake, and he gave me, in return, a dictionary of foreign words, as a remembrance. Marshal Beresford refused to do any thing for Read, and the poor fellow was obliged to return to Ireland.

Having too much baggage, I was forced to buy a small trunk, and leave a number of things behind me. I should have sold them, but an assistant-surgeon of one of the regiments advised me to leave them, and I have never seen any thing of them since.

I had many billets in Lisbon, but could not well investigate their manners in so short a time. At my last billet, the people were very civil, and often asked me to sup with them; but I declined doing so, as their language was unknown to me. The gentleman of the house would address me in French, of which I understood a little, and when he was absent, signs were resorted to as the mode of converse. This method being unpleasant, I kept clear of it as much as possible, although their good nature often prevented me.

The convents in Lisbon are very spacious, and frequently on

Traverse with its (Roman Walls.)

a wet day, a regiment or two was reviewed in one of the aisles, which was sufficiently large for doing so.

I found the Portuguese very fond of church music, as our ears were incessantly bored with their bells. In some places where they have bells, no steeples appear; but we find places built no higher than houses, with merely two walls and a roof to support the bells. When they pull the clappers, they do not move the bells, which are in general very large. This is a regale to the people of Lisbon, and the bells are jingled as fast as the players can make a tintamat from morning till night. We found fruit very dear here, but, in general, all commodities were much on a par, in point of price, with England.

December 4.—Having, the evening before, acquainted the people where I was billeted that I was to leave Lisbon next morning, they wished me good night, and left the doors so as I could shut them after me. Next morning (4th) I arose as I thought about five, and quitted the house for Belem, but in passing by the church of St. Roche, I heard it strike four: here I found a coffee-house, hard by, open; I broke my fast, and found it of service to me afterwards.

On my arrival at Belem, I found the troops occupying the flat-bottomed boats, and as I was about to step in, one of the soldiers, but who I could never learn, asked me and another, if we had not blankets with us. As we did not immediately comprehend this, he started off, and brought us from the stores, a pair each, of beautiful ones, which proved to be of material benefit, and we should have been much at a loss without them.

Our detachment consisted of Captain Bricknell, 24th; Captain Parsonage, 53d; Lieutenants Hunter, De Lacy, and Clarke, 48th; Ensigns Crow, Hambley, and Parsons, 48th; and about two hundred men, 48th; Oliver for the 88th, and myself, with my own detachment, 48th. We were in five boats; set sail about eight o'clock, and bid adieu to Lisbon.

In this day's voyage up the river, we had a glorious feast for our eyes, as the scenery, after passing Lisbon, enlarges, and there are no considerable hills to intercept the view. The shore is agreeably interspersed with groves of orange-trees, limes, and olives, and the river widens to four or five miles; but the channel is consequently shallower, and we often ran aground, our boats being deep in the water, as they were full of men. The day was rather dull, from no sun appearing, and the cold off the water made us all very chilly, except the rowers. We were obliged to sit still, hemmed in as we were for want of room. This day we passed the end of the lines made by Lord Wellington; they extended many miles, as far as Cintra, on the sea-shore, so as completely to shut up Lisbon. We saw them

stretching along the top of a range of hills ; they certainly were the strongest field-works I ever beheld. There was not only a very deep ditch, but in many places two or three, according to the strength of the approach : the inner intrenchment was defended, at intervals, by strong batteries, and a string of embrasures ran along the whole line. This answered the purpose of changing the cannon, when circumstances required it ; and when not wanted for cannon, the infantry made use of them for a surer mark. These approaches were well staked with sharpened poles, pointing outwards, and the glacis for musquet-shot distance was perfectly level, and no hills commanded the post from without. Such were the lines of Cintra.

We arrived about four o'clock at Villa Franca, twenty-two miles by water, and thirty by land. We had often run aground, as we kept near shore, and the tide was out. Our boats were so heavy, that when once aground, it required great ingenuity and trouble to get them clear again : at one time we were all stuck in the mud together. From the river our gun-boats annoyed the French left wing very much, when Lord Wellington defended himself behind his works. We were, of course, masters of the river at all times, and this was of material prejudice to the French, and proved a defence to the wing of our own line.

On our arrival at Villa Franca, we were nettled to find it such a wretched place. The houses had no glass in the windows, and the frames or shutters were often wanting. None of the doors were painted, and we went to bed, heartily tired, and slept, in hopes of discovering something to-morrow more agreeable. We dined on sorry beef-steaks and bad bread, with sour wine, and slept on flock beds.

Dec. 5.—This morning, when our detachment had assembled, we were about beginning our march, when a difficulty arose how we were to get our baggage transported. The case was simply this : if we could not purchase mules or asses, we must even carry bag and baggage ourselves. There was no great store of money between us all : however, after running about for an hour, Parsonage, Oliver, Bricknell, and I, contrived to buy an ass to carry our baggage. The rest clubbed in the same way. At last we moved forward, having picked out a servant named Bell. We were that night to halt at a little village called Azambuja, distant sixteen miles. The road to this place was very bad. We passed a poor desolate village, named Villa Nova, or the New Village ; but to me it seemed an old one, as few of the houses were standing. The country did not appear very mountainous ; the land seemed to contain a good soil, but the Portuguese cultivate it but very little. From the heat of the climate it has taken a reddish hue. There is no want of wood, which contributes to

diversify the scenery. The trees are in clusters, but without any regularity. On our march to Azambuja, we stopped to drink our king's health in a well of fine water, of which there are many on the roads, a blessing highly prized in a warm climate.

On our approach to the town, which is nearly in ruins, we were surprised at seeing a few fields (the only ones we saw) completely overrun with mushrooms. Of these we collected great numbers, but on shewing them to the people where we were billeted, they begged us not to eat them, as they were poisonous. I was willing to comply, but our mess determined to have them stewed in their soup, and they made as excellent a dish as ever I tasted, to the surprise of the inhabitants, who had never known that they were eatable. Perhaps from this circumstance they may become great mushroom eaters. There is no where a greater plenty of them. After dinner we were regaled with plenty of lime-juice punch, a very agreeable beverage. We had good beds, and slept soundly, but with our feet blistered, not being used to walk so much, and from having been so long cooped up on board ship.

Dec. 6.—To Santarem the distance is about fourteen miles. The road to-day is much better than yesterday's, and we had abundance of water on the road. We passed a small village on the Tagus, Cartaxo, which had been Lord Wellington's headquarters twice. The church was nearly in ruins, as indeed were almost all the small towns about here, before we came. The landscapes are magnificent, varying and winding along the banks of the river. The opposite sides are covered with trees, with here and there a rude rock projecting, and forming a pretty rural scene. Oranges were cheap here, in comparison to Lisbon, and now the price of every thing began to be reasonable.

Santarem is a fine large town, divided into the upper and lower. There are many convents in this place, occupying about half the town. Many of these we had converted into hospitals for our sick and wounded. One of the convents in the Upper Town was of an immense size and height; on the top was a telegraph to communicate with Villa Franca and Abrantes, both which places were visible from it. This was the medium whereby Lisbon knew every transaction relating to the army, before any dispatches could arrive. This place is as bad as Lisbon for bells; the inhabitants boast of 22 different sets, which at times were all going; a blessed retirement and solace for our sick men.

Outside this place are the remains of some Roman walls, at least worth seeing, were it only for their antiquity. The town is surrounded with orange groves, which are very pleasing: the streets abominably dirty. Having beckoned to Parsons to join

company, he made one dash forward across the street, when he sunk up to the knees in mud. Major Royal, who commanded here, very politely invited us to dinner on the 7th, the day we halted. The view was extensive from the telegraph, but the day was gloomy.

On the 8th we proceeded to Gallagao, fourteen miles, and on the 9th to Punhete, twelve miles. The road to this place was excellent; we passed many fine groves of olives, and about half way descended into a large glen, where the thick foliage of the trees almost shut out the day. We were obliged to ascend again, and after some difficulty scaled the top, which was very rugged. Having gone on about a hundred yards, we came to a turning in the road, where a view opened transcendantly beautiful. Having turned the angle, we came to a small bridge over a stream flowing into the Tagus. In front of us was the Tagus, which here expanded into a large lake. In the centre was a green island, strewn with the venerable ruins of a Moorish palace, of which we could distinguish the towers in several places remaining. It extended over a very large space. On the whole we were much entertained with our walk. The road wound round the lake to the opposite side, about two miles, and was as smooth as fine sand could make it. On all sides appeared a diversity of woods projecting here and there, and to close and enliven the back scene, a beautiful village, most of the people of which were fishermen. This afforded the handsomest scene we had witnessed since we left Lisbon. Punhete is a very dirty town, the houses very poor, the inhabitants miserably so; but the town itself is romantically situated at the foot of two long hills by the side of a river. The buildings rise to the top of the hill, on which there is a chapel, where our troops were quartered. The streets are very steep, and most of them have steps to them. The houses in general of the towns hereabouts are without paint or glass, the shutters being open in the day-time.

Dec. 10.—To Abrantes, the distance is ten miles. A tolerably good road, but the last mile up to the town dreadfully fatiguing. There are two roads leading to it, one winding along the Tagus, and the other through the valleys and woods, both about the same distance. The town is situated at the top of the highest mountain in this part of the country; it is defended with a very strong castle and outworks. The castle is furnished, as well as the outworks, with many pieces of heavy cannon and mortars. It presents a panorama of all the country round, in every direction, to the edge of the horizon. It also defends the town, which it overlooks, and we were of opinion that a few soldiers might defend it against an army. They have cut away a great part of the rock inside the castle, to level it, leaving, however, the highest

Here on the Tapes near Thomas

part in a square, for a telegraph, which communicates between Castel Branco and Santarem. The fortifications are irregular ; there seemed to have been formerly three bastions projecting at the town side of the castle, but they are now in disuse. The town is both dirty and ugly, in every respect. There are a few good houses in it, but they only serve to ridicule the rest, which are mere pigstyes, swarming with vermin, and loaded with all kinds of filth. We drew rations here, and halted till the 13th, when we had orders to march back to Punhete, and thence to take another route northwards.

14th.—Punhete already described. 15th.—To Thomar, 12 miles, up and down mountains almost all the way. The road very bad, so that artillery could never scale the heights. Indeed, I cannot but wonder how any four, or even two-wheeled carriages can move along many of the Portuguese roads. As mules and asses are the general mode of conveyance in the country, their roads, as it may be expected, are extremely wretched. The scenery was very woody, principally fir, but the road so intricate as to render guides necessary.

As we approached Thomar it appeared a delightful place, pleasantly situated in a plain, at the foot of a hill. It is not very large, but the streets are wide and clean, and the houses well built and neat, with gilt balconies to most of them, as in Lisbon. Here is a manufactory for webs, stockings, &c. which, luckily for the owners, the French never injured, having levied a contribution on it to the amount of fifty thousand new crowns (two shillings and sixpence each.) This manufactory is at one side of a very old bridge, reported, by common fame, to have been built by Hannibal, originally. There is an excellent market-house here ; all the houses are built of stone, and roofed with tile, which is the general mode of building throughout Portugal. They commonly use brick in turning arches. They will frequently dash the outside of their houses with plaster, but in general the door and window cases are of cut stone. None of the streets are paved, and this renders walking unpleasant.

On the top of the hill, over the town, is a remarkably fine convent, of prodigious extent ; there is only one road up to it, winding round the rocks. In this convent we billeted our men, and were assured by the people that the French had 60,000 infantry, 80 pieces of cannon, and 9000 cavalry, all accommodated at once in it, including even horses and baggage. You enter from the only portal or gateway it has, at the east end of it. When you are in the court-yard, round which are store-houses, stabling, &c. from the four corners, you may ascend as many flights of stairs. I should, however, have mentioned, that round the first court it is all piazza, which, in wet weather, affords a protection

from the rain. On ascending the stairs, at the corners, you mount to another court-yard, piazza'd all round with handsome pillars, with orange-trees and flowers in the centre, like a little garden. Round these gardens are the apartments occupied by the monks, but which were given up to the soldiers, not only this square, but above fifty others. At every landing, is one of these gardens from each of the four corners.

At the top of the building is a chapel, and the abbot's apartments filling up one of those squares. All the monks who had not deserted the convent, had their apartments at the top. We were obliged to place a centinel at one of the avenues, by desire of the abbot, to prevent intrusion. One of the monks conducted me through every part of it. The chapel is beautifully painted, although the French had taken some of their best pictures away. We could see the places which they had occupied. The chapel was shaped in an octagonal form, each octagon being a little chapel dedicated to some saint. It was pleasantly carpeted, and very warm. I saw also different apartments, wherein they had secret doors to convey any thing in or out of a room, without seeing or being seen. The chapel was for the monks only, but the common one for the villagers had been converted into a stable by the French, and an immense capability for the purpose it certainly exhibited. The apartments occupied by the monks were very neat and clean, but the length and number of the galleries surprised me beyond measure.

The French had carried away every thing worth taking; but the remains of many places might well tempt an epicure to turn monk, to enjoy such luxuries as had been there, and doubtless were there still, though concealed. The Portuguese had, by this time, lost enough, from their vanity of exposing to the French the riches of their country. Of this wealth they had been often deprived; and here I might ask, why should so many thousands live on the fat of the land, and so idly? Some of the galleries extended to the length of three hundred paces, and a great many to two hundred. There were so many windings in this labyrinth, this convent of romance, that had I not been assisted by a guide, I should have lost myself.

Thomar is the handsomest place I have seen in Portugal. Captain Bricknel, who commanded the detachment, was bent on having a grand house to be billeted in, and he pointed out one himself to the mayor, adorned with gilt balconies, and to all appearance a noble mansion. The mayor was obliged to comply, and B. went to the house, but it had never been finished, and none of the floors were laid. This afforded us much merriment for some time after, as B. was one of the most good-humoured characters I was ever acquainted with.

On the 16th, we moved forward to Farreira, distant about twelve miles ; but our guide, by mistake, led us to another small town, which made a distance of four or five miles extra. This day's march fatigued us very much, as, in recovering our way, we were obliged to leave the road, and scale some lofty hills, covered with fern and wild thyme. After leaving Punhete, we had to traverse a mountainous district, though in a few places there were some cultivated plots of ground between the hills. The olive-trees are torn up, and Indian corn sown in lieu of them. Some places show wheat, but most of the Portuguese live on what they call "Milho Pao," which means flour bread, but is, in fact, Indian corn ground fine. It is as yellow as saffron, and when made into bread, they must be very careful in baking it, as no water will make it stick well together, it is of such a dry nature. If eaten when fresh, you must break it off short, or it will crumble to pieces. It is uncommonly sweet, but not disagreeable ; eating more like a saffron cake than any thing I can compare it to.

Farreira is a poor place, but there was a capital nobleman's seat here, in which we were billeted. On going into one of the rooms, we observed a bier, and on questioning the person who kept the chateau, or quinta, she said a person had died there, but was buried the day before. We afterwards found the body, which had not been buried, but lay hid in a closet, and the *waking* was postponed till after our departure. We thought we smelt the body, when told that it had been in the house, and one of the servants had seen it. Here was room for exploring what could be the reason of concealing it from us, who would have done them no injury. The fact is this : had we seen it, and any of us touched it, the dead person must have gone to purgatory, in consequence of being defiled by the touch of a heretic. So much for the pious delusions of Catholic superstition !

We found this house beautifully fitted up ; it was tolerably large, and had every convenience attached to it. A most excellent library was still remaining, little injured from the accidents of war. Some few valuable books only were missing, as every one took what they liked. We found in one of the rooms, which seemed to have been a store-room, several barrels of dried fruits, apples, peaches, grapes, and prunes, of which last we ate a great quantity, being better preserved than any of the others. It proved as potent as a dose of jalap, in opening our bowels, for several days after. The men, too, had plenty of them from our servants. We were total strangers to the effects of such fruit. The gardens were beautifully laid out, but overrun with weeds. There were some bee-hives in the garden, one of which one of our soldiers plundered, for which he was punished, as the person

who had charge of the house permitted us every liberty, but wished us not to injure the hives, which seemed to be the only thing they took any care of. The window shutters of this house were stuck full of musquet balls, a party of the French having been in it, but driven out by our troops. The floors were all stained with blood, which could not be got out by any means.

Dec. 17.—To Cabecoa 12 miles; 18th. To Chou de Cocae 10 miles—the people wretched, dirty, and half-starved; the roads bad, and the streets preferable to the houses to sleep in. 19. To Espanheil, a handsome looking town, but dirty. The Portuguese in general are poor and dirty: the Irish are clean in comparison. We drew six days' rations here. The church is well adapted for a Portuguese congregation, as it is filthy enough. 20th. Halted, much fatigued both in body and mind. 21st. To Miranda de Corvo, a very fine road, the scenery rural, and the country well cultivated. The peasants were pruning their vines, and I heartily wished the vintage in. The grape-tree, or vine, grows like a gooseberry or currant-bush, two or three feet high, and about three yards asunder; they are planted in rows. The peasants, in pruning them, cut off all the branches, leaving only the stump, with the remains of the branch, about half an inch in length. These shoot out again, and in the vintage, will be ten or twelve feet long; the best grapes grow about the stump, which you cannot see for fruit. The people here were very civil, and gave us freely a share of what they had. From this town we had a grand, distinct view of some very lofty mountains, at an immense distance.

The country was very mountainous in our approaches to Miranda, which is pleasantly situated on a large river. There are two churches; one of them was converted into temporary barracks. As we strolled round this place, we observed a funeral of a child, and followed it to the church. When brought in, it was gently laid on the floor. The corpse was superbly decorated with ribbons. We observed that the four old women that brought it, kneeled down. The priest who attended did not kneel, nor his attendants; one of them held the holy water, another the crucifix, and the third a lighted wax candle; although it was three in the day, and the sun almost vertical. The priest said a few prayers standing, then sprinkled the child with the holy water, without any apparent concern. This mummary lasted about three minutes, and then the priest retired with his attendants. Another man, the sexton, I presume, pulled up a board of the floor in the chapel, and presently dug a hole, perhaps eighteen inches deep, but not more than two feet, and then put the child in, without a coffin. While he was digging the grave, the women were busily employed in stripping the child of its finery, which

they took away with them, leaving the body with only a loose wrapper on. When it was put in, the man threw the earth in, walking on it to press it down, and alternately beating it to make the board fit, as it did before the body was placed there. After all, the grave-digger could not manage the point, with all his skill, and was obliged to carry out some of the mould to the outside, to his no small vexation. The trouble which it cost him to carry a shovel full or two, about twenty yards, disgusted us, though we were almost inclined to laugh at his laziness.

Dec. 22.—To St. Miguel de Poyares ten miles; the road very intricate, winding through a vast variety of high hills, well wooded with fir. From some places we had a distant view of the heights of Busaco, from which Lord Wellington had been forced to retreat, by the French outflanking our line last year. The position was very strong, and the scenery romantic. The heights were lofty, and superbly grand, as they rose bold and abrupt. The country hereabouts is slightly cultivated, but the village is poor. The church seemed to be very respectable.

Dec. 23.—To Sobrina and St. Martini, two petty villages, twelve miles. Our detachment was hard put to it to get lodgings in the two. Sobrina is the best, but St. Martini has a church. The road to this place is tolerably good, winding near the heights of Busaco, which rise towering above our heads. We crossed the Alva, (a river often dyed with blood in the course of this war) by a small bridge which had been blown up, but since repaired with wood, as well as ever. All the bridges I have seen in Portugal appear to have been injured in the same way.

Dec. 24.—To Villa da Valha twelve miles; a miserable place, so much so, that we were forced to go forward to another village, called Esparis, two miles further. Our feet by this time were much cut up, by walking continually in a warm climate, over a soil which is worse than hard rocks, as the sand gets into your shoes, and grinds your feet to pieces. However, we limped to it, and found better accommodation here than at Villa Valha. I had a most excellent billet, as the people shared every thing with us. Fine wine and oranges were in the greatest perfection, and we rested ourselves, to our satisfaction, after a hard day's march.

We had met on the road, which is tolerably good, the skeleton of a man whom we supposed to have belonged to the 27th regiment. He appeared to have been murdered, for some of his clothing lay scattered about, and the dogs and birds had picked off the flesh of all parts, except the legs, which were only half gone. The arms were gone entirely. The teeth were perfect, and those of a young man. Why the country people would not take the trouble of burying him gave us some concern, as there

was a village at a hundred yards distance. I lamented his fate, as we all did : perhaps he had affectionate friends in England, a wife, a sister, or a mother, anxiously waiting to hear of his welfare. We buried him, however, and it was the general belief that he had been some sick soldier on his way to a depôt, who had fallen into chat with some of the Portuguese, who seeing him defenceless, set on him, and murdered him, on the score of religion. The like had often happened to some of our men. This village was a tolerably good one, with some decent mud-houses in it, which, bad as they were, proved to be more than usually convenient.

Dec. 25.—To Galizes, ten miles, Christmas day, a delightful road, but from its raining incessantly, we were as cold as I ever felt a December month in Ireland. The road is one of the best in Portugal ; on the sides are woods of fir, abounding with wolves. We saw some examples of these destroying whatever was eatable that came in their way. Many of the woods we found deeply cut into by the different armies which had encamped on the road side. The first thing the men do is to cut down the trees about four feet from the root, for firing, and stretching their blankets, at night, on the tops of these, the soldiers lie tolerably free from the heavy dews, which often fall among the woods. The scenery of this day's march I must reserve for a future delineation, as I could not see a hundred yards before me, we were so enveloped with the heavy fogs. No accommodation was to be had in Galizes, so we were ordered forward to Villa Poco, where we were accommodated, partly in a village, and partly in a large convent. Here we spent Christmas day, amidst a groupe of forests, convents, mountains, rivers, wolves, &c. The cold here was intense, with a troublesome drizzling rain, more penetrating than a heavy shower. We dined on wretched soup, made of beef as tough as leather, nor would any boiling make it tenderer. We procured, however, a small allowance of rum, which partly served to keep the cold out.

Dec. 26.—We now set off for Torrasillas, a delightful road, distance fourteen miles. Here we fell in with a cluster of mountains, called Sierra de Estrella, which are reported to stretch as far as to the Pyrenean mountains. To comprehend our road, imagine three long hills, or rather the middle one a hill, and those at the sides tremendous mountains between us and them : let fancy mark deep vallies, well cultivated, the tops of the mountains all level, and on the top of the middle or lowest mountain, our road, winding over a level. The mountains on each side were at least ten miles from us, but their amazing height, particularly to the right, made them appear within a stone's throw. Those to the right were twice as high as those on the

left; and in the highest part of this right hand range, which accompanied us, as it were, many days, there was an immense cavity in the side, not unlike a shelf, on which we saw a very large village about half way up the mountain. The road up to it seemed to us almost perpendicular. We had not sufficient time, or we should have visited it, if possible, although our feet had suffered so much from fatigue, that we all longed for a day's halt, to rest.

In these valleys appear not a few villages, but all black and dirty, which, with the dark green forests, rocky mountains, now entirely capped with snow, and raising their awful forms to such a stupendous height, impressed a picture on my fancy which will not easily be erased.

As we approached *Torrasillas*, the country began to look greener, because better cultivated. It was full of military parties. We put our men into an old chapel, and went ourselves to a small village, called *Villa Doce*, which was much cleaner than *Torrasillas*. Here we had good billets and beds, and the people were very civil.

Dec. 27th.—To *Cea*, the day freezing cold, nine miles. We could not get billets here; the town was full of our men, it being the head-quarters of the 6th division. We were obliged to go forward to *Penhances*, a small village about two miles further. *Cea* is a considerable town, and may easily be distinguished by a large convent, which is higher on the hill than the town, and first attracts the eye. This convent is nearly in ruins; only a part being inhabited by a few old nuns—certainly no great objects of admiration. These were the first nuns I had, as yet, seen in Portugal.

Our road this day wound along the side of the *Sierra de Estrella*, which probably might occasion the intense cold. The scenery was much the same as the last day's route, except our meeting with a vast number of dead bullocks lying by the road side, a sure indication of our drawing near to the army. When we left *Cea*, we had to descend, for some time, till we came to a river, over which we passed by a small bridge; then we again mounted up a large hill from the bridge. The mountain at one side came very bold forwards, with projecting masses of rock, which seemed as if they were about leaving their hold, to come rolling down the mountain. *Penhances* is a place not worth description, lying amongst enormous rocks.

In this day's march, we lost our way, but having, at last, obtained a guide, we moved forward and came to a river, over which there was no bridge, as it was only knee deep. At one place, those who could jump well, might cross. Most of the detachment got over here. Some not acquitting themselves with ac-

tivity, were repaid by falling in; and as the place was narrow, the water was deeper, and they had a sound ducking. While all was anxiety, Captain Bricknell seated himself on a stone near where the water was broadest, and not deep; he then pulled out a luncheon of bread and an onion, and began eating. After this he began singing—

“ I am not such a fool
That I need go to school;
But I know a sheep's head from a carrot, a carrot;”

which he repeated several times, to our infinite merriment; and when we were all over, he pulled off his shoes and stockings, raised his trowsers, and walked through to us. He then wiped and redressed his feet: we laughed, but he told us we were on the wrong side of the joke, for this bathing would refresh and cure his feet from blisters, which it certainly did, while ours were dreadfully lacerated and burnt.

We thought this day's march would never end, although a small one. On asking a Portuguese how many leagues it was to Cea, he would reply, two very big leagues “*deux legues grandes* ;” the next, after walking a mile or two, would say, two leagues, not very big; the third, two leagues (*piquenos*) or little; the next, two leagues, and so on. And, verily, we thought the Legues *piquenos* and *grandes*, would never end—they are so large. Our patience having often been, in a manner, exhausted, when we were much tired in this way, some of us would swear at the poor Portuguese, who answered us according to truth, with politeness. They would then turn with a shrug or a sneer from us. I saw, at Cea, the 42d Highland regiment, in their kilts, and was at a loss to think how they could bear the cold as they did; but they did not seem to mind it.

Dec. 28th.—To Villa de Cortez, nine miles. Here again, we met a vast number of dead bullocks on the road. This town is still on the side of the Sierra de Estrella, which is nearly even all along, and the same at the top, but of an astonishing height. The village is poor, but governed, as all the smallest or larger ones are, by a *Juis de Fora*, or a magistrate, answering the same purpose as ours. The larger towns have generally a Capitan Mayor, who commands a district, and holds correspondence with the government.

We are now about the centre of the army, having passed some of the cavalry at Esparis. The country looks barren, nothing hardly to be seen but rocky cliffs lifting their sublime crests even above the clouds. Only here and there a few trees or woods appear; but we must remember that it is now winter. The valleys seem to be well cultivated in the summer time, when it

. J. C. S. says. March on the. Mountains. Sierra de Estrella

must be a charming country. There are a few villages scattered about, thinly, just enough to give some idea of habitations, and the haunts of men.

Dec. 29th.—To Celerico, nine miles, the roads still the same, perfectly even, and along the Sierra. On our arrival at Celerico, we found it an hospital for our sick, among whom the mortality was dreadful, sixteen or seventeen dying in a day: there were six hundred sick here at this time. This place stands on a hill, separate from any other—it had been formerly a handsome town, and now has many good houses in it. The highest part is surmounted by the remains of one of those ancient Moorish castles, still visible, but of this there is little left. It stood on a pile of rocks hanging over the town, and was originally built in an hexagonal form, but only three sides now remain. In the centre of it is a very large tower, which probably was the citadel; it is very high, and commands the town. The whole is in ruins, except the shell; the walls are about ten feet thick, but without embrasures. The top of the wall is perfectly flat, with steps up to it, the same as what I have often observed in our modern fortifications. When on the top, you may walk entirely round on the wall. At present, we cannot exactly say what its former strength might have been, but it was evidently situated on an almost inaccessible point of rocks. Not being accommodated at Celerico, we moved forward to a small village, Espanharia, two miles further on, among the cliffs and rocks. In our march to this place, we had to cross a bridge which had been very much battered by our cannon, as we were informed.

January 1st.—To Faaens, about eight miles, over the Sierra de Estrella, but away from the main road. This day's route would be only passable for infantry; it is on the top of a mountain full of rocks, and, on the left hand, a tremendous precipice frightful even to look down. The mountains, this day, were beginning to be stored with different sweet herbs, wild thyme, rosemary, lemontine, and the wild rose, all which diffused a fragrant odour. The day was foggy, or we should have had some delightful views. The man on whom I was billeted was surly, and the people of this town seemed to have a dislike to us all: I will not pretend to account for this. The town was tolerably clean and neat.

January 2d.—To Moreira, eight miles, a very fair road. We here begin to leave the Sierra de Estrella, and lose sight of snowy cliffs. The road to this place passes over a very high mountain, from which the prospect is unbounded over the whole country. Here we appeared so elevated above the world below, that we were, in a manner, lost to it. Here and there some bold mountains would penetrate the mass of clouds at our feet, and raise

their aspiring heads above us. The morning dew and mists of the valley had not yet disappeared, and lay rolling in volumes, like the sea, below us. The sun shining bright gave it a novel appearance, till we became familiarized to it. These clouds were several hundred feet below us, and we had again another tier of lighter clouds above us, not thick or gross, but such as there are on a very fine day. The mountains which penetrated through these lower tiers, were like so many islands which they resembled, in a sort of sea-scene, being only more abrupt. About four miles on our road, we came to a fine town, Trancoso, once fortified, but now, with many parts of the walls, in ruins. This place appears to have been defended in the Roman manner, or, at least, of very ancient date. It has many square towers, and a wall going round the town, with a successive communication between the towers. The wall is about sixteen feet high, and the towers overtop the walls about eight feet, except at the gateway or entrance, where that tower is double, and as high again as the wall. The whole fortification forms an exact square. On the east side is the citadel adjoining the wall: it is a curious specimen of the ancient mode of fortification. The town must have been very handsome, in its pristine glory, but now 'tis dreadfully dirty. On your entrance into it, you come into a street which has the front of all the houses projecting in a continued piazza, under which you walk. It is full of shops, not unlike our Haymarket theatre arcade, but far inferior to it in point of beauty. It is, however, of the same form and manner, and possesses the advantage of being real cut stone. There are many fine churches in the town; but we had no time to stop and examine their interior.

Moreira, like other towns here, is situated on the top of a very high mountain, from which the prospect reaches to Almeida, to Pinhel, to the frontiers of Spain and Portugal, Ciudad Rodrigo, &c. It is a very neat town, beautifully situated, and we found the people very civil. My host presented me with a great quantity of fine grapes, as fresh as just pulled; these he had preserved since the vintage. I took them, and went out to a large rock, where I sat down to indulge my genius in the treat. I had a glass in my hand to view the country, which exhibited an immense panorama. The sun shone bright; it was warm, and not a breath of air stirring, or the least noise. Every thing was hushed and tranquil, as if I were the only inhabitant on the globe. At my feet lay the dwellings of once busy men, whose toils now seemed over. This was a pleasure at once intellectual and sensitive; my mind returned to my friends, and memory, that sometimes sleeps, awakes at such moments of gay

recreation, to recall past scenes. No words can adequately express my feelings while brooding over this expanse.

Moreira has two churches; at the outside of one of them, they have hollows cut in the level rocks, exactly the shape of the human body, to correspond with coffins. Those that are occupied, are filled with sods for a lid, but most of them are empty. The singularity of the matter excited our curiosity very much; perhaps it may explain to naturalists, the petrefaction of bodies found in stone, as, in a long lapse of years, the stone may grow over the body. One thing seemed curious to us, that there was not a loose body or bone to be found about the churchyard.

Moreira is built entirely among rocks. One of these is 57 feet round, and 20 feet high; the bottom flat and only resting on two feet of rock, like a mushroom. We had passed hundreds of these rocks, within the last few days, sticking on a single point, and very few on more. These rocks will incline with the ground, and we have frequently pushed against one, on the side of a mountain, thinking to shove it down a precipice, but all our labour was in vain. Many of them would, I imagine, weigh one hundred tons. The mountains, for the last few days, resemble very much the fabulous accounts of Ossa and Pelion, where the giants fought with the gods: for the rocks seem as if they had been hurled to and fro, in their many curious situations, effected, probably, by some dreadful convulsion of nature. As we leave the mountains, the country, in general, becomes better cultivated.

Outside of Moreira are the remains of a small Moorish tower. It is built on the top of several rocks, piled one on the other. The situation might have been good in ancient warfare, but now that artillery is in use, it can hardly be called a fortress. Indeed, an enemy at the foot could never take it; but it is commanded by three or four hills, at 100 yards distance. The walls are ten feet thick, and the view I have taken presents the only remains of it, the inside being a ruinous aggregate of pieces of massy walls and columns.

January 3d.---To Villosa, eight miles, a very pleasant walk. The town is a good one, but poor. The house where I was billeted was respectable, and the inhabitants rich. When I found the house, the patron, as the master is always termed in Portugal, kept me a long time at the door, previous to being admitted. I could hear the people inside removing their furniture to a cellar underneath, to secrete it from us, as if we were a gang of thieves. At last, being let in, I found the house almost empty, and seeing a basket of grapes, I made free to take some,

after due permission, as they are not counted of much value here ; but to me they were an excellent repast.

January 1th.---To Meda, where we joined the 18th regiment, and ended our long march of one month's duration, with some few days of rest. We were on foot all the way, no allowance being made for horses ; and not being much accustomed to walking, I, at first, suffered severely ; but after a week's continued route, was much better able to bear it. The weather had been variable, in an extraordinary degree---some days being as cold and wet as a severe winter's day in Ireland ; and others as fine and warm as we must expect in a hot climate. The fact is, that one part of our march lay among tremendous mountains, which are sure to attract any damp cloud that comes near them, and keep it there, until it falls from continued accumulation.

The country was, in several places, well cultivated ; but a general indolence seemed to pervade every class of the lower orders. The soil was not half cultivated, and the woods were very thick all over the country, serving as a receptacle for wolves, of which we could see many, during the hard weather, prowling about the dead bullocks in the road. For such a short period as we stopped in each village, I had little opportunity of examining particulars minutely ; and our continued fatigue helped to damp our curiosity, as rest was requisite to prepare for another day's march.

At Celerico, we parted with Brickell, Hunter, Parsonage, and Oliver. The ass that carried our baggage was to separate from some of us here ; the case was rather an awkward one, as none of us had a penny to spare, nor would either lose his part of the property. However, Parsonage met a brother officer at Celerico, who lent him some money to repay us, and Delacey allowed me room on his mule to carry my baggage.

Meda is a large town with many fine houses. At one end of it, there is a curious accumulation of rocks which rise about a hundred feet, piled one on the other. On this, there was usually planted a centinel as a look out. The day I joined the regiment, I was invited to dine with our major, White, (now lieutenant-colonel) and so on in regular rotation, round the whole party of officers on one side of the town. Here we observed some cork-trees, not less than thirty feet round ; they don't grow very high, but are of an immense bulk. On the branches grows a species of moss, which is generally used as tinder, after being dried in the sun.

I went to two balls here, given by colonel Wilson and major White ; there was nothing but dancing and cold sweetmeats, without any supper ; this is the usual mode in Portugal. The Portuguese dance uncommonly slow, but the figure is curious, as

Ruins of a Moorish Castle near Alceira

Natural Rocks near Tronache

the arms and bodies twine round each other, in an intricate manner, and not easily to be caught at first.

Our regiment being distributed into three villages, we were invited by the mess of Posto de Cantes, to go over to dinner there one day, and inspect their arrangements. I went to see Captain T. home, and De L. When I left them, I walked about a little, it being a fine moonlight night. On coming to the church, who should I see but De L. walking with a cool composure! The night was frosty; he had only his trowsers and shoes on, his coat under his arm, and to all appearance he seemed perfectly comfortable. I inquired what made him leave his bed? He could not stop in it, it seems, for the cold. I got him home, and found he had started, in despite of his servant, to go and warm himself where we all used to walk in the day-time, it being a fine promenade. The Portuguese wines made him mistake the moon for the sun. Next morning, as I was on my return, my horse had to mount a steep hill, and the girths not being properly secured, the saddle slipped over the tail, and down I came, nor stopped till I had rolled to the bottom. To my companions it was mirth enough. This frolick, however, produced three duels next day, through quarrelling; but I was not a party concerned.

*Feb. 10.---*We moved forward to a large town called Freixo, which proved inferior in accommodation to the last. Here H. brought the soldier to a court-martial, and had him flogged, for plundering the bee-hives at Fereira. Most of us thought this punishment rather severe. H. was now ordered home to England, and I obtained leave to accompany him, on a visit to the 9th regiment, near Lamego. He was going home by Oporto, which lay in his way, and we set out accordingly.

*Feb. 13.---*To Meda, where we spent a pleasant day with B. the surgeon of our regiment, and formerly assistant-surgeon in the 9th; he gave us several recommendations to the officers of that regiment.

14.---To Cushero, eight miles, a dreadful road among frightful rocks and precipices. A poor village. We passed Pennadona, where we saw an old Moorish castle, now used as a gaol.

15.---To Baldos, nine miles. We passed a fine village called Rhuadades. On the 16th, to Salzedas, where we found the 9th. We stopped and slept with T., the adjutant, and dined, or breakfasted, severally, with Captains Percival and Purcell, &c. On the 18th, we had a card party at Lieutenant Harrison's, and I lost nothing. I went to see Lamego, and to get a treat of some bottles of porter, but we were disappointed, as we could find none. This is a large, and pretty well-built place, but dirty. As usual, there is an old Moorish castle in it in ruins. I saw

every fine building here, but had no time to ask what it was. The architecture was elegant and beautiful.

After spending from the 16th to the 19th with the 9th, I left them with sincere regret. It was the pleasantest portion of time I had spent since I left home. I must report the obliging conduct of Colonel Cameron in terms of gratitude. The union that cemented the officers of this regiment made them like brothers; and I have never witnessed so much of mutual friendship in any regiment as in the 9th. On the 19th, I reached Baldos again, and H. having gone on to Oporto, his servant came under my directions, so that I was not altogether alone. The old man of the house where I was billeted, was a priest, and I found him a very pleasant companion. We had stopped before in his house, but then he was not over polite. I now found him different, even previous to an accident which placed me in his favour in a supreme degree. Since this time, I have made it a rule, when returning to a town where I had been before, to go to my old lodgings, without applying for a billet, and I have always found a kind welcome, and a becoming share of what the table afforded. The reason of my old host being partial to me was simply this. He was one day shewing me all his valuables, old gilt rosaries, gilt crosses, &c. &c. when, at last, he pulled out an old silver watch, which, he said, had been out of repair two and twenty years. It was very clean, and his keeping it in a case preserved the works from rusting. On my looking at it, I found it did not go, and, though I knew as little of a watch as any other individual, I took off the cap of the verge, and discovered, by a shake, that the verge did not lie in the right place. I reinstated it, and so replaced the cap, as the works were perfectly sound. In short, I wound it up, and it went as well as ever. But who can express the raptures of the poor priest? He danced for joy, and protested, in the fulness of his heart, that he never could spare money enough to have it mended, for he was not, I fancy, of high rank in the priesthood.

On the 20th, I reached Rhuadades; 21st Cusherô; 22d Meda, and stopped with L. B.; 23d Freixô, where I joined my regiment.

On my arrival, I found letters for me from M——, with a handsome proposal; and, procuring the consent of Major White, and Generals Ansons and Cole, I accepted the offers made me of a situation in the Commissariat. After bidding adieu to the forty-eighth regiment, first purchasing a poney to carry my baggage, and another to ride on, I set out for Coimbra, with my servant in company, a Portuguese, a distance of 150 miles; it was on the 26th of February, 1813. That day I reached Villosa, sixteen miles distant from where I set out. The weather was quite agreeable, and I went merrily along. The

scenery was very good, though with little of cultivation. On the 27th, I reached Moreira, eight miles; on the 28th, Espanhaia, sixteen miles. March 1st, Villa Cortez, eleven miles; all these places have been noticed. On this day's march, I was to suffer severely, for my servant having complained of fatigue, I let him ride my poney, when he sprang out of my sight, leaving me with the baggage, and I could never learn any more of him. This was a serious inconvenience, as I could get fifty dollars for the poney, and I was dreadfully mauled, with having to lead the baggage myself.

My situation now was truly unpleasant. I could speak very little of the language, and being entirely alone, had any thing disastrous happened, no account could ever have reached my friends. My spirits sunk; I was alone in a foreign country, and God only knew whether I should ever return to see my friends. It is impossible to paint the agony of my mind during the rest of this day's march. At last, to drown care, I took a draught out of a calabash which hung by my side, and smoked a segar along the road. This inspired me with a degree of fortitude, but to define my feelings, this day, I shall not attempt.

March 2.—I arrived at Penhances, eleven miles. In passing through a wood, driving my poney before me, I saw several dragoons dismounted, and lying under the shade of some trees, during the heat of the day. As I passed close to them, I asked if they were going to join their regiments, as they seemed all of different ones. They told me they were; that they had been left sick at Celerico, were now convalescent, and were on their route to Coimbra by easy stages. I inquired if any of them belonged to the 4th dragoons, when one man started up, named N., and said he did, and that he was going to join them. I mentioned the circumstance of my servant running away, when, after a hearty curse, he offered his services to me until we joined the regiment, which indeed were very acceptable, and the more so, as I had now one of my own country to talk to. In times like these, very little ceremony is kept up, the officer very frequently faring little better than the soldier. The other men made a similar offer of their services, but now I did not stand in need of them. However, they all wished to stay by me, and, as they gave me their route, I became the commanding officer. One drove my baggage, and as they had their short carbines with them, I borrowed his who was not so well recovered as the rest, and having purchased some powder and shot, amused myself as we went along, shooting at whatever came in the way—wolves, birds, &c.

On the 3d, we all reached Galizes, a poor place, and here we drew four days' rations. It was so late when we came in, that

we could not procure billets, and so were obliged to go into any house we could. The men foraged, somewhere or other, for themselves, and I went into a house where I heard a number of English voices. Here I found some of the Commissariat, who had arrived late as well as myself. I asked leave to stop with them, and it was readily granted. They were not billeted there, however, any more than myself. There were Mr. S. and his wife, Mr. T., now a deputy assistant commissary general, and his wife, not an English lady, but a Portuguese. Mrs. S. behaved very well, and made me a tolerable bed. I went into my room, in the dark, and was near falling through a trap-door which opened into the stables among the horses ; however, I fortunately caught hold of the side before I dropped through. I soon fell asleep, but when a general stillness prevailed, the rats began running over me by dozens, and all my efforts could not drive them away till day-break. I wounded many, but having no proper weapon, I was unable to kill one. In the morning, I breakfasted with S. and T., and we agreed, as we were all going the same way, to keep company in each town. Here we drew rations, and I am concerned to state the conduct of the Commissariat officer here, who behaved very ill to my new companions, in refusing to give proper rations and accommodations. He has since paid the common debt of nature, and I am told he was much changed for the better, both in worldly and celestial conduct.

In the morning of the 4th, we set out, but I found some of the men falling off as they were unable to keep up ; and indeed I am apprehensive that we hurt some of them, by making such long marches. Finding they were tired, we halted in a wood, and having lighted a fire, we boiled some eggs, which we had in plenty, and, with some bread and butter, made a comfortable meal. S. and his wife joined us, and we shared our luncheon and wine with them. But we were near setting the wood on fire, as the underwood and grass were as dry as tinder. Had it taken place, it must have run over some miles of ground, as all the fir-trees hereabouts are full of rosin. We arrived about three, at Maita, twelve miles ; the scenery was cheerful, with a clear sun. We all dined with T., but his wife was very ill and could not eat. On the 5th, we reached Ponta de Mercella, ten miles. On its river is a ruinous bridge. The place does not show above a dozen houses ; S. left us here. On the 6th, we reached Foz de Roce, ten miles ; a good village, in a pleasant country. The spring just appearing, has embellished the face of nature with a most luxuriant verdure, but we were not able to stop, making forced marches, and many of my men were now

behind. Thompson left me here, his road turning in a contrary direction.

March 7.—To Coimbra twelve miles. We had a fine view of this place about three miles from it. It is situated on the river Mondago, and rises, with a sort of regular rapidity, on a hill; every house was white-washed. Here are many convents, and an archbishop's palace. Also a college, the most celebrated in Portugal. One half of the town seems to consist in convents. Most of the buildings are on the northern side of the river. There is a very long bridge over the river, which presents a diversified view of the town, and particularly of a large convent on the south bank, white-washed also. This bridge is most curiously raised on two others. The one first built was gradually choked up by the river lodging a quantity of sand against the piers. This increased in time, so as totally to fill up the arches; the river then ran over the bridge. They were, of course, obliged to build another, which, in process of time, became obstructed in like manner. In short, the present bridge is nearly half choked with sand, which increases every year against the arches, and all their endeavours cannot prevent it. There is a Roman aqueduct outside the town, still in good repair, but the stone and cement are quite soft from age. The streets are remarkably steep, the descent of some, dangerous.

The soldier of the 6th dragoons, who had stuck close to me, came to say that the men who were of the party had been clapped into the black hole, as they arrived, and he feared he should be treated in the same way. I had not adverted to their route, which extended no farther than to this place, and I should have reported myself to Colonel Royal, who had commanded in Santarem, as I passed through. I went to him, however, and told him the circumstance of my meeting them in a wood, and their giving me the route, at which he laughed heartily. As the men, by their own account, had arrived from Celerico, and had no route, their story seemed improbable, and he had them taken up as deserters; but on my representation they were liberated. The man was attached to me the rest of the time, till we joined the 4th dragoons. On the 9th, we went to Santa Martini, seven miles, after drawing rations. Mr. Drake was the commissary.

I was, at one time, in Portugal, shewn into the inside of a nunnery, but all the young nuns were invisible. The confessionals are much like our sentry boxes, with a seat inside, where the monk sits. There is a little wicket window at each side, through which the confession is made, the person being on the outside.

March 10.—To Verride eight miles. I passed a village here, but have forgot its name; the head-quarters of the first German

VOYAGES and TRAVELS, No. 2, Vol. III. F

Heavy Dragoons. Having letters of recommendation to Captain Halpin, pay-master, I called on him, and the Captain wished me to stop a day or two with him, but the urgency of the time would not permit. He also gave me letters to General Bock, who commanded all the cavalry, but I had no occasion for them. The river Mondego, from the town or village, divides into two arms, the ground between them being as flat and level as a table. Outside these arms the country is all overspread with hills. The town itself stands on a hill, like a sugar loaf. We set out again, and having proceeded about two miles, forded the arm of the river next us, with an intention of pushing forward to the other arm, distant about two miles. As the village we were going to lay on the other side of these arms, we deemed it advisable to cross, before we met with others to pass over. When about a mile across, we met a Portuguese, whose directions we followed, turning to the right for Montemor, where we arrived about four o'clock. Here we halloed for a long time for a boat, but the people kept us an hour and a half in a state of uneasy suspense. At last I stripped, determined to swim over if I could, expecting, however, to ford most of the way. On reaching the bank, that part on which I stood gave way, and in I plunged, over head and ears. I had never thought myself an expert swimmer, but being now out of my depth, I made a resolve, in about a second, to exert all my strength and fortitude, to extricate myself. The soldier, who had care of my horse and baggage, could not swim, and began to set up a most vehement roar and noise. He loaded his carbine, and fired into the town several times, but the distance, I imagine, was too far. At last, after half an hour's struggling, I reached the other side, and was happy to find myself again on terra firma. I felt more gay and lively after this adventure, than at any other period, perhaps, of my life. Having rested a little, I went to one of the boats, but found it locked by a chain to a tree. This I soon separated, and got into the boat, but there was no oar. At last, I found the withered arm of a tree, and having seized it, ferried myself over as well as I could, being stark naked, towards my man and baggage. But mark, when the mind is ruffled, how common sense and reason escape! The boat was too small to hold the horse and baggage, and there were larger ones that I might have had, if consideration had taken place. I put on my clothes, therefore, and was about to ferry myself over, when a large boat appeared, manned by some Portuguese, who seeing us near over, through our own exertions, made an offer to convey us all at once. This was done, and we arrived safe on the other side. Before we could reach Verride, we had had five more arms to cross, all of which we got over by ferries. Some we paid for, but as our money was

short, we were obliged, in the last two instance, to cross by force, the Portuguese swearing at us for "diablos Ingleses." The country was much over-run with long flags, but the water was of no depth, excepting the two arms before-mentioned. Most of them were half a mile over.

Having arrived at Verride, I sent the soldier to draw rations, but it was too late. Standidge, the commissary, sent me word to come, and he would furnish a supply of my wants. He was very kind. I was regaled with a bottle of English porter.

March 11th.—I set off for Lavos, passing a very woody country, and one river. We were obliged here to take guides, two of whom, in succession, made their escape, by running into the woods, in turning an angle of the road. The trees stood so thick, that all pursuit was vain; on the third, we kept a very strict look out, and he conducted us to Lavos, eight miles.

Here I met my friend, D. A. C. G. M. in charge of the 4th dragoons, under the command of Lord R. E. H. Somerset; they were stationed here. This village lies among sand banks on the sea shore, opposite to Figuero Roads, and the mouth of the Mondego—the houses are scattered about with no sort of order. We were very glad to see each other, and M. gave me a bed in his own house. The latter had been once the mansion of an ancient family, that was now extinct, and the building fell to decay. One wing only remained entire, in which was the ancient chapel, now our office. Soon after my arrival M. was obliged to set off for Lisbon, leaving A., a Portuguese, A., and myself. We all procured billets in the same house, that of an old Padras, who, I fear, was a crafty old rogue.

March 25th.—A., A., and I, set off, and crossed the Mondego, at its mouth, which is not more than two hundred yards wide, but enlarges to near a mile when you are in the harbour. The entrance, which is dangerous, is defended by one four-pounder, that cannot be of use, as the wall is much too high for it. With large guns the place might be defended for a short time, but they have none mounted, nor are the works strong on any side. As you enter the port, you see, on the left, a handsome town, with a fine market-place, and two or three churches. It is a large place, and there are several good houses in it. In the vicinity are very extensive salt works. The salt water is let in by small canals, into square places, banked about four inches high with sand, and about six yards square. The water lies on till dried up by the sun, when the salt is left behind. It was here Lord Wellington landed, on the 1st of August, 1808, to commence his arduous campaigns.

On the seventeenth of April, M. joined, and gave me my

orders and regulations to the Commissariat, from the day I had joined ; this was very satisfactory. The same day, our regiment marched to Veride, on our route to Oporto,---eight miles. Being now settled in my new situation, I shall be able to renew my observations. On this day's march, as A. was crossing a river, on horseback, his horse lay down in the middle of the stream to cool himself. We passed this day a dangerous ford that I had been over before in a boat. The day was warm, and being comfortably established, it made my mind easy.

March 18th.---To Perreira, eleven miles, a very neat town, distant from Verride two leagues and a half. But, before I proceed further in my narrative, I must revert to a large convent in Verride. Though a religious building, yet was it a place of pleasure and recreation, for the monks of the order of Santa Cruz, of Coimbra. The monks are conveyed to and from each place by boats, as the Mondego, which runs through Coimbra, washes the walls of this convent. The whole is laid out in the most luxuriant style ; and there is every thing for amusement that fancy can devise. Among the rest, I saw a table resembling a billiard table, but with twenty or thirty pockets instead of six. What the game was, I forgot to ask. The table was most exquisitely carved and gilt. The gardens, too, were a great attraction, and, at one end, there was a fine bowling green. The apartments are laid out rather plain, but the situation of the convent is delightfully chosen. There were very few monks present at this time, as they only came in summer ; and it being now winter, a few only were left to take care of the place.

One of the monks assured me that, on a fine summer's evening, they can hear the vesper bell of their convent, in Coimbra, sound, and float down the river, though a distance of forty or fifty miles, in a direct line, without including the turnings of the river. There were two very valuable paintings here, by Rubens. One was the massacre of the monks of Santa Cruz, by the Moors. The expression of the countenances is inimitable. The sweet, serene aspect of the monks, contrasted with the ferocious character impressed on that of the Moors, standing over them, and butchering them in a cruel manner, must ever excite the most poignant feelings. The second piece was a priest in the act of writing a letter ; he is in a thoughtful mood ; the countenance intimates that he is a little perplexed about his subject. The back-ground of both these pictures is well shaded ; the parts retire in distance and at leisure, exempt from that abrupt termination which, too often, is chargeable on more modern artists.

March 19th.—To Cantanheide, fifteen miles. The road to this place is nearly over a heathy common, except where we crossed the river Mondego ; and the late rains obliged us to ford seven streams or communications with this river. On the opposite side we landed, as I may call it, at Tentugal, a respectable town, in which the 2d Germans now lie. Here Anthony left us for Lisbon, having quitted the commissariat, and Adeney and I became mess-mates.

March 20.---To Agueda and Sourdão ; twenty-six miles ; two good villages—Agueda is the best. These villages being much crowded, I went to another about half a mile further, on the same hill. These, with some others, lay embosomed in a valley surrounded with hills of a luxuriant appearance ; they seemed, in a manner, shut up from the rest of the world. The plain at the bottom, is about two miles long, and of the same breadth ; the river Agueda, running in the centre, supplies the villages with water. On my arrival at the small village, I found it a high festival with the inhabitants ; they were all in their gayest apparel, and many had masks. They had, it seems, cut, the day before, an immensely tall tree, quite straight, and lopped off the branches. They then set it on end, in the ground, opposite one of their chapels, having first decorated it with festoons of laurel to the top. Several of the branches were then taken and planted like young trees. A rope was tied to the pole, and running through the arm of a tree opposite, the end of the cord hung down, guided by a young man. The rope being lowered in the centre, a live cock was fastened to it by the legs, and hoisted up again. The players, with swords, were all alert to jump up and kill the cock. At last, one of superior agility, won the cock by killing it. The cock, in the progress of these manœuvres, was frequently lowered to allure the attempts, but instantly hoisted up again. In the next place, they buried a cock all but the head, and a person blindfold advancing from a distance with a sword, endeavoured to cut off the head at a blow ; but, though many attempted, it was long before one succeeded : as before, he had the cock for the prize. At each interval between the prizes being won, the bagpipes played, in a wild stream of harmony. Some of the performers behaved with irreverence in the church, which rather surprized me, as the Portuguese, in general, professed religious veneration for holy ground. In the evening there was a general dance on the green, with bagpipe music. The people here seemed truly innocent in their manners, and easily pleased with the character of their rural pastimes. It often made me recollect the pastoral scenes described by Cox, in his tour in Switzerland.

March 21st.—To Oliveria das Ameas, twenty-six miles. The

road commanded an expansive view of the sea and of Oveiro on the coast, a large and fine town with several churches.

March 22d.—To Villa de Feira, five miles. This sequestered place is swallowed up among intricate mountains and woods ; the country fertile in a high degree. I had nearly lost myself several times ; but, at last, Adeney and I found the way out. The inhabitants of this district seem to be more civilized than any in Portugal. The houses were clean and well furnished ; and the people, in general, appeared to have been better educated—a schoolmaster here, to instruct his pupils, sent up, at night, several air-balloons. On a hill over this town, are the remains of a Moorish palace, it has a romantic appearance from the town. This place is about sixteen miles from the sea ; we halted here until the 27th, when we marched for

Oporto, sixteen miles, a city far surpassing Lisbon and Coimbra, in point of beauty. The first thing which strikes a traveller, is a general cleanliness,—also the evenness of the houses, and uniformity which reigns in each street. It is situated on the Duoro, a few miles from the sea, and has a bridge of boats which open in the middle, for the passage up to St. Joas de Pisqueri, Lamego, &c. The convents here are superior to any I have yet seen, and, as usual, occupy the greatest part of the town. On the northern side of the river is a part called Villa Nuevo de Oporto, or the New Town, inhabited by coopers and smiths, of whom the number is immense. Oporto is very large, and our English company reside here. They generally purchase the vintage some months before it is pulled ; making the wine on the spot, and floating it down to Oporto, where they doctor it for our market. As to their wine, the juice of the grape alone is not so capital as is imagined, being rather insipid. There is one street here called Rua des Ingleses, which may, perhaps, rival any in Europe ; the houses, numbers 1, 2, 3, compose the English hotel, and a noble one it is. Oporto very much resembles the towns in England, and one-eighth of the inhabitants are thought to be English—the wine company giving employment to so many ; and to this company may be mostly imputed the commercial prosperity of Oporto.

Throughout Portugal, the orders of Santa Cruz and Santa Francisco appear to be the richest. The chapels, in general, are the greatest ornament about them, and the gardens are laid out in a superb style. One convent here is on an immense perpendicular rock, on the south side of the town, and has a truly grotesque appearance ; I was billeted just under it. The town lies on the side of a hill, like Lisbon and Coimbra, slanting to the river. The streets are very good, with many fine houses.

There is a great trade, and shipping can come up to the merchant's doors with ease. The streets are lighted with lamps, in the English mode, and the houses do not look so much like prisons as those of Lisbon. The great iron bars to the windows are not much in use. They are built with stone, very high, many being seven stories. There is an excellent fish-market here, and a good landing place, almost all along the northern bank of the river. The inhabitants are less reserved than those of the south, as their intercourse with the English makes them acquainted with our manners and customs, some of which they adopt. It is rather singular that the port wine is very bad here---nor is it like the wine we have in England; the English company monopolize all the best for exportation. Adeney and I refreshed with a bottle on the morning we started; but it was not at all to our taste.

March 28th.---To Santa Tissima, a poor place, nineteen miles from Oporto. There is a large convent here, the monks of which gave a dinner to some of our officers. A fine river is seen meandering through this place, with a bridge over it, which throws open some scenery up the river, extending over the romantic gardens of the convent. Passengers pay a trifle on passing the bridge; but the military are exempt. Our troops, I presume, had not been often in this neighbourhood, as the people seemed overjoyed to see us, which is not the case where our detachments had often frequented. My landlord would insist on giving me my dinner and breakfast, with plenty of wine; he testified some regret at parting with us. The roads to this place were, in some places, up to the bellies of our horses in mud.

April 29th.---To Caldas and St. Antonio de Taipas, a miserable place, about seventeen miles, hardly worth mentioning as a village.

We were now ordered to proceed to Guimaraens instead of Caldas, and accordingly Adeney and I jogged on quietly, till, finding it very warm, we went under shelter of some trees, where we dismounted. As we had purchased a pack of cards at Oporto, having them in our provision bag, we sat to play at Beggar my Neighbour, and continued three hours at this one game, without loss or gain on either side. When we reached Guimaraens, we waited on the Juis de Fora, but learned, to our mortification, that the regiment had moved forward to Caldas, and we had to push briskly for it, to get in time for our dinners. Guimaraens is a very handsome city, almost as large as Oporto. In one square, we saw as fine a range of houses as most in Europe. It also contains the picturesque remains of an old Moorish palace and castle, about eight hundred years old. We wished much to

stop here, but were obliged to be with the regiment, and had no time to make additional remarks.

On our arrival at Caldas, we were again disappointed, as we were billeted at St. Antonio de Taipas, two miles distant, where we arrived at last. Macleod having some company the evening after our arrival, it was near seven o'clock before Adeney and I could get away. The night was extremely dark, but we expected we should know the way ; but we soon found our mistake. The houses here were all separated ; each had a particular name, and in this straggling way of arranging the village, it was five miles in length. Not a house but what had a distinct farm belonging to it. We had not gone far before the rain began to fall, and now we were compelled to grope as well as we could with our hands. At last we came tumbling down a small precipice together. After shaking our ears, we started again, but stumbled into a ditch of water. After three hours' upsetting, we came to a miserable hut, the people of which would have conducted us home, had we recollected the name of our house or people ; but, comfortably billeted, we seldom enquired who were our hosts. Now we paid for our inadvertence, for the people not knowing where we lived, nor we ourselves, circumstances obliged us to put up this night on a bundle or two of Indian corn straw, and rest, as we could, in our wet clothes ; but this did not prevent us from enjoying a sound sleep. Next morning we found our way easily ; our servants had been at Macleod's in search for us ; but when they heard all the particulars, I could see them trying to suppress a laugh at our blundering. Indeed, the country was full of hills, all nearly of the same shape, and we even had gone wrong in the day-time, the road or path being so intricate. Caldas is celebrated for its mineral waters, both hot and cold, arising out of the earth from the hot baths. You see a vapour ascend from the water, which tastes like rotten eggs. The cold bath will turn stones white, and sparkles on coming out, like cider. A fine beautiful sand also oozes out of the rock, which sparkles like silver, and we used it to dry our writing.

While we remained here, we made an excursion to see Braga, another town, as large or larger than Guimaraens. It has a fine market-place, and contains many capital buildings. The road to this place from Caldas may be considered as truly romantic. There is an immensely high mountain, over which the road goes. On the top is a chapel, by the road-side, from which you can see as far as the eye can reach. Under you, at one side, lies Guimaraens, and appears at the foot of the mountain, though many miles distant. On the other side appears Braga, really at the foot of the mountain, but seems so near, that you would imagine you could almost jump into it, though two miles down the moun-

tain. The pinnacle you stand on runs off before and behind, in one long line, until lost in more gigantic hills. In distance, in the back ground, lay rugged tops of mountains, some of them soaring far above the clouds. While we remained here, we were appointed to seize all the live cattle we could find; and being frequently out, the commissary of the 5th dragoon guards came, by accident, to my billet, and seized five cows, for which we always paid. The host told him there was an officer billeted on him; but it did not signify, and he was ordered to come for payment next day. When I came home the family came thronging about me in tears, begging me to intercede for their cows, or they should be ruined. I learned from his receipts that it was my old friend Standidge who had taken them, and I presently gave them a note to him; when he returned them all. What joy did this occasion in the poor distressed family! The children kissed me in their transport, one of whom was a fine young girl of 17. The poor father cried with joy. After this every thing their house and garden afforded was most cheerfully given to us; confectionary of every kind was purchased for us, which we distributed among the children, and as eggs were in plenty, and fruit, these we accepted, for I was immoderately fond of eggs. To buy them we might have had fifty for a shilling, so that I was recompensed, but not bribed, for serving them. There is a kind of etiquette observed among the gentlemen of the commissariat, not to interfere with each others' cantonments, and this was a reason why the cows were so easily returned. We remained here until the 13th of May, when we moved forward to Fafe, 14 miles, over the most awful mountains I had ever yet seen. We were, at one time, literally above the clouds, at another almost immersed in the vallies. One-third of our horses dropped their shoes, the roads were so bad. We were often going up and down such steep declivities, that we shuddered to look after or before us, for fear of getting dizzy from the horrors of the immense gulphs below, and the overhanging crags above. Fafe is a tolerably good place, selling all the necessaries, without sharing in the luxuries of life.

May 14.---To Guanderalle, 12 miles; a poor place. 15. To Ribera de Pena, 16 miles; passed two rivers: the roads dreadfully bad the last two days, lying all the way over mountains, which horribly fatigued us. But we are now beginning to descend a huge chain of mountains. 16. To Villa Pouca, a good town, 22 miles. A fine prospect here, overlooking an immense extent of country. 17. Halted. 18. Argerise. 19, 20, 21. In camp, each day in the woods, forty miles. 22. Braganza. A family here, and the town, have given a race of kings to Portugal; 17 miles. A handsome place, but small, and not much worth seeing.

It has, as usual in all Portuguese towns, some old Moorish ruins, and a market place. 23, 24. Halted. 25. Camp. 26. Ceifas Camp. This day we cleared the boundaries between Spain and Portugal, and left behind us all the bad roads.

As we entered Spain, it was curious to see the difference of the roads. From scaling the most frightful cliffs we now fell into as level a country as any. The roads were finely sanded, and as even as a bowling green; but there was hardly a tree to be seen; the whole country, for a tract of forty or fifty miles, shewing one continued field of barley, rye, wheat, &c. Here and there you may chance to espy the spire of a church raising its head above the plain, and over the waving corn, now nearly ripe. The spire is a sure indication of a village, and about the church a tree or two has been planted, otherwise not one to be seen in any direction. All over the country we could not trace even a bush or a hedge; but one continued field of corn, of various kinds, met the eye, with nothing else to interrupt the view. What a desolate scene in the winter! The people seemed to resemble the Portuguese in their manners, but were much cleaner. Their houses are many of them as bad as the Portuguese, that is to say, built of mud, and covered with bad earthen tiles. The Spaniards are in a manner rude to strangers or foreigners: they seem very selfish, and have not the way of hiding it like the Portuguese. When I had to pay them (we were generally seven or eight together) and we paid them in different coins, they would stand to argue with each other about the counting. Not so the Portuguese; they take what you give them as right, and dispute about the different coins afterwards. In our payments we never made mistakes, being too well informed about every coin. We found but few in the two nations that are clever at counting above a dollar. Spain, in general, is much better cultivated than Portugal, the latter being infinitely more mountainous. The wine where we are is horrid, and I believe Spain in general cannot boast of superior wines.

May 27.---To Rio Frio, or the Cold River, an indifferent village, twelve miles. 28. To Tabara Camp. I lost Dash on this march, a fine greyhound, and never could see or hear more of him. Tabara is a wretched place, but we were encamped in an olive wood, abounding with pigeons and snakes. The large green lizard is very numerous here, and has been very common for the last three or four days. They are so void of fear, that they came out of the bushes to view us as we passed. They burrow in the roots of old decayed trees, and will bite fiercely when attacked, but never attack first. The largest are eighteen inches long, of a lively green colour, and their bite reckoned poisonous. There is a small species called *Ligartho*, in Portugal,

which the superstitious account it a crime to hurt, somewhat like the robin in England. They report, and I am told for truth, that many have been saved, when asleep, from the snakes, by these little creatures scratching at the face of a man, to awaken him. Many quarrels had arisen between our soldiers and the inhabitants, about killing them. In one town there happened to be a crane's nest in the top of the church-steeple (a sacred bird in Spain) some of our soldiers saw her on her nest, and made a bet of wine who would kill her, firing in rotation with ball from their carbines. At last one of them brought her down, which so enraged the inhabitants, that they swore nothing but the man's life would expiate the deed. They threatened hard, but our men presented their pieces, and this calmed them. We were obliged, however, to be on our guard, to prevent fatal accidents. Such are these Spaniards, who will boldly tell you, they are the most enlightened people under the sun; have produced more learned men than all the rest of the world. "Were it not for us," they say, "you would have been all a set of savages." My notion is, that you never had but one truly learned and great writer, Cervantes, and he ridiculed you, though a Spaniard himself. I do not mean, however, to deny, that there have been many moderately learned men, though not of transcendent genius, in Spain.

Talara wood is very large: here we first got some fine Spanish bread, which was very excellent, and eats like a cake. We shot many hares here, of a fine flavour, and partridges were numerous on the hills, which were now beginning to be visible again. *May 31.*—At half-past twelve in the morning, the bugle sounded to turn out, which was unexpected, but at once we were mounted, and moved forward. As we were informed the French were near, we kept close. About eight in the morning we came to a hill which overlooked a fine plain, gently sloping to the river Ezla. On our mounting the hill, we saw many of our infantry camps, each division separate. The troops were in full view, returning to their different camps, the band of each regiment playing. These troops had been sent, during the night, to take a bridge over the Ezla, but on their approach the French blew it up, so that we must now look for a bridge elsewhere. It was a fine sunny day, and all the troops seemed in high spirits. Over the river the ground rose again in a gentle slope, and we had a view of part of the French encampment. Our brigade, under Sir William Ponsonby, now moved off, and, about three o'clock, came up with the infantry who were passing the river on a bridge of pontoons, while the baggage passed over on another. Here was a scene of jolly confusion; the cavalry forded the river, and the commissariat bullocks swimming over by their side. I got

over on one of the pontoons, very luckily. The German infantry floated higher up, but many unfortunately lost their lives in the attempt. About eight o'clock I reached our encampment, having this day marched forty miles, and we were twenty hours on horseback. We took a French piquet of fifty men, who were surprised, not expecting us over in the way we crossed. During the night the whole army joined, also Lord Wellington with his wing, in their way having retaken Salamanca. During the late winter, the French had been fortifying the road from Salamanca to Valladolid, and this induced Lord Wellington to move in a more northerly route, which would bring him in the rear of the French, and, at the same time, avoid the works they had now uselessly constructed. There were some French divisions in front of us, whom we drove along before us.

June 1.—Kept advancing, and the French retreating: the roads were delightful, but all the towns lay nearly in ruins, as the French had destroyed them. We halted in camp, near a ruined village, called Couvilhas, where Adeney being, as usual, tedious in dressing, I cut all the tent cords, and it came down on him, so that he was compelled to finish dressing in a drizzling shower, twelve miles. *June 2.* To Fuentes Seco, still driving the French before us, who retired, levying contributions on all the towns and villages; distance, sixteen miles. On the 3d, to a village called Benafarces, nearly in ruins.

On the 4th we moved forward, and learned that some more French divisions had joined. After this we advanced, but slower than usual. On the route our brigade halted, near a convent, when the old nuns came out and invited several of us to take refreshment, but none of the young nuns were to be seen, as they had been secured out of the way. The old nuns looked ghastly. The country we passed in this day's march was of a most curious description. On the tops of the hills the face of it seemed all heath, as far as you could see, and as flat as a table, with no interruption to the sight; but all this was a visual deception, as immense gullies ran between these hills, in which were scattered the roads, cultivated grounds, villages, &c. When down on the proper road, the whole country wore a different aspect; it appeared very hilly and intersected. I can only compare it to a table with several grooves cut in it: in these grooves, each of them three or four miles wide, would be the towns; at the bottom of the cavities the rivers.

We arrived, in the evening, at a small grove called Camp de Epino, attached to a part of the garden of a convent, which lay in ruins. It had been a most beautiful structure, but the French destroyed it, for not being able to pay a contribution levied on it. The French had bombarded the place from the top of the hill on which it stands. The building must have cost immense sums,

and particularly the chapel, as the remains testify what it had been. Here were the tomb and monument of Pope Urban the Eighth, with the mausolea of several ancient kings and queens. The convent was away from any village, a circumstance not usual in Spain. The monuments had been all destroyed, and the very tomb-stones and bodies taken up by the French in search of plunder ; scarcely any thing was left but the inscriptions. In the grand hall were the portraits, as large as life, of all the superiors who had presided over the convent for a length of years. Some of these remained entire, but the best part had been destroyed by the cannon-shot. They were matchless pieces in their kind, but were painted on the walls, and could not be removed. Indeed, little now appeared but the bare shell. The Spaniards had collected several piles of the bones, which they approached with great seeming reverence. I walked through these monuments of destruction and French rapacity, with pensive reflections on the transient character of worldly grandeur. 5. Camp, 19 miles. 6. Camp, 16 miles. 7. To Fuentes de Val de Pera. Here was a Moorish castle, from one of the towers of which a winding stair-case led, from top to bottom, the entrance at the top. Where this winding stair-case ultimately led to, no one could or would tell. We went down it, and found it communicated with some large caverns under the castle, and then branched off in various directions, but we did not care to pursue the investigation. We wished, however, much to know where these led to, but their end or object seemed to be also unknown.

On our march this day, we drove the French out of Palencia, a very fine town. The nuns, as we passed the convents, thrust their arms out of the lattice work, and waved white handkerchiefs for a welcome, but we could not see them. We had, however, a fine view of the French army, now in full retreat, filing along the top of a hill. 8. Camp, thirteen miles. 9. Santago Camp. The town in ruins, and every individual thing shattered in pieces. 10. Aranillas, eighteen miles ; in ruins. Some of the inhabitants lay dead in the streets, who had been shot by the French in their way through. 11. Villa Beta, sixteen miles. 12. Camp, sixteen miles. In the last few days' march the country was every way agreeable, and the soil uncommonly fertile. In one place provisions were so cheap, that I purchased a thousand quarts of wine for thirty dollars. Meat hardly to be had. The country was now getting hilly.

June 13.---We moved forward. In this day's march the baggage mixed pell-mell with the troops, the greatest part of which had scaled the top of one of those flat hills already mentioned. On our advancing to the edge of these hills, we found a body of thirteen thousand French before us, who never expected us

in this point. Only Major Butt's troop of artillery had come up, with the light brigade of infantry, and most of the cavalry. Another brigade of artillery soon arrived, when the two brigades opened on the French, who were passing the bridge over the Pisuergo.

The French moved as leisurely along the road, to cross the bridge, as if they had been on the parade. Our heavy brigade of cavalry were too near, when the French fired a volley at them, and wounded Captain Chitivell of the 3d dragoons, and four men. Of the French about sixty were killed before they could clear the bridge. They got over a brigade of artillery, which formed, and they began to fire away at us, but every shot missed. To me it seemed a wonder that, after the many rounds we fired, so few were hurt. When they were all over, they marched away, first blowing up the bridge, and some others. What hindered I know not, but I have often thought we might have cut them off, by intercepting their passage at the bridge. Most of the men on the ground were of this opinion. Being with Major Butt's brigade, I found that all our shot went over their heads. But now for the *horrida bella!* the very first shot the French fired from an eight-pounder, hit the muzzle of the gun on which I was resting, but flew off in an angle, passing near nine or ten men, without doing any mischief. We turned to the left, and advanced to Arranillas de Camina, but were roused next morning by the blowing up of Burgos Castle by the French, to hinder us from getting possession of it, as a place of strength. We had here a view of Burgos, and could see clouds of smoke rolling over it. On the morning of the 14th we found our route changed to a northern course, to cross the Ebro, at Miranda de Ebro; the French, meanwhile, were blowing up the bridges, by wholesale, in their line of march. Arrived at Huermecis, twenty-one miles.

15. To Villa Lien, twenty-four miles. 16. To Medina, ten miles; a fine large town. We crossed the Ebro this day: the passage lies on the east bank, with precipitate cliffs impending, which almost meet in some places, and form a kind of natural roof. The road winds along the river for about a mile, when it turns off. Some of those natural arches were from three to four thousand feet above our heads. The cavalry were obliged to lead their horses through, as, in some places we were on a level with the river; and in others were three thousand feet above it.

17.---San Lorente, fifteen miles. 18. Camp, seventeen miles. 19. Camp, seventeen miles. 20. Camp, twenty-three miles. During the last four days' march it rained incessantly. The country was one continued field and hill of mud; the dress of our soldiers was hardly distinguishable; and as for the difference

of officers and men, it was difficult to say which was which. The French army, by this time, had united, and, in their march, destroyed every village: nothing was to be seen but one picture of universal havock and desolation. The inhabitants of the country had fled to the mountains, and a horrible time they must have had of it. I found myself unwell this evening, from being so constantly drenched with heavy rains; went to bed in my tent, but could get no rest; my bones ached intolerably.

There was very heavy skirmishing the whole of this day, and when we were joined by Lord Hill's corps, consisting of our 2d division, with some cavalry and artillery, I expected it would bring on a general engagement; but night coming on, and the rain pouring down in torrents, it made both sides very glad to seek a little rest. All things now seemed preparatory to a general battle.

The place where we were in camp was in a wood on the side of a mountain, close to a village, still smoking, and in ruins. The whole of the French and English armies lay on these mountains, and on those opposite, with a large valley in the middle space. The mountains ran in a straight line, one row on each side the valley, and the valley might be about twelve miles in length. The French were in possession of the eastern end of the valley, protecting Vittoria, and we of the western. These hills were very lofty, particularly those on our right, where our light division was planted, with part of it in the valley; but, in the advance, the principal part of the cavalry were on the side of the hill with us. The country, to the very tops of the mountains, was covered with wood; and, when the skirmishing ceased, we took up our ground. The men every where now began making large fires; every ten or twelve men having one to themselves—the French did the same. The Spaniards, by this time, had come up, and they fell to making fires; so that, with the Portuguese in addition, such brilliant illuminations were seldom seen. But many brave fellows who were highly entertained with the scene, were never to see the sun again set, or contemplate such another spectacle. The mountains, on our right, were in the clouds, and the lights at the top glistened but faintly through them; but, in the valley, and at the foot, and half-way up, the lustre exceeded that of any ball-room ever so gaily illuminated.

Thus were we circumstanced the night previous to the battle of Vittoria. The French were encamped so near us, that the valley, not more than twelve miles long and three wide, was covered with 300,000 fighting men of all grades and nations. The commissariat had orders to issue a double allowance of rum to all, and the men were in want of nothing, as Lord Wel-

lington had ordered three days' provision to be issued that night.

The night of the 20th, I missed Adeney; he had fallen in among the French, and was forced to lie under a hedge, all night, in the rain, within pistol shot of a French centinel; but as soon as we had driven in the French outposts, next morning, he was liberated, and returned before we marched.

June 21st, 1813.---After a dead silence of some hours, except the neighing of horses, and talking of the men over their fires, which was a hermit's silence compared with what followed, we were all of a sudden on the alert, hearing a cannon shot in our front, and the popping shots of our advanced skirmishers; this was soon answered by the French. After this, one continued roar of musketry announced the commencement of the action; the whole army was soon on the move, and the French disputed every inch of ground. For a length of twenty-six miles, this day, it was a hard fought arena. We drove the French along the valleys and hills, the last of which were of such a height, that it seemed wonderful to me how we could get cannon up; but we actually did. The day was fine, not a cloud to be seen. We drove the French from every position, but there were only three points they seemed determined to keep: these were, El Pueblo, Gomrah Mayor, and the town of Vittoria. El Pueblo, cost us a number of lives; so did Gomrah Mayor;---but, at Vittoria, they made no stand till they had passed it, when they turned their battering cannon on us, who happened to be on the ground. But this artillery fell afterwards into our hands,---thirty-four pieces, with eight howitzers. Two of the cannon were eighteen feet long, and sixty pounders; and the rest little inferior as to calibre. The whole of the French army were, in a manner, disorganized in the event of this action. They lost 169 pieces of artillery, and about 25,000 men. There was a grand dinner to be given on this day, in Vittoria; and the generals had sent for their families and friends from France to be present. So unexpected was our arrival, that we took many carriages of ladies, several of whom were in the heat of the action. The French military chest was also taken and plundered, mostly by the country people and servants of the army. A hussar regiment was disgraced for stopping behind to plunder, the booty was so rich; but Lord Wellington afterwards ordered all to be returned, in order to make an equal distribution. Many made their fortunes here. The waggons which conveyed the money, were upset in a ditch; this was taken advantage of. One muleteer had a thousand doubloons in a bag, which he was obliged to return. An assistant-commissary-general, sent some thousands of dollars to England, but it was discovered, and he

was ordered to refund; this, I believe, he declined, and he was dismissed for it. He had, however, sufficient property to make him indifferent about any army commission. Two carts full of gold were upset on the right of Vittoria. I think that it might have been so contrived as to leave some behind, to take charge of the stores and value captured. The French, also, left all their ammunition waggons on the field, many of them full of the plunder and contributions they had extorted in Spain and Portugal. These were seized by the baggage servants and followers of the army. Many of the carriages and horses were carried away by the country people, and the ammunition, powder, shot, and shells, the last ready primed, were strewed, in millions, over the field and roads. The powder casks were broken and the powder loose, so that, if a spark had lighted, it must have been destruction to thousands. It was reported that the French had been shut out of Vittoria by the inhabitants, and so obliged to go round, right and left of the town; but, I rather believe, this happened from their not being able to get quick enough through the place, as the gates were narrow. It was on this movement of the French, right and left of the town, that they lost most of their artillery, which was upset in the ditches, that were deep and full of mud. Here it was, too, that our troops gave them another bitter pill. The enemy had only two eight pounders left, on the night after the battle. The carnage was dreadful during the day, but our cannon seemed to have been more fatal than our musketry. In one wood, on the right of the road, I saw about 500 Portuguese killed, and the French appeared, for a time, to have had the advantage here, as the Portuguese had suffered extremely.

Joseph Buonaparte set out after the action for Pampeluna, which he is reported to have reached the same night. He lost all his baggage, as did his army, and he had only his horse left. The marshal's baton, of Jourdan, was taken among other plunder. During the day, I was with the baggage, close behind the army. As every one was eager to learn what was going forward, lieutenant Burke, of the 48th, came up to me; I had known him with the regiment—he was nephew to Sir Robert Kennedy, chief commissary-general of the army. We had not been long in conversation, when the words "Fly! the French are coming," alarmed all the baggage train. I was with my own, and wished to save it, if possible, so I kept the muleteers at their places, accordingly; but the baggage of many others was thrown in the road, and lost entirely. Before this happened, the muleteers were lazy enough, grumbling for going so fast; but as soon as it was notified that the French were coming, they turned round, and such galloping and racing I never witnessed. Women

mounted on asses were soon knocked into the ditches full of water and dead bodies, on the road side, and a great part of the baggage was upset on them. The servants, through fear, left their baggage in the road, and away they went on their mules, ponies, or whatever they happened to have. Many of the servants returned to Portugal, never coming back; and many a poor fellow that was looking out anxiously for his baggage, this night, after a hard fight, found it lost to him for ever, as the country people plundered it. Such a scene of confusion and dismay, an unconcerned spectator might have thought burlesque. Such whipping, and spurring, and lashing, and thumping the poor horses, mules, and asses, &c.; such a strain of puffing and blowing, cursing the slowness of their horses, and those mounted on mules out of all temper! For, in treating their mules so unmercifully, the creatures would not go forward a step; but moved round and round like a wheel, upsetting all the baggage they came near. Many mule riders left their mules in the middle of the road, in this manner, falling off with the giddiness of their heads, in turning round, and they fled to some mountains, on foot, not far off. After they had gone on a quarter of a mile, a body of Spanish cavalry came galloping along by us, which made me seriously think that the French were coming; but, what had become of the army? We were soon however, relieved from our anxiety, as some English dragoons came up to stop the baggage, all being a false alarm, said, at the time, to be issued by some persons, to keep the baggage at a distance, as they had found a rich harvest of plunder, and were afraid if the baggage had come on quick, they would have had too many to share it with. But whether it was true or not, I do not pretend to say.

It was now too late for me to get all the supplies up to the regiment; and so I took a couple of mules, with four kegs of rum, and sent them after, as they were two leagues past Vittoria, and I had been very ill all day. I encamped about fifty yards outside Vittoria, near the grand gate. In some of the streets, there were hundreds of dead bodies, and wounded. We gave what relief we could to the people, not rejecting even the poor wounded French, who cried bitterly for water, but we had none to give, as all the water about had been turned to thick mud, during the day. I was much fatigued and slept well. Some one in the night fired off a cannon which had remained loaded; the ball narrowly missed me, as it skimmed along the head of my bed. So much for the vicissitudes of this day.

June 22d.—This day we went forward to join the regiment, being obliged to go round Vittoria, on the west side, from the gates being shut, which prevented us from seeing the town,

It was in this tour, however, that I beheld the havoc; the French artillery were upset in the ditches, wheels uppermost, and I could compare the heaps of dead, and the confusion which must have prevailed, to nothing but the earthquake in Lisbon. Perhaps it was worse, as, in some places, the shells, in bursting, half covered some of the bodies with mud and earth. Here let me consider the many suffering for the few; men slaughtering men, who never saw each other before, and a merciful God looking down on the destroying of lives which he himself had given. My military friends may smile at this grave morality; but, on the honour of a British officer, I give my sentiments, that the principle of warfare is not natural to man! It was not till after we passed the town that we fell in with the French heavy artillery. The road now wound through mountains, with a very wintry look, well covered, however, with wood of the pine order. The roads very dirty. We arrived about half past two at the regiment, encamped in a wood. In this camp Lord Wellington wrote his dispatches, in a poor village called Salvatierra. Next morning commenced the pursuit of the fugitives, along the Royal Road, or Caminha Real, to Pampeluna. The road wound through almost inaccessible mountains, and the weather came on very wet. We arrived, in the afternoon, at a small, wretched village, on the side of the mountains, called, Alchacho, through which our road lay. In some few places I observed large fields of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and Indian corn, which, luckily, in part had escaped both the enemy and us. Abundance was to be had, without the trouble of cutting what was in view, or we should not have tarried to ask any ones leave.

On the 24th, the troops halted, as we were all much fatigued with constant wet and marching. On the 25th, we moved through this range of mountains, twenty-five miles; we were quartered in several little villages, which baked excellent bread for the troops. We passed, this day, about ten or a dozen streams, over some of which were bridges, the waters very rapid; but this I have always found the case, in a mountainous country, occasioned by the quick descent of positions from the hills, which gives an impulse for miles, even after it reaches the plains. I was fixed in the small village of St. Ecaye.

June 26th.—We moved again, the day being warm, or rather with an intense hot sun. The country now began to look well cultivated; but we were often perplexed among the many small rivers we had to cross. The French, by this time, had passed Pampeluna, but left four thousand men there, not having had time to draw their treasure out of it. They, no doubt, thought it might prove a stumbling block to us, as it is a *coup de maître*

in the art of war. On our approach to it, we found the roads improve; we came to an aperture in a long ridge which gave us a fair view of it. The road from the narrow aperture to it is as straight as an arrow, and as level as a bowling green. The country, round about, is tolerably level, but in the back ground lay the Pyrenees, towering one on another, till absolutely lost to the eye in height and distance. From this spot all the cavalry turned off to the right of the town, while the infantry kept moving on to the left, after the French, who had retired, on the road to their own country, worn down with misfortunes.

I met, this day, an old companion, lieutenant Lima of the 48th; he had been in a small village with the sick of his regiment. He was apprehensive of the French coming out of the town and attacking him in the night, as he had no guard with him; the town was not more than a short league distant, and full in view. He was recalled, however, the same day, or he would certainly have been taken. We arrived and encamped in a wood over the town of Tajonar, three miles from Pampeluna. Here I rolled down the hill, in the night, from its steepness, and was awoken by a centinel, who was near firing at me, seeing a long white body come rolling down. I went to bed again, and never slept better.

June 27th.—We again set forward, leaving the grand city of Pampeluna to the north-west; grand it did appear to us, but we lost sight of it altogether by the turn of the road. In reference to these roads, I must say, that better I never saw; they were as even as a table, without hills or hollows. The ground had been levelled, by an expert surveyor, previous to making the road; but I shall have occasion hereafter to mention these, when I come to the Pyrenean roads. The day was dreadfully hot, and the baggage of all the cavalry so crowded the road, that the dust, thrown up by it, was ready to choak us. At last, we arrived at the neat town of Tafalla, tempting notice of which we had, by the many fruit-gardens on the road side, as we approached. Here we had plenty of the finest fruit I ever saw; all kinds of cherries, peaches, plums, &c., so cheap that, for sixpence, a person might load himself. The markets, almost instantly, rose 50 per cent. and I have ever found this to be the case, wherever the English enter. We left this town behind us, and moved on towards Olite, a fine town, but not so large as Tafalla. The country all around, in our immediate vicinity, appeared to be covered with varieties of corn; the land, gently rising in small hills, had an appearance much like that part of Spain we first entered. This day we marched thirty-five miles, and encamped near Olite, in a fine grove of vines; the general staff having taken possession of the town.

June 28.---Marched thirty miles to camp, at the convent of Caperosa ;---we this day passed a very fine bridge, over the sides of which many mules, with baggage, had been tilted into the river, and the mules drowned before they could unloose the cords of the trunks, &c. with which they were loaded. This gave rise to much complaint among the muleteers, but it was not attended to, as it was evidently their own fault. For when the bridge was already full of baggage, other muleteers would rush into the centre, and those at the sides were inevitably tilted over the side way (not more than two feet high) into the river. I left them to settle their differences among themselves, with their long knives, which, after all their uproar, they replaced in their pockets. The convent of Caperosa is on the banks of the river, over which was the bridge. It was nearly deserted when we came, and we quartered two regiments of cavalry in it, with all the staff. It appeared to be an old gloomy Monkish pile. All the interior of the chapel in the ancient Gothic style ; the apartments small and filthy, and the convent nearly surrounded by a wood, in which, however, we had plenty of game, and, curious to say, many wild pigs. These last had become really wild, though of the domestic kind. The original cause we could not find out. Some few were killed, but the gallant and noble General Ponsonby published a prohibition, as they might still be private property. On the 29th we halted, and had orders to return to Tafalla, as the division of the French army we were in pursuit of had now too far the start of us to hope to overtake them.

And now, after this toilsome march, I shall take a slight view of some things which, in the rapidity of a soldier's movements, have been left without explanation. During our movements, our troops depended on the country for provisions. The villages procured us bread in plenty, and we had brought live bullocks on with us from Portugal ; many hundreds, however, died on the way. Rum was brought by mules along with us, but of this we required but little, as the country produced excellent wine, some of which had been in cask perhaps the last hundred years. Our horses fared the worst, as we could not bring hay and corn with us. These were obliged to live upon the barley, oats, and wheat, all green in the ear, which we found in the fields, but were obliged to cut down for the purpose. Sometimes the inhabitants would furnish plenty of oats and barley, the latter of which they only use for forage, and for these we paid in gold. At several places we had to search every house for corn, and often found it stored in the most curious places. Very frequently the communication was by a trap-door under the bed, through thick walls, to vaults under the foundation of the house. In a variety of

cases, we were sure to trace them out, but after all, many, doubtless, were undiscovered.

The Spaniards, through the whole of the country we passed, were, in general, dirty. The women usually wore petticoats made of a kind of coarse tick, and they had short bed-gowns, with long sleeves; the men had a dress not unlike ours, but over all, a tremendous great coat, the tail of which they tucked up under the right arm, and threw over the left, letting it fall down behind in folds. This they wore in weather ever so hot; and I often remarked that this coat smelled strongly of tobacco. Some of the Spaniards appeared to be very friendly, others very reserved and morose. Altogether I found them a most affectionate people, if you can insinuate yourself into their favour, which, however, it was very difficult to do, they kept themselves so retired. These last observations are only applicable to such as had never left their native homes, but as for travellers, voyagers, &c. the very reverse will be found to be the truth. The Spaniards are not only imperious and overbearing to strangers, but are seldom known to unite in the bonds of a strict friendship, even among themselves. The husband continues to smoke, and the wife sits at her work, whether spinning or otherwise. The women have a pan of charcoal under their petticoats, to keep them warm, as in Portugal, if the weather be cold. When very warm, they retire into the shade, as the sun's heat will, in a manner, if too powerful, boil, or at least act upon, the brains, even to the height of madness. This happened, in some instances, to our men, both in Portugal and Spain. The French call this distemper "*un coup de soleil*."

The houses of the Spaniards are but meanly built: as in Portugal, whole villages are often constructed of mud. To make up for this, almost every village has a church, and often ornamented beautifully. The Spanish architecture in churches is, perhaps, inferior to none; some churches which I have seen in small towns, would match any buildings of their size in Paris or London. How the Spaniards could take so much pains to ornament them, I cannot conceive, for I never had even a faint idea of what laziness was, till I entered the Peninsula. The Portuguese herein are culpable enough; but are positively laborious, compared to them, and to this, as well as to superstition, may be ascribed the superfluous excess of monks and nuns of different orders. It is supposed that, on an average, one-eighth of the population of Spain and Portugal are devoted to the religious profession. And of all these, three-fourths have hardly any thing to do, but live on the best of the country's productions. How any government, with pretensions to common sense, can mildly look on at such despicable drones, of not the least use to

society, surprises me ; but religion in this country is the supreme authority, and the king himself must be subservient, and not offend it. Each order, of which there are many, has various and ample resources of revenue ; but, in general, they are endowed with large tracts of land ; and of this the convents have the most. There seem to be but few large land-holders in Spain, excepting these. The nobility have some, but altogether disproportionate to the convents and various orders of Sta Cruz, San Francisco, and an hundred others. Of the first two orders there are many ramifications, having in every province three or four, or more, branch convents. The single order of Sta Cruz is computed to contain above three hundred convents, in Spain and Portugal ; all of these depend on one another, but their head convents in Madrid and Lisbon receive the greatest share of the revenue, as they draw it from so many minor sources. These convents are under the bishops, and these bishops may be deemed despotic, or at least it is very dangerous to offend them.

Private property seems to be well guarded, and the confines of each boundary marked by cuts in the ground, large stones, or stakes. Very few hedges are to be seen, except near large towns, and these very indifferent. Stone walls seem to be the principal means of defence, near towns, but they seldom rise more than four feet from the ground. Water-courses are often cut, to divide property.

The Spaniards carry the produce of their vineyards to market, either in wine or fruit, both of which, with bread, constitute their principal food. Of meat there is very little used, and even that very poor. The best we found in the country was the Merino (sheep) mutton, which was as delicate as our lamb, but much sweeter tasted. Their bullocks they did not care to part with, as being wanted for draught. Cows were generally killed, when young, for food ; but they kept many for milk. Butter was seldom made of it ; cheese was frequently, but it was as hard as flint, and had a very imperfect flavour. Their breakfast is chocolate, which is here much superior to any in England. A small cup, containing about half a noggin, a bit of dry toast dipped in it, and then eaten. When it is out, the whole is washed down by a draught of cold water. This was a sort of breakfast I never could relish. The lower classes have generally soup made of vegetables for breakfast, dinner, and supper ; and in some places I have seen the pigs live on the same food with the family, with a little corn added. Their dinners, vegetables and meat, with but little of the latter. Chocolate at night. Wine is drunk all day through, but it seldom mounts into their head, as they are habituated to it from their childhood. Fruit makes a share of their food, with

bread; the latter is excellent, very close-grained, and what we had near the Ezla, more like a delicious cake than bread.

The Spaniards are, in general, very poor; and those that are rich, never do any good with it for their poorer brethren. This observation is not only applicable to Spain, but to almost every country I have visited. The riches of those who are possessed of them, are expended only for their ease and enjoyment; and, provided they can wallow in every gratification, the poor may starve. The rich may often be seen in Spain gambling away thousands. Indeed, the inhabitants, in general, are great gamblers. I have seen the father of a family gamble away his vineyards, wines, houses, goods, even the coat off his back, and leave the room almost naked. When they pursue it hotly, no consideration for themselves or their family can check them; all is forgot in the raging delirium for play.

Tafalla is a large and well-built town; the houses are principally of stone, roofed with red tile. This place not only abounded in fruit, but we had here plenty of ice cream, which, in a warm climate, is a treat delicious beyond expression. We could get about half a pint for a penny, so that we did not fail to make abundant use of it. We had often met with men, travelling about the country, with churns on their backs, and with handsome cups that looked like silver, but took no minute notice of them, till we came here, when we found they travelled about, selling ice cream. They must have, I think, a pretty brisk trade of it, as they had frequently to replenish their churns, in the different towns; here in particular. But the Spaniards appear to consume a vast quantity of it. This place once had an old castle attached to it, which is now converted into a market place for woollen goods, the only place of the kind I have had an opportunity of noticing in Spain. It stands on the Camina Real, or Royal Road; and is almost always full of people. While we remained, Sir Stapleton Cotton gave many balls, which the inhabitants of the town returned to us in the best way they could; however, on the night of the 26th July, we had orders to march for Pampeluna, and we set out next morning, at four o'clock, returning by the road we came.

Our orders were quite unexpected, and we lay at our ease waiting till Pampeluna would surrender, it being Lord Wellington's intention to blockade and starve it out. But the French army having received strong reinforcements, attacked us and drove us back, till they came in the neighbourhood of Pampeluna, which it was their intention to relieve, and so draw out their troops and treasure. Near my old quarters I left the regiment which had pushed forward, and I took up my quarters in the little village where my old friend Lima, of the 48th regiment, had

been alarmed at finding himself so near the French, when left behind with the sick. I had not been long in this village, when a brigade of Spanish artillery came rushing in, at a rapid rate, with horrible accounts; the British army were almost cut to pieces, and not the least chance of doing any good, the French were in such numbers. Soon after arrived a Spanish brigademajor, in a dreadful passion, calling and upbraiding the officers and men, as a pack of cowards; but they bore it with much seeming indifference. It appeared that this brigade having fired a few rounds on a French column, were charged by the column; and that our infantry intercepted the charge. This brigade, panic struck with their danger, set fire to their ammunition, which blew up, and they left the field. However, they brought their guns along with them, which preserved some remains of their credit. The Spanish major exerted himself to get them to return, as we could supply them with ammunition; but it was in vain. Here they came, and here they would stop, which they did, till news came of the retreat of the French, when they set out after them.

It appears that our troops had hard work to keep their ground, and were now only collecting and concentrating. Some of our divisions had to march all night through the woods by torch light; when, after a world of difficulty, they effected a junction with the army. It was not till the 29th of July that all the army joined. The gazette will pretty fully detail the particulars of the battle of the Pyrenees. I have to lament my friend L. of the 48th regiment, whom I had seen with the sick in this place. He fell mortally wounded. Also ensign P. who came up from Lisbon with me; the only two who were killed of the regiment. The last had either one or two brothers killed in the same regiment, in some former campaigns. The family was particularly unfortunate in its connexion with the army.

A slight description of the country round Pampeluna, will help to explain our movements. Every where round about this large town, which looks like a mother city among her tributary children, the small villages are numerous.

Pampeluna stands on a rising ground, with a small descent from it, on every side. The fortifications are so constructed, as to command every hill within range of cannon shot. The hills about it are not high, but numerous in every direction, the whole being hills and valleys for about three miles, when the cliffs of the Pyrenees begin to rise, each tier mounting higher and higher, till lost in the clouds. On the north side, the Pyrenees are highest, and it was here that the French arrived, on the 30th of July, when they hoisted a signal for those in the town to come out and join them. They attempted so to do, but the Spaniards

drove them in again. All around the town appears to be one spacious field of corn, except the top of a few hills which are covered with wood. The Pyrenees here are very bare in this article, which may be attributed to the vicinity of the town, the people of which cut it down for fire-wood, and roll it down the mountains. Farther off, the mountains are nearly covered to the very top : the wild boar takes shelter in the thick forests, with many other wild animals. The roads to the town are nearly all straight, and almost as smooth as a bowling green. They seem to be well sanded and taken care of. At the east end of the town is an aqueduct, reaching many miles into the country ; I have reason to believe it is useless now. In one place, it runs through a valley for two miles, and the centre arches are nearly 150 feet high. It then runs through a hill, to effect which must have cost immense labour. When the aqueduct comes within two miles of the town, it runs under ground the rest of the way. In the town appears a dome of a church, in the centre, rising above all the other churches, and pretty much like St. Paul's Cathedral, in London. It certainly has a noble appearance. The first day we approached the town, we met hundreds of the inhabitants on the roads, coming out of it, expecting we should immediately commence the siege. Lord Wellington allowed all to pass, and the French were glad to get rid of them, as useless mouths might eat up the provisions, if the siege lasted : in this instance it proved to be well judged in them.

I felt not a little solicitude for those poor people, thus leaving their homes, and thronging the roads, every one carrying their goods on their back, on the way to any friends they might have in the villages at a distance. Young females of tender and delicate frames were trudging it along, on foot, heavy laden with their misfortunes and goods, and exposed to the rude stare of the soldiers. Many of these had never, I believe, been so exposed before, and I could see through their blushing cheeks, shame and grief in their hearts at the pressure of their necessities.

Our soldiers, and officers too, took great notice of them. The latter endeavoured to enter into conversation with them, but they abruptly turned away and burst into tears, as we must appear like enemies to them, who had literally turned them from their homes. I thought so many jests given on the occasion, quite out of season, and could only turn away with disgust, repeating from Cowper :

'Tis thus, I exclaimed, with a pityless part,
Some act by the delicate mind ;
Regardless of wringing and breaking a heart,
Already to sorrow resigned.

These lines seemed truly apposite. *July 28.*—I moved all the government stores to a small village, about two leagues nearer Vittoria, named Ororvia. Here I was billeted in the house of a barber-surgeon. I had long wished to know if the two trades were actually combined, and I found it to be the case universally throughout Spain.

During this day's march it rained incessantly, accompanied by dreadful thunder and lightning. Our troops were hotly engaged the whole of the day on the Pyrenees. We could plainly hear the musquetry and cannon. The smoke arising from various hills that were visible under the clouds, made the appearance as if we were living in fire and water. The lightning was forked, and cut many curious figures in the air; the clouds, too, seemed infinitely higher, at times, when we went down the vallies. In the evening I received news from the troops that determined me to join them, and learned, to my surprise, that it had been a very fine day, and no rain whatever. The clouds were below them most of the day. The heavy firing, I imagine, was the cause of its being wet with us, the explosion having broken the clouds, and the firing, in a manner, igniting the air. Whether this might excite the thunder, I leave it for philosophers to determine.

July 29.—In the morning we set out, and determined, if possible, to join the regiment. Many were not for coming with us, particularly the Spanish and Portuguese muleteers, who were afraid, if the French came down, they should risque the loss of all their property in their mules: at last we convinced them there was no danger, and we set out accordingly.

Having advanced through the valleys, we came to a small village, almost within cannon shot of the town; and here all the baggage of the army was concentrated. Had the French, in a sortie, made a dash on it, they might have taken the whole, as we had no troops near. Towards evening we reached the foot of a high range of hills, over which we had to pass. When at the top, the sun was near setting behind the Pyrenees, that branched southward. Here we had an ample view of the French and English armies; ours in the valleys next to us, and the French possessed of the highest mountains, over which their camp spread to the very top. Our troops were in squares, and principally round the villages; in front was a long hill, which we had well defended during the day, having been attacked by the French eleven times, but they were driven back every time. It was now crowned with artillery and infantry; all the small hills were also occupied by our infantry and artillery. Our cavalry lay in the rear, behind all. The French camp stretched up the mountain, as far as the eye could penetrate. Every thing was as silent as the grave, and my fancy was ready to suggest

that I could hear a pin drop. I now joined the regiment, and found they had not been engaged.

July 30.—This day, the French made their last effort, which was gallantly repelled by our men; they were driven up the mountains, and then down again. The fighting had been very violent the last four days; for the enemy were determined to liberate their companions in Pampeluna, if possible, and in the attempt appear to have lost more men than were in the place. They might be about four thousand, and they lost, on the smallest calculation, that number, at least, in the actions. Our brigade was ordered to move forward, and as I had no material business to attend, I mounted my horse, and rode to the top of the hill where I had first discovered our army, and from this spot I had a full view of all that was going forward. I was now elevated more than two thousand feet above the walls of Pampeluna, and it was just at this moment that I observed the French on the Pyrenees hoist a signal for their comrades in the town to come out and join them. The signal was answered by firing a gun from the citadel, and immediately after they issued out in a body, from the gate on the road leading to France. I saw them all out and formed, when our cavalry and the Spanish army advanced down on them, and immediately a very heavy skirmishing commenced. The French fought like lions, just under me, so that I could see every man's manœuvres. The Spaniards, who were ten times their number, compelled them at last to retreat, which the guns of the town enabled them to do with tolerable order. This lasted nearly three hours on my left, while in the front, on the mountains, the contending armies fought like furies. When the French saw their comrades issuing out of the town, their fire increased to one continued roar of musquetry, the artillery on both sides being of little use in such a rough and rugged region. But when they saw the garrison again driven in, they gave up the cause as desperate, and, by degrees, retired, until the firing was lost in the distance. Our army, taking the advantage of these successes, drove them at length into France. Part of our army now returned to the siege of St. Sebastians, and the operations commenced with double vigour. About the same time we took possession of the town of Passages, a sea-port, where we had communication with Admiral Penrose and the fleet, so that we had plenty of provisions of all kinds from England. The Spaniards and cavalry were left behind, to keep Pampeluna invested, which now began to suffer extremely for want of provisions. On the 31st, our regiment was ordered into quarters at our old village of Tajonar, where we were but poorly lodged and accommodated, most of the inhabitants having fled on the first alarm. I determined to pitch my tent, and

lodge in it, sooner than sleep in the village houses, they were so filthy.

The day we entered it, we advanced a little, to see what we could of the work of destruction, during the late battle. The first spot we made to was a Spanish post, consisting of a small field-work, and a few guns, to prevent the French from breaking out on our side. This, however, they frequently did, and once or twice in the night, took and spiked the guns, but the damage was always repaired next day. We had a fine view of the town, and could reckon eight or nine spires of churches. Having viewed its amazing strength for some time, we set out for the Pyrenees, two miles distant. Scarcely had we got from under the cover of the redoubt, when some of the enemy began firing at us, at a distance, with their great guns, as if for a wager. The balls cut round us on every side, and, as we had no business to keep us near, we clapped spurs to our horses, till we were out of range. We then rode up the mountain, on which the French had been encamped the night of the 29th of July, but could see little till we had mounted another tier, when the view of slaughter and death broke in upon us all at once. The carnage was horrible, but most of the dead were covered with straw and green herbs, of various kinds. I saw what terrific effects some of the cannon shot had on the rocks; huge fragments having been broken off and shattered. After riding till our horses were nearly tired, we turned about, and rode down the steep mountains, home.

It was currently reported, in these parts, that the Spanish sentries, bribed by the French, had let a thousand sheep pass into the town in the night. This gained much credit, and I have every reason to believe it true, although the Spanish general either would not, or could not, find it out. After this, we were ever suspicious of the Spaniards; nor did the French spare them, as they made frequent sorties in the night, so as to keep them continually on the alert. It was evident that the French had obtained some provisions, but, except as above stated, there was no other way to account for it.

On the 6th of *August* we had news of the defeat of the French, in another quarter, and the surrender of the town of Saragossa to General Mina, the Spanish patriot, who took here five or six hundred prisoners. During the whole of this war Mina distinguished himself as a partisan; he harassed the French in a terrible manner through the passes of the Pyrenees.

The supplies which came out of France were ever obliged to have a very strong guard with them, as, if they fell in with Mina, who knew every pass of the mountains, their capture seemed inevitable. Not even numbers sometimes, could hold out protection,

as Mina would take up such positions as to render numbers useless. In this way did he molest them without intermission. The Spaniards in Navarre made songs about him and his volunteers, but whether they respected him for his success, or because their friends principally composed his army, I will not take upon me to affirm. However, it is partly true, that they did not altogether like the destruction among the French, whom they esteemed much more than the English, on account of their religion. After all, neither the French nor English armies would aspire to be sainted on the score of religion. It is generally thought that more French soldiers fell in this manner of petty warfare, than in all Lord Wellington's general actions added together. After the surrender of Saragossa, Mina turned after the French in the eastern passes, to intercept stragglers from the main body of their army, and here I shall leave them for the present.

Many parties now set out for a boar hunt, wherein they met with some success. It was only in one excursion that I accompanied them. A number of the country people, who were best inured to it, went with us on foot. We allowed three days for the excursion. Each person was armed with a boar-spear, about ten feet long. We were all mounted, but left our horses at the foot of the hills. We entered the forests with proper guides, but none of us seemed to relish the amusement, it was so toilsome. The first and second day shewed nothing but wolves, many of which we shot for our diversion. These formidable animals would attack us, when wounded, and we could only defend ourselves by transfixing them with our spears. At night we lay down in any house we could find, where we dined or supped on any thing we had killed. We had, however, brought plenty with us, which our servants carried on poles. On the second day's journey, we penetrated some woods that I am ready to think had never been explored by man before. Here we could survey a valley, about three miles over, which was inaccessible, and here we had a view of the wild boar in its primeval state. We fired several shots, the echo of which sounded like thunder, returned, went away, and again reverberated in the valley, at our feet, which was inaccessible from its woods and rocks. I was surprised to see the agility of the boar. I had concluded, from its make that it must be very heavy and slow in its movements, but I was now to experience its promptitude and activity.

On the third day we met with a boar, which gave us a fine chase of some miles. I fired at one time, and wounded it, when it sprang towards me. I ran behind a tree, and loaded again, and when it was at the opposite side of the tree, some one else fired and hit it in the head : it fell, and I finished it with the butt-

end of my piece, which I had but little opportunity of firing, as I was obliged to keep moving round the tree, in proportion as my enemy followed, and so to keep him constantly on the opposite side. This boar had two large tusks, of which it would have made terrible use, if we had not disabled it. The animal was about seven feet long, and three and a half high, when standing up. We could only bring a part away : the legs make excellent hams, a little hard and black, but very sweet. This day's sport proved so tiresome, that we agreed to return home, where we arrived in the evening of the fourth day : our horses had arrived before us.

In this journey, we learnt from our guides, that there were many valleys like those we had seen, totally inaccessible to man, from underwood and perpendicular rocks. It appears that, the boar never attacks man, except when impelled by hunger, and this is only in winter, when the trees are stript of their food, acorns, young branches, herbs, and there are no wild animals which he can surprise. But when the snow covers the ground they are left without resource, and then only do they attack man, and but seldom. One half of the Pyrenees is inaccessible, many parts have never been even seen by any one. This we can readily believe from what we observed ourselves. No maps, whatever, are correct, in giving the points of the mountains, any further than the extreme ones. We had with us the best Spanish maps that could be had, but they were of no use after the first day.

August 8th.—We left Tajonar, for the small village of Viurum, on the road to the Ebro. There was nothing particularly observable here ; and, on the 10th, we moved to Mandagonia, during which, we passed the town of Puente de la Reyna, or the Queen's Bridge, there being a bridge here over a small river. This town appears in a very picturesque situation on approaching it, but has nothing remarkable to show when you get to it. It is surrounded, nearly, by large hills, over which there are excellent roads, in some places cut out of the solid rock. The ascents are made easy by a constant winding round the hills. The town is tolerably clean, advantage being taken of the river which passes through it, and which is well stored with fish. There are also the ruins of a most magnificent convent here ; it seems wonderful that it has never been repaired. Also, an excellent market place, well stored with a constant supply of all kinds of provisions. The main street, which is quite in a line, has many fine shops in it, particularly woollen drapers and jewellers. We found this place the general refuge of the wanderers from Pampeluna ; it was full of them. Soon after you leave this town, you have a good view of Mandagonia, situated

at the top of a hill, at the end of a long road, of about two miles, laid out in a straight line ; but, when you are in the town, you find little to recommend it, but a beautiful church of the Gothic style, mixed with modern decorations. The inside is fitted up in a truly superb manner. We were billeted here on a priest, who was surly, because we did not invite him to dinner, as he seemed to pine for a piece of roast beef we had with us. Our servants gave him a canteen of Irish whiskey, and he mistaking it for *Agoa dente*, or the spirits of Spain, nearly finished the canteen. He was soundly inebriated, and afforded much diversion, though we were glad to get rid of it by his falling asleep. In this state we left him next morning.

On the 11th of *August* we arrived at Lerin, a town situated on the top of a hill, to which there is only one accessible road for cavalry. The south side of this town ends, by the fall of the ground, almost perpendicular, for two hundred yards. Pedestrians may climb up the steep, any where, though not without difficulty. The east and west sides of the town are bound in a similar manner. At a distance, the place looks like a horse-shoe, the open end being a gradual descent to the valleys below, through which the road passes.

The country all about is covered with vineyards, the fruit now nearly ripe. On my arrival here, I had the best billet I ever had in Spain, on a family named Tavaréz. The son, Juan Baptiste Tavaréz, was the most intelligent Spaniard I had ever seen. He exerted himself greatly, and did every thing to amuse us. As you come into this town, you are attracted by the ruins of a fine old palace, though not of very ancient date. We went to see it, and our Spanish friend accompanied us. On our entrance, there appeared to have been only one large court inside, with apartments under colonades, all round. These were all in ruins, and our companion informed us that, previous to the late war, this palace had been the favourite retreat of the family of Alba, and the dukes of that title ; some of whom are buried here in the church. Of the palace nothing remains but the outside walls ; the apartments had been two stories high, but the French were so often in it, and again driven out by Mina, and other patriot generals, that the townspeople petitioned Mina to destroy it. As it kept the poor inhabitants in constant alarm, he complied, and now it is a heap of ruins. Marble pillars of the most exquisite workmanship are seen lying about in every direction, four or five feet deep. Most of the pillars are of white marble. On your entrance through the gate, you descend a flight of steps which brings you into a long passage, lighted by a small grated iron door at the end of it. This, our guide told us, had been often resorted to by the French, to

escape by, when hard pressed, as the door led to the side of the precipice which they could well enough descend, in the night, unknown to the besiegers, who had no room to post sentinels on this side. It had, it seems, been used by the duke's family as a cellar. In ancient times, however, this residence must have been a place of strength, and this, no doubt, was the sally port. The front of the building exhibited many thousand marks of war, being almost covered over with musket balls, especially about the windows, of which last, there were only three or four. This front afterwards, with the ground before it, made an excellent racket court, and it became our daily diversion while here. We went, one day, to see the church, the architecture of which is in the light Grecian style; it was elegantly fitted up, and here we saw the monument of one of the dukes of Alba, of white marble, perfectly transparent, though placed there a hundred years ago. The duke is recumbent at full length; his wife beside him, and, at their feet, the statue of a dog, which had saved their lives on some particular occasion.

During our stay, I observed that many of the walls of the houses at the east end of the town, as also the sally port of the castle or palace, had been cut out of the solid rock. These tenements, cold enough in winter, were, at this time, a real luxury, as the weather had set in very hot. I found, on inspection, that the rock on which this town stands, consists of a composition of sand, lime-stone, marl, and of a soft kind of white marble; the latter, when heated, becoming as hard as flint, which durability it will ever after retain. The country was tolerably well cultivated in every direction; indeed, Spain, in general, may be said to be so, though it does not cost them half the labour that it does in England. Were Spain cultivated in the manner of English farming, there is no doubt that it would supply one half of Europe with grain. Of hay, they make but little; and a field of green grass is a rarity the eye is very seldom regaled with.

While in this town we had frequent balls, my house, facing the church, being selected as the largest. All the females came and their friends; also the officers of the regiments about the place, with others at a distance. At these balls there was no supper, only slight refreshments, such as iced lemonade, iced cream, chocolate, coffee, and sweet cake, with plenty of wine. Of these, each took as his fancy led him. The whole expense of one night would not exceed forty dollars; occasionally, we might have 300 present. The dances, very often, consisted of the fandango, which the English never attempted; these are too well known to require an account of. The country dances were very elegant when we began to know them, but this could not

be done without some practice. The movements are very slow, much like a hymn tune, or, sometimes, the music is very quick, the dance seeming to beat time to it: all too slow for an Englishman. The dances consist in the twining of the arms, the gentleman and lady together; the gentleman turning the lady round, till her back is to him, and then himself, when the arms of both become crossed on their own bosom, the hands of each meeting at the shoulder. Then untwining again, without ever letting go each others hands. Keep moving, to the time, with a particular step, then down the middle, in the fandango style. Waltzing was also a favourite amusement with them and us. These little parties were repeated every Sunday night, being the jubilee day in all Catholic countries; the townspeople and our officers giving them in rotation.

One evening we witnessed a phenomenon while out on the ramparts, as I might term the boundaries of the town, of very vivid lightning, which seemed to be over the river Ebro, six or seven miles distant in a direct line. We could not but admire the immense sheets it came down in from the clouds: after a time it assumed a different form, the sparks and electric fluid rushing out of the ground to the clouds. At last, it grew so vivid and frequent, that we ran the risk of being blinded by it. The balls of fire rushing out of the earth and out of the clouds, flew in every direction; some ran along the ground, some darting from one cloud and entering another. In fact, they illumined our whole town, so that we could see to pick up a pin, or read the smallest print. The light was not at intervals, but in one continued glare. Yet we heard no reports of thunder whatever. The inhabitants told us it was common at this season of the year; they ascribed it to the exhalations of the Ebro, as they never had observed it in any other direction: the day had been very hot. It was a full hour before we completely recovered our sight. The lightning rushing from the earth, none of us had ever witnessed before.

A few days after my arrival here, a party of us rode over to Lodoza, a small but beautiful town on the Ebro, over which there was a bridge into Castile. On the road we were surprised, and not a little shocked, at seeing a vast number of human skeletons strewed all along, and about the road. I found, by some of our companions, who were Spaniards, that on this very spot had been a sanguinary action, between the French and general Mina; the former were eventually defeated and destroyed. The Spaniards refuse to bury these French skeletons from a principle of revenge for what they suffered during the war, though the French were treated as roughly as could be, when the Spaniards had the upper hand. The Spaniards are all

buried. The French are stated to have lost 1500 men killed, which was the whole strength of the detachment, when sent from Lodoza to Lerin to forage. On their approach to the latter place, Mina, who had just arrived, sallied out on them, and, by dint of numbers, surrounded and cut them to pieces. The Spaniards say the killed amounted to 1500, and I should think I saw that number of skeletons. But, certainly, there were as many graves of the Spaniards; indeed, they confess to have lost 1000 killed; but this seems to fall short of the number of graves. It was, doubtless, a very obstinate action; for, if Mina had 1000 killed, he must have had four times that number wounded. The French skeletons lie in columns, as they fell, having retreated in a hollow square, as the country was very open for cavalry, which Mina had, but the French none; and this was a principal instrument of their destruction. The skeletons also of a great number of horses are lying about these squares, where the Spaniards had charged and pushed them on the bayonet. The field of battle extends to near a league and a half, from Lodoza to Lerin. How the French in Lodoza could thus neglect their comrades, I am unable to account for, as there were, by the Spanish account, 16,000 men in the town at the time, who never came out to their assistance. The French seem to have revenged themselves on the inhabitants of Lodoza, by murdering many of them.

The town of Lodoza is beautifully situated on the Ebro, over which there is a bridge of thirteen arches, into Castile. There are some very high hills in the neighbourhood, covered with vines to the very top, the whole presenting an unusual appearance.—In this place, we had some of the best liqueurs we had ever tasted. How made and prepared we could not learn, as the host would retain his secret, he being the only one who made them in Spain. Previous to the French entering the country, he was making a fortune by it, but now, like every thing else, the sale had fallen off. I never tasted any thing like it; I was well acquainted with every liqueur in common use, either in Spain, France, or England. On our return, the night set in so rapidly upon us, that we ran the risk of lying among the French skeletons and Spanish graves, all night, but after a smart ride, we made shift to get to Lerin.

We had frequent horse races near this town; the Spaniards would bet very high on these occasions, and even run their horses against ours, but they never won a race, as our horses were too swift for them. Now I am speaking of horses, let me remark, that the Portuguese and Spanish greyhounds are infinitely superior to the English; this we assigned to the heat of the climate, which enervated the limbs of our English dogs, while the natives

were inured to it. I had two greyhounds, one English, and one Portuguese, and though my English dog was counted an excellent light foot in England, yet he was always left far behind by the Portuguese dog. The English dog died, on our march, before the battle of Vittoria, and I lost my Portuguese a little after, though I found him again on my arrival at Bourdeaux, in France, he having followed the army in the train of General Sir L. C——. I afterwards gave him to the General, and I believe he has him still, or may have transferred him to Lord W——, in whose pack I am inclined to think I have seen him. Many of the officers had their dogs abroad with them. Lord Wellington had a complete pack with him, for hunting, for which amusement no country in the world could afford better materials than Spain, though the Spaniards never hunt in the northern parts on horseback.

During the whole time I have been in Spain, I have scarcely ever seen one truly handsome female; they are all either too fat, or complete skeletons, neither of which can exhibit fine proportions. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Navarre have very bad teeth, which, in general, are rotten. Their breath smells frightfully of oil, which to an Englishman is a very nauseating dose, as the oil they use is not that pure Florence which is used in France, but a rank kind, similar to that which is made in Portugal. The reason why the Portuguese oil is not as good as the French, is imputed to the Portuguese beating the olives off the trees with a stick, which bruises them in falling; while the French pull them off with the hand, so as not to injure, and without hurting them. This creates a material difference when the oil is made, of 100 per cent in the price:—but the Portuguese can not be prevailed upon to relinquish their method for a better.

The Spaniards in this part of the country appear absolutely ignorant of many culinary articles of English adoption. Such a thing as a tea-pot is quite a curiosity. They destroyed one of mine, by pulling out the bottom, to see what was inside, not perceiving that it opened by the lid. I had some spice inside, which rattled when the pot was shaken, and it became an object with them to find out what they were.—I had never used it much, as I not only preferred the chocolate of Spain to any tea, but even used it in greater quantities than the Spaniards themselves.

The town of Lerin is celebrated for its hemp manufactures, in which more than one half of the people are employed. They were now beating it out in the same manner as they do in England, except that the instrument they used was shaped like a two-edged sword. The vintage season set in while I was in this town; the whole country about was covered with vineyards. The vines grow about two or three feet high; never higher; they are

not unlike our white currant bushes, of a certain class. In the winter time, all the branches of the vine are cut off, leaving the stump only, about a foot or two high. When spring commences, new shoots spring out, which run to a great length; these soon produce leaves and fruit, which in August and September become ripe. The clusters are then gathered and brought to the house of the owner, who has a large square room, on the ground floor, ready for their reception; this floor has grooves cut in the stone, to receive the juice when pressed, which all runs to one point, containing a tube, into the cellar, and there it communicates with barrels prepared for the purpose. This is the process of making wine. But the way the fruit is first pressed is extremely dirty, as men trample the grapes under their feet, without any covering to screen the fruit. I have seen men with sore feet, go in and trample; and as for others coming in out of the dirty streets, though expressly to assist, their feet all over mud, the vile practice was common every where.—After this pressure, the fruit is put into a machine, where it is again pressed into a solid mass, till it becomes of no farther use for wine. After all, spirits are made of the refuse, stronger than any brandy, similar to what we call spirits of wine. The cellars are very warm, when this wine begins to ferment, and no candle must be brought near, or the air would instantly take fire, and blow the house up.

The expense of the inside of the churches in this country is beyond all calculation; about the altar, which is ornamented in the most superb style, with images of various saints; all, in fact, is one sheet of gold, to the very top of the ceiling, and often the whole of the ceiling is gilt. The walls are garnished with pictures, the subjects taken from the bible, or where there are no pictures, the vacancy is often filled up by an image, or a small altar, dedicated to some saint. All here worship different saints, whom they look up to for protection and mediation.

I was invited, one evening, by my landlady, Signiora Tavaréz, to spend the evening with her and a few friends, in the Spanish style, and I accepted the offer. On the entrance of the Spaniards, they all throw off their great coats, and take their seats. Then coffee, chocolate, iced cream, lemonade, and sweet cakes, are handed round, of which you take what you please. The ladies then retire, and the men put their cloaks on again. When seated, I was wondering what was to come next, when presently all the men began to take out of their pockets flint, steel, tobacco, &c. They soon made their paper segars, struck a light, and fell to smoking, all together, without a single word to interrupt—all puffing together. When dark, it had an odd effect, as no candles were brought in, and nothing appearing but the flame

of their segars and the nose, which was all over illuminated, from the light of the segars. At last, the room became so filled with smoke, that I was fain to take my leave, not caring to be smothered through politeness. At the balls in this country the gentlemen enter first, when they eat and drink what they please, while the priests, who are sure to swarm here, lay in a good store of eatables, and then retire. This becomes a signal to the ladies, that the gentlemen are waiting for them; when they arrive, after eating and drinking, the dances begin.

And now, having made such observations as time would allow, I received unexpected orders to repair to Estella, on another service; and, bidding adieu to my kind landlord, I set out, over an uneven country.

Estella is a very fine town, surrounded nearly by mountains. This place was General Ponsonby's* head-quarters. There were several convents here, some of which were nearly in ruins. There was also a Moorish temple, which now is a Catholic church, in very good preservation. The Moorish paintings seem very curious, but rough; at least they will amuse at first. The church, with many of the small apartments adjoining, must have been cut out of the solid rock, and cost immense labour. The gate, at the grand entrance, runs up to the very top of the building, but smaller doors have been cut, to use on common days; the great gates being only open on festivals.

In this town are many fine houses. There is an excellent market here, for vegetables, fruit, meat, &c. Fowls are in great plenty, and wine is sold in several houses. A great woollen trade has been carried on formerly with France, but now every thing is at a stand. The town appears to be crowded with lazy young monks, lounging about in every ones way. I was very well pleased when I received orders, on the 24th of November, to proceed for Lord Aylmer's brigade of infantry, now stationed near St. Juan de Luz, in France.

Previous to our leaving Estella, we had news of the surrender of Pampeluna. I was inclinable to call, on our way, and see this place, but the Spaniards, it seems, would admit no strangers, till the affairs of the inhabitants were settled, and those returned who had left it. We found, also, that on the surrender, many of the inhabitants were found dead in their houses, from famine, as the French had held out till they began to die themselves. There were about 3500 prisoners taken, the remainder having

* This is that gallant officer, Sir W. Ponsonby, who was afterwards killed at Waterloo, while giving his watch and a picture to his Aid de Camp for his wife. Being badly mounted, and in deep ground, he well knew it was almost impossible for him to escape, the French Cavalry coming down, and no assistance being near at the moment.

either died during the siege, or fallen in the different nightly sorties.

November 24.—We set out, and passed Puente la Reyna, already mentioned. From this place the roads mounted all along higher as we went, till we came on a cliff overlooking the vale, wherein Pampeluna is situated. The mountains on which the battles of the 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st July had been fought, might be seen in the back-ground. From this spot I had one of those magnificent views never to be met with, perhaps, but in such a region as this. I think I counted not fewer than seventy-nine villages round Pampeluna, some in vallies, and some on hills. Our great height above them made them all appear as if under our feet. The Pyrenees, on the other side of Pampeluna, shone forth in all their wild beauty, perfectly visible, though I dare say twenty miles distant at least. The district where the battle was fought projected nearer to Pampeluna than any other. Many other ranges appeared behind these, of a blueish tinge, I suppose from their great distance. Others lay behind these, whose summits were doomed to be capped with eternal snows, far above the clouds, now lightly floating through the air. The villages were, in general, white, the houses being white-washed; and when the sun shone, they appeared very prominent. In the centre of all arose Pampeluna, as a kind of supreme mistress of the vale, with the spires of her numerous churches rising above the houses. The great extent of the outworks was very distinctly visible, from their light brown colour, the cannon dotted all round appearing like so many black spots. This town is on the frontiers of Spain, towards France, and an enemy from the latter country could not well penetrate into Spain, without first taking it.

We now wound down the mountain, which was not very difficult, as all the roads here had been surveyed before entirely formed, and the easiest descents contrived, though in some places, the road had been lengthened in consequence. In about three hours we came to the first valley, after which part of our company, wishing to get forward, left us behind, and this occasioned us a degree of trouble. We intended to have stopped at Irutzen this night, but we lost ourselves in the mountains and woods. We roved about two hours, and could not even find the road again. At last, we met with a shepherd driving a sheep before him. He told us we were in a very intricate part, and invited us to come and join some of his companions. We did so, but were rather apprehensive that he might lead us among banditti. We were soon eased of this fear, as the shepherd showed us his comrades not far off, all round a fire, with their flocks standing and lying about them, like so many children. An excellent fire they

had, which comfortably warmed us. After they had directed us as well as we could understand them, we set out again for Irutzen, which, after all, we almost despaired of finding. We had not gone above a mile, before we again lost our way, and rambled about till nine o'clock, when we were almost minded to lie down in the wood for the night. Hope, however, still led us on, and at length we fell in with a shepherd's cottage, where a letter party of the 10th hussars were quartered. Here we enquired our way, but were advised to proceed no farther that night, and we thought best to agree to it. They found me a bed, the best that was to be had, and I went to sleep, heartily tired, as we had travelled forty-eight miles this day.

Next morning, we set forward again, and, after crossing a valley, met our party, who had been not a little alarmed, for fear we might have been murdered. We agreed, after this, not to separate any more, during the journey. We were soon again on the Camina Real, here elevated one thousand feet above a river. The rock, on our left side, was perpendicular down to it, without any parapet to protect mules, or any thing else, from tumbling down; the road, however, was tolerably wide—ten feet. We dismounted, and led our horses; the rock on the right of us rose three or four hundred feet, in some places, over our heads, to the opposite mountain, which rose perpendicular to the height of the one we were traversing. After advancing about a league, the road began to descend, till it came on a level with the river, with which it now kept company, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on another. At last we came to a house, curiously seated under the mountain, close by the river side, and here we stopped to breakfast. I must give some account of this, as it is an exact counterpart of many Spanish inns, the situation excepted. Having dismounted, the hostler took our horses to a shed, covered with branches of the pine, which let the air and rain in, or any living creature that had a mind to enter. There was no manger, and we could scarcely get room for our nags, the place being full of mules and muleteers, who had passed the night there. We then entered the ground floor of the house, which was crowded with mules, muleteers, dogs, cows, pigs, and a number of other things that I had not leisure to enumerate. On our telling the female servant, who was certainly Don Quixote's Maritornes, that we could not breakfast in such a hole, with a scornful look she asked if we would walk up stairs. This we assented to, and began to look about for a stair-case, but could find none. Maritornes, seeing what we wanted, presently got a ladder, up which we mounted to the first floor, through a trap-door. When there, we found a whole posse of muleteers, fast asleep, all round the room, their beds being the trappings of their mules. We took the middle

of the room to ourselves, and had some chairs and a table handed up from below. At first we found the trap-door too small for their admittance, when Maritornes, springing up, out of patience, and raising two or three of the flooring boards, none of which were nailed, hauled them through in a trice. We next inquired for the man servant, to see what could be had for breakfast, when our hostler popped his head up the trap door, and gave us the contents of his bill of fare---bread, eggs, oil, and tobacco, with agoa dente. The last we ordered, and directed him to send his master with it immediately, as we wished to warm ourselves. When lo ! up comes our hostler again ! In vain we asked to see the master ; this man, with an humble bow, told us he was the master. We then ordered bread and eggs, and made some tea with our own apparatus, though we had some trouble to do it, as the muleteers crowded round our servants, to see the process, and it seemed to excite much laughter. While breakfast was getting ready, we agreed to walk out and view the place ; and as a preparatory, we filled a glass of spirits each, and had nearly swallowed the dose, when we threw away the glasses in agony, it being spirits of wine, which took the skin off our mouths and throats. From our being so cold, we had no conception of it, at first, till it had gone half way down.

Having made a little promenade, we were highly amused at the situation of the place. The house lay about twenty yards from the river, under the shade of the rock, which had still attended us all along this morning's ride. It was here about a thousand feet high, and many large blocks projected in various parts. We saw the goats fearlessly browsing along the edges of this precipice. On the opposite side the bank rose more sloping, and was thinly scattered with fir and elm trees. I had an opportunity here of noticing some of the inhabitants in the act of transporting their fire-wood. When in want of a tree, they ascend that part of the mountain that lies immediately over their house ; here the tree is cut, and at once rolled down the mountain to their habitation. After breakfast we again set forward.

I had particularly remarked the roads in this day's journey, and was almost petrified with astonishment at surveying the labour they must have cost. For a length of twenty miles, they were cut out of the solid rock, in some places forty feet deep. I could have reckoned millions of bores, where the rocks had been blown away from the side, to make way for the road ; and when the road was from ten to twenty feet wide, how many millions of tubes must have been bored to bring the road to its present perfection ? In some rocks I counted thirty bores, before a level could be obtained. When the mine was sprung, the piece next the river must have darted away, leaving the solid rock against the bank without

injury. The roads, all along, were almost as fine as a bowling green ; and they are as passable in winter as in summer. Those leading from Vittoria to France, were all cut up by the French forming redoubts across them, to intercept our passage, but they proved of no use. We passed Tolosa, a large town, this day, and arrived at Ernani, about eight at night, having advanced sixty-four miles this day. On our approach to this place, the mountains seemed to withdraw, leaving us a very handsome valley open, which was well cultivated. The method of digging here was rather curious. Five or six men or women had forks with four or five prongs to them ; these they rose at the same time, striking them into the earth in a line, then they turned up the sod altogether, taking a large piece up, their forks being a foot asunder, or more, when struck into the ground. I heard them singing a tune and keeping time, at this work. At night, I fell asleep, heartily tired, and rose up much refreshed in the morning ; yesterday's journey was the last long one I had in Spain.

On the 26th, we set out and arrived at Passages, a sea-port, near St. Sebastian, but we had a world of difficulty in getting into it. In some places, rivers to wade through, and in others, up to the middle in mud. Such a road as this I had no previous idea of. One of our mules, unluckily, tumbled down a precipice, and was killed : the baggage it was loaded with was lost in a river. The mule must have been dead long before it reached the river, as the precipice, which was four or five hundred feet deep, was knobbed with huge fragments of rock, against which the poor mule hit, and it must have broken his bones. On the 27th, we left this horrible mud-hole, as I may call the town, and proceeded to regain the main road, which, after much difficulty, we effected. We now took the road to France, leaving Lezaca to our left, with a most awful tier of the Pyrenees, which terminated the range. A view of this is given. At one point was a cleft in a mountain, from top to bottom ; I cannot pretend to describe its odd appearance. At the top of the highest mountain, which was over Lezaca, was a cap of clouds by which the country people could prognosticate the approach of bad weather ; some account of this I shall give hereafter.

We now found the road cut up every two or three hundred yards, by the French redoubts. In some places, they had erected regular field bastions ; the road also was strewn with dead bullocks. At last, we arrived at the bridge of the Bidassoa, which the French had blown up, with every other bridge in their way. This bridge was the grand entrance into France, and about four or five miles from the mouth of the river, at which point was the town of Fontarabia, on the Spanish side, and St. Andaye on the French. The Bidassoa became the boundary

of the two kingdoms, and now it was that I prepared to bid a final adieu to the kingdoms of Spain, by passing over an English bridge. One of our pontoons was thrown across, and over the stone one which the French had blown up. The opposite bank rose very high, with a rising road that wound round a hill. At length, having taken a glass of wine, as a sort of farewell to Spain, we began crossing the pontoons, which we did with rapidity, and arrived, for the first time, in France. Here was the grand and last stand of the French, previous to their quitting Spain, a view of which is annexed.

Having mounted into somewhat higher ground, we continued to advance for about two miles without being able to see very distinctly the extent of our movements, when, at last, we emerged, and soon found the difference of the two countries. France now lay like a panorama before us, to our right, with the ocean on our left, and a view stretching along the Spanish coast to Bilboa, taking in Passages and St. Sebastian. We could distinguish the English shipping, crowding in and out of every port, some at sea, and others going out of sight. In front, appeared a number of neat French towns, as far as the eye could reach; the villages all beautifully white, the country very well cultivated, and exhibiting a very cheerful aspect, quite different from that of Spain. Plantations of trees regularly interspersed among the lands; many chateaux and country houses, as in England, with elegant gardens about them. In Spain and Portugal, I don't remember to have seen one solitary instance of a nobleman or gentleman's residence separate from a town or village, and only one instance occurred of a convent, as already mentioned, the country being, in fact, at the best of times, overrun with brigands. But now, what a different scene! There was, seemingly, here, no ground for distrust, or any fears of the kind. The soil seemed to be well taken care of, no forests in their original state, but all had a face of regularity and embellished nature. The Pyrenees lay behind us, wild enough, but most of the mountains at this side had gradual descents, while, on the Spanish side, they were altogether abrupt. We passed several batteries on the road, and the fields, all along, were full of straw, indicating where the troops had been encamped. At last we arrived at St. Jean de Luz, a little seaport town, where we took up our quarters, and which, indeed, became the head quarters of Lord Wellington, and all the staff.

We found this day the change of climate, the weather now being temperate, that is, moderately warm, compared to the cold air in the mountains. The roads to this place were excellent, and, after a day of not a little gratification, I went very gay to bed; but, unluckily, had not much rest, from the effects of excessive fatigue, having rode nearly two hundred miles in four days.

St. Jean de Luz is but a poor town, but much cleaner than any of the Spanish ones. This is saying but little of it. The people were much cleaner, but not so the streets, which were full of mud. The houses are built in the antique style, not unlike those of the Spaniards. There is a port for shipping here, which is very ill secured, or rather it lay open to the Bay of Biscay. A strong wall between the harbour and the town, may keep out the waves in bad weather; though I have, at times, seen the waves rush over it. The harbour is so bad that, in winter time, it is often dangerous. We had, in one night, during a hurricane, thirteen British vessels entirely wrecked here. Some of them were driven up on the sand, above high water-mark; but the waves came forward in a perpendicular body of water, of twenty feet, and sometimes more. The wall, however, served as a defence against an enemy. About a mile on the south side, there is a point running out into the sea, on which there is a tower, named Socoa, but it is of little use to mariners, being intended for a place of strength to defend the harbour. The cannon are at the top, under a roof, the guns running out through port-holes. Along the coast, there were light-posts, I cannot call them light-houses, as they were only lanthorns hung on posts, and these had not been lighted till some time after we had been in possession of the country, as our shipping began to suffer severely for want of them.

This town, properly speaking, is divided into two parts; the river Nive running under a bridge, serves to separate the north from the south part, the latter called Ciboure. The town may contain about 1000 houses, and 8000 inhabitants. It was so full of troops, that I was billeted in a house with three others. The staff of Lord Wellington occupied no small part, and the stores of my brigade lay a mile out of the town, and when I went there, it proved a task to get at them, the lanes were so full of mud, generally knee deep. The fields too had been completely ploughed up with the late skirmishing. A rumour was afloat that our brigade were under orders to go and besiege fort St. Antonio, between Bilboa and St. Ander; but the order was, it seems, countermanded. St. Antonio is a very strong fortress, and had about 4000 French; it was almost impregnable, and a sea-port town. The French would often hoist British colours, and our shipping not knowing but that it was in our possession, sailed in, and the French would then turn their guns on them, and oblige them to surrender. Hence it was that they had plenty of every kind of stores, and even some of our clothing; and, at one time, they secured all the hay and corn intended for our army, but this was recovered, on their surrender, a few months after, when they marched out with the honours of war. There was also here a brigade of guards, which, during the battles of the

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9th and 10th of December, had marched out to action in the morning, and returned in the evening. These actions were merely trials of strength, but we always had the advantage, driving the French into Bayonne again. For the siege of this place we were now beginning to make serious preparations.

When we came here, at first, provisions were very cheap. We might have had a good goose for a dollar; but on Christmas day they rose to four dollars each, and every thing else in proportion. There was but one tolerable inn here, with the sign of Joseph the Second. The waiters, who were women, were very impertinent; their charges, too, were exorbitant, sometimes, from mere caprice, only charging a dollar for dinner, and, at others, ten, for the very same articles. These matters were represented to the commander-in-chief, but the grievance was not redressed; and, from that time, we became lawful prey for the French, who imposed on us in every way. When an Englishman entered a shop to buy any thing, if in coloured clothes, the question was, "Are you English?" and the demand would be ten dollars; if a Frenchman was by, and called for the same thing, probably one was the price, and all this even before the Englishman's face. But for the sake of human credit, I am very willing to admit that some French dealers evinced more conscience than others.

One evening, having entered into conversation with the old lady who owned the house I was billeted in, I asked her what she thought of Napoleon. She burst into tears, and told me she had seven sons, whom he had drawn out in the conscript list, one after another, and she believed they were all killed. She had heard of the death of five of them, and, for the other two, she had a presentiment that they were gone the same way. I was much concerned to hear this, and dropped the conversation.

We remained here till the ninth of February, when we turned out of the town, to some country houses near Guitaria, which were more convenient, and from which we had an ample view of the sea. It was from this spot that we had a comprehensive view of the Pyrenees, and of that immensely high point that projects over Lezaca, in Spain. We observed the natural attraction which mountains have, when a number of clouds are floating in the air in various points. This mountain attracted them all to it, whatever point the wind might be in, and as they continued to accumulate to a large cap on the summit, it was a sure indication of approaching wet weather to the neighbourhood. Indeed, I have observed, though not, perhaps, the first, that wherever there is a congeries of many mountains, or of large forests, there is more rain thereabouts than any where else. When the cap grows large, the vapour begins to descend, and roll down the

sides of the mountain, in ample volumes, and the night will commonly bring on heavy rains that may continue three or four days.

From my present habitation I had a fair view of the ocean, and one evening, a little before sun-set, I was looking at a fleet of ships coming out of Passages harbour. To my infinite surprise each ship appeared about the size of a mountain, though forty miles distant. The ships were between me and the sun, which was then just dipping into the western ocean. It might have been occasioned by the refraction of the rays of light: however, it presented a very singular appearance.

On the 11th of March, we moved to a small village, three miles from Bayonne, on the sea-coast, in a very pleasant situation. We were obliged to make this movement, as our horses had eat up every thing green, and were now living on chopped furze. No forage could be had from Spain, our troops having consumed every thing near the frontier. Sorry I am to add, that, according to report, many families perished this winter for want, our troops having fed their horses on the wheat when in the ear, as nothing else could be had at the time. Our army had now moved off, after the French, who were retreating to Orthez and Toulouse. My brigade was left, as forming part of the army in the blockade of Bayonne, together with the Spanish army. Lord Wellington would not let these last come on further, as they had, in some instances, exercised a cruel authority over the French, by murdering them in cool blood, from motives of revenge. In my village they murdered nine in one night.

Being now comfortably lodged, I shall take some notice of this little place. Its name is Biaritz, situated on the sea-coast, on a cliff, not unlike that at Dover. This cliff runs about two miles along the coast; it is a place much resorted to for sea-bathing, many of the nobility coming here from all parts of France for the purpose. There is a small passage, or avenue, which shelves down towards the sea; between this and the river Adour, it is all sand banks, on one part of which, next Bayonne, there is a straggling village, named Haut Anglet. There is a church here, which serves for the devotional exercises both of Anglet and this place. Our brigade lay in a camp, down on the sands, in front of Bayonne, protecting the road to St. Jean de Luz. Bayonne is distant about three miles from the sea. Half way between we have constructed a bridge of boats, over which all the heavy stores pass. Provisions are becoming plentiful here, the merchants arriving from England every day with cargoes. Adjoining the pontoon bridge, is our grand magazine of provisions; there is also another, at the small village of Bocaut, on

the opposite side of the river. There are about twelve thousand men in Bayonne, who have been tolerably quiet hitherto.

During my abode here, the master of my house returned. He was very well pleased to find his house as he left it, and thanked me for it, as he expected it to have been plundered. He was a very intelligent man, and was a retired lieutenant-colonel of the 34th French regiment; Buonaparte had given him a civil situation in Bayonne, to make his latter days comfortable. After I had been some time in the house, and when our acquaintance had ripened into familiarity, he told me the history of his life, as follows:

“ He had been thirty years in the French army, and not only in Egypt, under Napoleon, but he had served in all his great actions, down to the battle of Austerlitz; but finding himself growing too old for active field service, he applied to the general of his division, who recommended him to Buonaparte for superannuation. On a general field day he was called out, and Buonaparte questioned him on the nature and extent of his services. He asked him, moreover, his native place, and when he replied Bayonne, Buonaparte gave him his present situation. He had held this three years, but on the English advancing to Bayonne, he moved forwards to Bourdeaux, where, hearing how well we treated the French territory, he had now returned. When Bayonne opened its gates, it appears that he again resumed the functions of his office. In a conversation relating to the loss sustained by the French, in the course of the wars in Spain, he said, if it were correctly stated, none would believe it, as the Guerilla bands had created a prodigious loss, in addition to that of the more regular warfare. He told me that in the official situation he held in Bayonne, he was furnished with lists of every man that was sent to reinforce the army in Spain. When his regiment had passed through, in 1808, there were six battalions of a thousand men each, effective, and in the space of five years he had given passports and routes to *fifty-four thousand conscripts* for his own regiments alone. But when they came and passed Bayonne but a few days before, the whole six battalions could muster only seven hundred and fifty muskets.” A fine subject this for such an homicide as Buonaparte to meditate on!

During the time we remained here, we had news of the Moscow army, and that Buonaparte had resigned the crown. The same day that we received this intelligence, we forwarded it into Bayonne, under a flag of truce, and I went over to dine with a friend at Bocaut, on the opposite side of the Adour. I remained there till two o'clock, but on my return was not a little surprised and annoyed with a shower of shells and shot from the town. I was now on the sands, and compelled to go on. However, I was

fortunate enough to escape all danger. Next morning I heard the detail of the affair. The French had laid a plan to surprise us, to destroy the bridge, and set fire to our stores, but they were gallantly driven in again. Here General Hay was killed, and General Hope wounded and taken prisoner. A number of men fell. It was a disgraceful action on the part of the French, as they well knew peace was at hand. The gazette seems to detail this affair pretty fully.

On my rides across the sands, I observed the way in which the French recovered land from the sea. It was by planting stakes firmly in the ground, when the wind sweeping the sand against it, would cover them. Then another row was fixed above them, in the same way, these beds of sand daily accumulating, until it fairly banked the sea out. It seems highly probable that at some former period, Bayonne must have stood close to the sea, and actually appears so in some old maps, but now it lies three miles from it. These sands, after a few years, will cherish the fir, which, in some places, may be seen in a thriving condition. The same plan is adopted all along the coast, as far as the river Garonne. This sort of contexture might also be made use of even to defend the coast, as it rises perpendicular on the sea-side, and goes slanting off towards the land. In case of an enemy landing, a body of infantry might be employed here with great advantage.

On the second of June, the gates of Bayonne were thrown open, and we now had orders to march to Bourdeaux. Our brigade had leave to march through Bayonne, and it was the first that did so.

Bayonne is a very strong town, and, according to report, one of the master-pieces of Vauban. It was here, no doubt, the bayonette was first invented, and from this place it has taken its name. The citadel here is very strong, and well defended. In three different points twelve or thirteen churches are seen, all of them very neat, but not so resplendent or glittering as some of the churches in Spain. The town contains two theatres, about three thousand houses, and thirty thousand inhabitants. The streets are laid out very regular and neat, and the people appear to be very cleanly. There are many delightful alleys or walks for the promenade, on the banks of the river, with large trees to shelter from the sun. The town is as full of coffee-houses as Lisbon, for its size. There is also a fine bridge over the Adour, which connects the two parts of the town together. We passed this, and entered Gascony, moving through the gate of, or rather to, Paris, called by the French *Le Saint Esprit*.

Previous to our entrance into this country, the French had driven away all the cattle into the interior, and removed all the

provisions, but the farmers hearing we paid for every thing, came back, and supplied us plentifully with beef. This was doubtless a treat to us, as the French cattle were almost bursting with fat, and very delicious, indeed, not inferior to the best in England; and we found it the more grateful, after the bad meat we had put up with in the winter. The bullocks which we had killed for rations, were all mere skeletons, without an ounce of real fat on a whole carcass. These had come from Spain and Portugal, and were fat enough when first bought, but after a march of some hundreds of miles, their goodness wore away, and the few that arrived were like shadows. Out of one herd sent us from Santillana, consisting of four hundred head, ninety-two reached us, the remainder having died on the road, from fatigue. Great must have been the expense of supplying us with this article. However, as soon as the ports were opened, the fleet poured in salt provisions in abundance, which we highly relished. But this indulgence could not be taken every day, as the men were but in an indifferent state of health, from the hardships they had suffered, with a succession of wet weather.

This day we marched four miles past Bayonne, and encamped on the road side. The country was woody all about. On the 3d of June, we moved on to Castets, through alternate woods and plains. On the 4th we reached La Harie; on the 5th, La Boukere; 6th, La Marets; 7th, Le Barp; 8th, Bellevue; and on the 9th, Bordeaux, which is reckoned a hundred and fifty miles from Bayonne. I have given these together, as the country is pretty much the same, almost to the gates of Bordeaux. Nothing particular occurred on the journey.

This whole country was formerly called Gascony, but now the part we travelled had assumed the name of the province of the Landes. It was a perfect flat the whole way, the roads very sandy and deep. We lost some fine scenery by coming this way, which was only a bye-road, the grand one running by Dax and Monte de Marsan.

The woods here are all pine, but in many places there are large plains without any. Plain and wood appeared to succeed, alternately, the whole way. When you first come out of a wood, and look across the plain, you see, at an immense distance, a kind of cloud on the edge of the horizon. On your approach, it becomes more distinct, and, at last, you can distinguish the tops of trees. On a nearer approach, you can see their straight trunks, and so on till you get into the wood. This is a very curious sight; as, when you look into the middle of some of the large plains, the above effect will appear around you in every stage, till lost in distance, growing fainter and fainter till it dies away. From some few parts of this road we had a glimpse of

the sea ; the shore seemed full of pools left by the tide, and of those there were many thousands, reaching some miles in length. This shore certainly looked the most desolate I had ever seen : it was, for nearly ten miles, all sand and pool.

The language through the whole of this province is Gascon, which is spoken here, I understand, in its original purity. I am told by the natives, a few only of whom speak the genuine French, that in the province of Biscay the same language prevails, and it is unquestionable, that from Bourdeaux to Bilboa, the inhabitants have a language of their own. It is, however, most grating to the ear, and repulsive to the sense. Many who have learned it, say it is very comprehensive.

The inhabitants of this province are very intelligent and clean. Their houses are particularly neat ; in one place we met with an inn that would look well beside a palace. The villages, all our way through, lie close together, nor are they very straggling. The inhabitants derive much of their subsistence from the manufacture of turpentine ; they also breed large flocks of sheep, which they sell in the market towns. Their dress not a little resembles that of the Spaniards ; but with a short jacket in place of their great coat. The manner of saving the turpentine is rather curious. They cut a groove of the bark off, for about twenty or thirty feet up the trunk of the pine ; this is about two inches wide, and in the summer, the turpentine flies to this groove, and floats to the bottom, where it has the appearance of rosin. This is collected, and it proves a considerable source of revenue. Every year a new groove is cut in the tree, the last year's being of no further service. In this manner the tree is cut every year, till the whole bark has been stripped off, in a circle of rotation. The tree is then left to itself, till it again recovers the bark. This is again cut into ; but the product is never so good as at first. Such a process as this must naturally ruin the timber in the course of time, and, in fact, it becomes only fit for fire-wood. After all, it is the branches only that furnish this article, as from the rosin being extracted so often, the trunks will hardly burn when put on the fire.

The shepherds and country people, in this province, all walk on stilts, some of them fifteen or sixteen feet high. When I first observed them, at a distance, on one of the plains, I was completely dumb-founded to think what they could be. I could only see the man, the distance having done away the stilts. These conveniences are adopted, or rather, they are, in a manner, necessities here. Many of the inhabitants are shepherds, occupied in attending their flocks, and, as the plains, in many places, are full of a high kind of fern, rising to three or four feet in height, should the sheep get in among those places, they

would be lost to their owner, as they could not find the way back. But the man, by means of the stilts, being so elevated above this underwood that he can see where every sheep goes, he fails not to act accordingly, by keeping them together. The stilts answer also another purpose, that of moving much quicker across these immense plains, as, in some places, the church is not less than five or six miles distant. To go there, and return, would consume the best part of their Sunday, which is always a sort of jubilee with them, but with the stilts, the man can go eight or ten miles an hour, without trouble or fatigue. These stilts are made of long poles, with a small projection of a flat piece of wood for the foot to rest on. The pole only comes up to the knee, being strapped on there, and at the angle, which makes it firm. They always carry a walking stick with them, which helps them to recover themselves, if they should stumble, which happens very seldom. It amused me much to see with what ingenuity they can let themselves down to the ground, by means of this pole, and not only so, but even lay hold of the smallest thing without taking off the stilts. A shepherd kept up with me, one day, although I was in a hard trot, nor did he seem to subject himself to any inconvenience, more than a person moderately walking on foot might be thought to do.

On our approach to Bourdeaux, the country improved; the whole was now replenished with gentlemen's seats, gardens, and pleasure grounds. A grand relief this to us, just coming out of Spain, where that delectable object, a park, or pleasure ground, was hardly ever to be seen. The weather was pleasantly warm, and I lodged with a worthy family, in Rue Nueve; the kindness of these people I shall long remember. They behaved as if I had been their son, and intreated me to give up my commission in the army, and live with them. This I declined, but had some reason to regret my resolution. They were, undoubtedly, the first wine merchants in the place. At our parting, on my leaving them for England, the family hung about me dissolved in tears.

Bourdeaux is a large and fine city, stretching along the banks of the Garonne. The river is about half a mile wide, and about sixty miles to its embouchure, or mouth, at Verdun. There are many churches; that of St. Michael was built by the English in the days of Edward the Black Prince; and there are still several others that were built by our ancestors. Indeed, I believe most of the old town, as it is called, in this city, was originally built by our kings and princes, when all the provinces round about were an appendage of the English crown.

The streets here seem much in the English style: there is one called the Chartrons, of almost matchless elegance and

beauty. There are also two very good theatres, the *Comédie Française*, and the theatre *Gaité*. The society, too, is delightful. Along the quays are an immense number of coffee-houses, with billiard tables. In one house, I reckoned eight tables, and I should think that on this tier of coffee-houses, there could not be fewer than one hundred. In some of the princely buildings here the staff of our army was quartered.

On the opposite side of the river the country gradually rose, and gentlemen's seats were profusely scattered all about it. From the town we could see completely into the country, and from the country, a fine view expands over the whole town, river, and shipping. I thought it the most agreeable situation that I had ever seen in my different peregrinations. The ships come up to the doors of the merchants, and the river is navigable, even up to Toulouse, for large boats. In Bourdeaux are large markets well furnished with every luxury and necessary of life, and the prices moderate.

On the 9th, we had orders to embark for England; and having previously provided every thing requisite for the purpose, we went on board a Dutch galiot, and, on the 13th, set sail for the mouth of the river. We had not been informed that the ships were to tide it down, so that before we got into Verdun Roads, our sea stock fell short. We dined every day on shore, and, at one time, slept there, as the ship had run a-ground, which it often did. Indeed the whole fleet stuck once in the mud, together; however, the next tide brought us off.

The scenery all along the river is studded, as it were, with gentlemen's seats and well cultivated. About twenty miles from Bourdeaux, we saw the Fort of Blaye, with an island finely situated in the river. At last, after eleven days' tiding, we arrived in Verdun Roads, about two o'clock, the river here being about eight miles wide. We got on board of the pilot boat, expecting to sleep on shore, but were unable to land any where, the breakers appearing so furious, and the waves rolling in very high from the Atlantic. The town of Royan is very alluring to the eye, especially of a sailor coming from a sea-scene off a long voyage. Next day we landed; but the town afforded nothing remarkable. Here we had abundance of fruit and eggs, all extremely cheap, so we could again lay in a pretty good sea-stock. At length, we set sail again, and passing between the points at the mouth of the river, we left Cordouan tower to our left, and made away for the ocean.

I was informed, in Bourdeaux, that this tower had been built by a young lady, on the following occasion. She was to be married to a merchant, who, previous to the ceremony, had to make one voyage to the West Indies. He had made his will,

should any thing sinister happen to him, and she was appointed his heir. In his return from the voyage, the ship he was in struck on this point where the tower now stands and foundered, when every soul on board perished. When Miss Cordouan heard of this dismal accident, she caused this tower to be built with his fortune, and adding part of her own. She then retired into a convent, where she immured herself for life, and afterwards died. The tower may now serve to warn others of the melancholy fate of her lover; and also by its having a light at night, visible even in the day time. I thought the story affecting.

On the 25th, we put to sea, and after a five days' passage arrived at Plymouth, having had lovely weather during the time. One day we were becalmed, and the Bay of Biscay was then as smooth as glass, so that some of us put out the boat and bathed in it. We arrived at Plymouth on the 30th, and, next day, received orders to go on board again, as the ship was going round to London. About three o'clock we went on board, and next morning were off Dover, when, being tired of the ship, I took a boat and went on shore. I then took the coach, and arrived in London on the second of September, 1814, and this was no less curious a spectacle to me than any I had been surveying, it being the first time of my entrance into the metropolis.

So now having brought my journal to its final close, I hope something may be found not wholly uninteresting. I crave excuse for some descriptions and impressions that certainly operated powerfully on a youthful fancy. In some instances I have been, perhaps, rather too much captivated with the views and scenery I passed through. I think, however, I can affirm that many were truly sublime, and others grotesque, and, perhaps, unique. However, there is nothing but actual occurrences and surveys which I was an ocular evidence of, and I have scrupulously avoided every thing that has even the semblance of fiction.

To a number of readers I must again apologise, who may deem it singular that I should appear so quickly struck, so readily and uniformly pleased with the obvious scenery of foreign landscapes. Let the first early impressions of youth, which, like the other stages of life, has its peculiar modes of expression, be admitted as my excuse. And now, as subordinate to my main design, let me introduce and embody, in a collective form, some of the occasional observations which I have made, or incidentally prepared for this work.

On a first landing in Portugal, the eye does not fail to perceive and be attracted by the immense size of the convents, which exhibit a sweeping and unconfined range of connected offices continually arresting the traveller's gaze, as it is carried from one line of buildings to another. Of a different character, and

adapted to another sense, is that most sulphureous smell which is so strongly felt in the streets of Lisbon, produced by their custom of burning so much charcoal.

As to the civilization in general of the Spanish and Portuguese nations, the manners and customs of the one form a pretty exact counterpart of the other. A successive intercourse with England for ages has, however, proved the fact, that the Portuguese have a more favourable, or less objectionable, cast of character than their neighbours. I remember a remark applicable to this subject, which had not escaped the attention of a gentleman born in Spain, with whom I was conversing at Biarritz, in France. He observed, and, as I think, justly, that the Spaniards were five hundred years behind the nations of France and England, as to the general result and good effects of an improved and refined civilization. However, to speak accurately, we must draw a line between the superior and lower classes of society, to whom only the remark appertains.

From the lands, both in Spain and Portugal, being so poorly cultivated, we were often obliged to move the troops. Our commissary-general, Sir H. K., an officer of the keenest penetration, was enabled, by a sort of scientific arrangement, amidst the complex involutions of his duty, to provide numerous supplies of provisions, and often where least expected.

The various and prolonged service which made it necessary to order different detachments in different directions, were forwarded with ease, and I do not believe that through the whole war the commander-in-chief was obliged to give up any movement from the impossibility of procuring provisions. The plan which Sir R. pursued, with respect to the account department, was also excellent, but our almost continual marching rendered it impossible for the commissariat officers in charge of divisions, brigades, and regiments, to send in their accounts in proper time.

The Portuguese have a lively air with them, not found in Spain. I had frequent occasion to observe a commendable simplicity in the inhabitants, and especially where our troops had not been before. In many instances, they seemed to feel greatly the attention of our nation towards them, and, with symptoms of good-nature and a fear of offending, every one would be eager to render us assistance.

The Spaniards, on the contrary, were impudent, and never scrupled to tell us whether they liked us or not. One day after I had paid a Spaniard for forage, a thousand dollars in gold, I put some questions for the purpose of fully eliciting his sentiments as to the opinion entertained by the Spaniards in general with regard to the English. He told me very candidly that the

English were not at all liked by his countrymen, although they paid for every thing ; and the French, who, through the war, had been dreadfully destructive to the countries which they occupied, both officers and soldiers having been the greatest tormentors to the wretched inhabitants, these French, who paid for very little, were held in preference to us. On a general view of the subject, I went on to say that I could not see where the ground of dislike could be, as we were fighting for the freedom of their country. : He acknowledged that our energies had been of incalculable advantage to their cause, and that no fault was found with our actions, but our religion was different ; we were heretics, and the French were Christians. This cleared up the point, as the whole engine of their aversion turned on this principle.

Those magnificent and durable monuments of superstition, the convents, swarm with friars and nuns almost beyond belief. In any opulent family, where there are many sons and daughters, the heir and eldest daughter possess every valuable advantage that can arise from polished culture or an elegant education ; while the younger members are placed in convents. There, however, they are sure to live well, as money is usually given with them. The priors or abbesses of these places live like petty kings, and have an attendance superior to that of many lords. No one can call them to account for their actions, except the bishop, or a cardinal, and the Pope. The best law among them is, that the convents are obliged to admit a number of those who have nothing, equal to those who bring a revenue.

The Spaniards may with justice be censured for that fond madness with which they apply to the gaming-table. Even the peculiarities of the sacerdotal character will not hinder their priests from engaging in such scenes. The police, knowing the pernicious effects of gaming, destroy its implements wherever they find them. The principal game is Banco. This I have never played myself, and therefore cannot describe ; but I have frequently observed, in private parties, that the little mountain of gold which stood before each person at the beginning of the game, has been transferred to some other person at the close. Sometimes only a few gold pieces were to be seen. None had won ; all vowed they had lost ; the money had disappeared, but where it went none could tell. This I could very well account for, as I could see the winners now and then slipping a handful into their pockets unnoticed.

The air throughout both Spain and Portugal is very pleasant, except on the mountainous regions, where, in the night, it is as cold as in the month of December in England. When our army reached the Pyrenees, the wounds of many who had recovered broke out afresh, and numbers were sent back to the hospitals

established in our rear. At the time our army lay on these mountains, the frost and snow were dreadfully keen and severe.

In Spain there are few gardens to be found any where ; vegetables are, in general, very scarce, and in many places, not to be had. Carrots, parsnips, and turnips, with a species of small potatoes, are the principal garden esculents. The last are about the size of a large marble, and are brought to the table well sugared. The domestic comforts of dinner parties, prior to the entrance of the English, were almost unknown ; but I am informed that this kind of social intercourse has since become very common. While our army lay before Pampeluna, they so gleaned the country of provisions, that, in the winter ensuing, many hundreds of families were literally starved to death.

In the Pyrenees, where lay the scene of hottest action in the guerrilla war, many thousands of the French were annually cut off. If I should estimate their loss, at this one point only, at between two and three hundred thousand men, I should not fall short of the mark. As to what might be our estimate loss, during the whole peninsular war, I am not competent to ascertain ; but I think we may allow an hundred thousand for deaths by illness, and for the casualties of war, a number certainly not less.

On our arrival in France, whole fleets of merchantmen had brought from England immense quantities of provisions and necessaries. The little town of Passages, and the banks of the river Adour, were like a fair ; and in the little village of Bocault, numberless wooden booths were erected, and shops opened. Some brokers arriving also from England, a great trade was carried on in shoes, boots, pantaloons, braces, knives, forks, spoons, tea-pots, shirts, and other articles. Many, I have been told, made their fortunes here, as our pay had been advanced to us, and all arrears due, which were considerable, were paid up at Bourdeaux.

It is impossible to describe the majestic scenery of the Pyrenees ; mountain piled on mountain, and rising in tiers, till lost in the distance. Many capped to the very top with trees, others bare rocks. The vallies that lie between are tolerably fertile, but on the Spaniards' side there is little cultivation. The French have every acre in good order, the forests thinned, the underwood removed, and the country in general has a cleanly appearance. One crest, or elevated point, rising over Lozaca, forms a landmark to ships at sea ; the top is inaccessible, from the abruptness of its rise, which is many thousand feet above the level of the sea. Through, and among some of these mountains, runs the small river of Bidoessa, near which the French attacked us on the day we stormed St. Sebastian.

Edinburgh

OBSERVATIONS
ON
THE STATE
OF
RELIGION AND LITERATURE
IN
S P A I N,
MADE DURING
A JOURNEY THROUGH THE PENINSULA
IN 1819.

By J. BOWRING, Esq.

B.

OBSERVATIONS,

&c. &c. &c.

THERE are in Spain, according to Antillon's calculations, two hundred thousand ecclesiastics. They possess immense revenues, and an incalculable influence over the mass of the people; though it is certain that influence is diminishing, notwithstanding the countenance and co-operation of a government deeply interested in preserving their authority.

It would be great injustice to the regular clergy of Spain to class them with the immense hordes of monks and friars, scattered over the face of the Peninsula, some possessing rich and well-stored convents, large estates, and accumulating wealth, and others (the mendicant orders) who prey more directly on the labours of the poor, and compel the industrious to administer to their holy, uninterrupted laziness. The former, though, doubtless, by far too numerous, are, for the most part, intelligent and humane; dispensing benevolence and consolation in their respective parishes; friendly, in many instances, to liberty, and devoted to literature. The latter, with few, but striking exceptions, are unmanageable masses of ignorance and indolence. They live, as one of the Spanish poets says, in a state of sensual enjoyment between the organ-loft and the refectory, to which all other enjoyment is but purgatory; the link which should connect them with the common weal for ever broken; the ties of family and friend dissolved; their authority founded on the barbarism and degradation of the people, they are interested in stemming the torrent of improvement in knowledge and liberty, which must, in the end, inevitably sweep away these "cumberers of the soil." No society in which the sound principles of policy are at all understood, would consent to maintain a numerous body of idle, unproductive, useless members in opulence and luxury, at the expense of the active and the laborious, merely because they had chosen to decorate themselves with peculiar insignia,—to let their beards grow, or to shave their heads; and

though the progress of civilization in Spain has been greatly retarded, or rather it has been compelled to retrograde under the present system of despotism, yet, that great advances have been made since the beginning of the late revolution, is happily too obvious to be denied.

That revolution, in fact, has produced, and will continue to produce, a very favourable influence on the ecclesiastical government of Spain. Leaving out of consideration the immense number of priests and friars who perished during the atrocious invasion of their country, the destruction of convents, the alienation of church property, and the not unfrequent abandonment of the religious vow, unnoticed amidst the confusion and calamities of active war, more silent, but more extensive changes have been going on. The Cortes, when they decreed that no Novitiates should be allowed to enrol themselves, gave a death blow to the monastic influence, and since the re-establishment of the ancient despotism, the chasm left by this want of supply has not been filled up, nor is likely to be; for the greater part of the convents, except those very richly endowed, complain that few candidates propose themselves, except from the lower classes of society, who are not likely to maintain the credit, or add to the influence, of the order. Examples are now extremely rare of men of family and fortune presenting themselves to be received within the cloisters, and offering all their wealth and power as the price of their admission. Another circumstance, the consequence of the revolution, has tended greatly to lessen the influence of the regular clergy, where it is most desirable it should be lessened, among the lower classes. Driven from their cells by the bayonets of *enemies*, or obliged to desert them that their convents might become hospitals for their sick and wounded friends, they were compelled to mingle with the mass of the people. To know them better was to esteem them less, and the mist of veneration with which popular prejudice had so long surrounded them, was dispersed, when they became divested of every outward distinction, and exhibited the same follies and frailties as their fellow-men. He who, in the imposing procession, or at the illumined altar, appeared a saint or a prophet, was little, was nothing, when mingling in the common relations of life, he stood unveiled before his undazzled observers. For the first time it was discovered that the monks were not absolutely necessary for the preservation even of religion. Masses were celebrated as before: the host paraded the streets with its accustomed pomp and solemnity: the interesting ceremonials which accompany the entrance and the exit of a human being in this valley of vicissitude, were all conducted with their wonted regularity. Still less were they wanted to implore the blessing of

heaven on the labours of the husbandman, whose fruits grew, and were gathered in with unvarying abundance. Without them the country was freed from the ignoble and degrading yoke of the usurper, while success and martial glory crowned the arms of their military companions, the British, who cared little for "all the trumpery" of "friars white, black, or grey;" and if the contagion of their contempt did not reach their Catholic friends, they lessened, at least, the respect with which the inmates of the convent had been so long regarded.

But in anticipating a period in which the Spaniard shall be released from monkish influence, it must not be forgotten how interwoven is that influence with his most delightful recollections and associations. His festivities, his romerias, his rural pastimes, are all connected with, and dependant on the annual return of some saint's day, in honour of which he gives himself up to the most unrestrained enjoyment. A mass is with him the introductory scene to every species of gaiety, and a procession of monks and friars forms a part of every picture on which his memory most delights to dwell. And a similar, though, perhaps a stronger impression, is created on his mind by the enthusiastic "love of song" so universal in Spain. He lives and breathes in a land of poetry and fiction: he listens with ever-glowing rapture to the Romanceros, who celebrate the feats of his heroes, and surround his monks and hermits with all the glories of saints and angels. He hears of their mighty works, their sufferings, their martyrdom; and the tale, decorated with the charms of verse, is dearer to him than the best of holy writ. The peculiar favourites of the spotless Virgin, their words fall on his ear like the voice of an oracle, their deeds have the solemn sanction of marvellous miracles. To them he owes that his country is the special charge of the queen of angels, the mother of God; and in every convent he sees the records of the wondrous interpositions of heaven, which has so often availed itself of the agency of the *sainted* inmates, while every altar is adorned with the grateful offerings of devout worshippers miraculously restored to health, or preserved from danger. He feels himself the most privileged among the faithful. On him "our Lady of Protection" (*del Amparo*) smiles; to him the Virgin of Carmen bows her gracious head. In his eye ten thousand rays of glory encircle the brow of his patron saint, the fancied tones of whose voice support, assure, and encourage him; he believes that his scapulary (blessed by a Carmelite friar,) secures him from every evil: his house is adorned with the Pope's bull of indulgences; a vessel of holy water is suspended over his bed, and what more can he want, what danger can approach him? His mind is one mass of undistinguishing, confiding, comforting faith. That

faith is his religion, his christianity ! How difficult will it be to separate the evil from the good, if, indeed, they can be separated. What a fortress must be overthrown before truth and reason can advance a single step ! What delightful visions must be forgotten, what animating recollections, what transporting hopes ! Have we a right to rouse him from these blessed delusions ? This is indeed the ignorance that is bliss. Is it not folly to wish him wise ?

But, alas ! this is only one side of the picture ! For, however soothing, however charming the contemplation of contented ignorance may be to the imagination, in the eye of reason the moral influence of such a system is baneful in the extreme. All error is evil ; and the error which substitutes the external forms of worship for its internal influence on the heart, is a colossal evil. Here we have a religion, if such it may be called, that is purely ceremonial. Its duties are not discharged in the daily walk of life, not by the cultivation of pure and pious, and benevolent affections, but by attending masses, by reciting Pater-nosters and Ave Marias, by pecuniary offerings for souls in purgatory, and by a thousand childish observances, which affect remotely, if they affect at all, the conduct and the character. The Spaniard attends his parish church to hear a service in an unknown tongue. He bends his knees, and beats his bosom, at certain sounds familiar to his ear, but not to his sense ; he confesses and communicates with undeviating regularity ; and sometimes, perhaps, he listens to a sermon in the eloquent style, and beautiful language of his country, not, indeed, instructing him in the moral claims of his religion, but celebrating the virtues, and recounting the miracles, of some saint or martyr to whom the day is dedicated. He reads his religious duties, not in a bible, but an almanack ; and his almanack is but a sort of christian mythology. His saints are more numerous than the deities of the pantheon ; and, to say the truth, there are many of them little better than these.

He is told, however, that his country exhibits the proudest triumphs of orthodox christianity. Schism and heresy have been scattered, or at least silenced ; and if in Spain the eye is constantly attracted, and the heart distressed, by objects of unalleviated human misery ; if the hospitals are either wholly unprotected, or abandoned to the care of the venal and the vile ; if the prisons are crowded with a promiscuous mass of innocence and guilt in all its shades and shapes of enormity, what does it matter ? Spain, Catholic Spain, has preserved her faith unadulterated and unchanged, and her priests assure us, that an error in creed is far more dangerous, or, to use their own mild language, far more damnable, than a multitude of errors in conduct.

A depraved heart may be forgiven, but not an erring head. This is, in fact, the fatal principle, whose poison spreads through this strongly cemented system. To this we may attribute its absurdities, its errors, its crimes. This has created Dominicks and Torquemadas.

In a word, intolerance, in its widest and worst extent, is the foundation on which the whole of the Spanish ecclesiastical edifice rests. It has been called the main pillar of the constitution, and is so inwrought with the habits and prejudices of the nation, that the Cortes, with all their general liberality, dared not allow the profession of any other religion than the "*Catolica Apostolica Romana unica Verdadera*." The cry of *innovation* there, as elsewhere, became a dreadful weapon in the hands of those who profess to believe that errors become sanctified by age. Too true it is, that if long usage can sanction wrong, persecution might find its justification in every page of Spanish history, from the time when Recaredo, the Gothic monarch, abandoned his Arian principles (with the almost solitary exception of the tolerant and ill-treated Witiza.) Long, long before the Inquisition had erected its frightful pretensions into a system, or armed itself with its bloody sword, its spirit was abroad and active. Thousands, and tens of thousands, of Jews and Moors had been its victims, and its founders did no more than obtain a regal or a papal license, for the murders which would otherwise have been probably committed by a barbarous and frenzied mob, excited by incendiary monks and friars.

The Inquisition has, no doubt, been greatly humanized by the progress of time; as, in order to maintain its influence in these more enlightened and inquiring days, it has availed itself of men of superior talent; these have softened the asperity, or controlled the malignity and petty tyranny of its inferior agents. Its vigilance and its persecutions are, indeed, continually at work, yet, I believe its *flames* will never again be lighted. Its greatest zeal is now directed against Freemasons, of whom immense numbers occupy its prisons and dungeons. I have conversed with many who have been incarcerated by the Inquisition, and they agree in stating that torture is no longer administered. But its influence on literature is perhaps greater than ever; for, though Spain possesses, at the present moment, a great number of admirable writers, the press was never so inactive. The despotism exercised over authors and publishers is so intolerable, that few have courage voluntarily to submit to it. Often after authorizing the publication of a work, they order it to be suppressed, and every copy to be burnt, and never think of reparation to those who are so cruelly injured. Their presumption in condemning whatever they cannot understand, their domiciliary

visits, their arbitrary decrees, against which there is no security, and no appeal, make them fearful enemies and faithless friends.

With the difficulty, delay, expense, and frequent impossibility of obtaining a license for the publication of any valuable work, may be well contrasted the ridiculous trash which daily issues from the Spanish press. Accounts of miracles wrought by the different virgins, lives of holy friars and sainted nuns, romances of marvellous conversions, libels against Jews and heretics and freemasons, histories of apparitions, and so forth, are generally introduced, not by a mere license of the inquisitor, but by long and laboured eulogiums.

It is no novel observation, that the most cruel and intolerant persecutors have often been men wholly devoid of religious principle; men who consider the religion of the state only as a part of its civil policy, and who treat the denial of a national creed with the same severity as the infraction of an established law, or rather as a species of treason against the supreme authority. No plea of modest inquiry, of conscientious doubt, or honest difference of opinion, is allowed to oppose, for a moment, their sanguinary and despotic sway. There are no terms of safety but those of unresisting, instant, absolute prostration. Such men are generally the prime movers of the gagging engine of religious intolerance; and such men are to be found too abundantly in Spain. Others there are who imagine they see in the pomp and parade of the Romish ritual, a system of delusion admirably adapted to beguile or even to bless the ignorant. They fancy themselves beings of a higher and nobler order, and that, while they bask in the sunshine of intellect and knowledge, they may be well content that the uninstructed mass should trudge on in darkness below. Why should they throw their pearls to senseless swine; or shower down truth and virtue on those who fatten on vice and error?

But perhaps a larger class, which would include too the majority of the learned clergy of Spain, are they whose honest opinions are made up of heresy and infidelity; but their worldly interests are so inwrought with the existing system, that the thought of sacrificing those interests to the higher claims of right, has never occurred to them, or, if it has occurred, has never obtained a moment's attention. To them it is a glorious and gold-giving superstition. If they can persuade themselves that, on the whole, it is harmless, they are satisfied. They do more---they say it is beneficial, and they have repeated this so often, that they, perhaps, almost believe it is true. Would they look round them, they might see the melancholy effects which superstition and intolerance have produced in their hapless country. What is Seville, the once-renowned Seville, with its hundred and twenty-five churches and convents? The very shrine of igno-

rance. It was there that the Spanish chart of liberty was trampled under foot, amidst ten thousand shouts of "Live the King and the Inquisition !" "Perish the Constitution !" Or Cordoba, so long the cradle of the arts, the favourite seat of reviving wisdom ? It is become the chosen abode of vice and barbarism. The press, which was established there in the short era of Spanish liberty, has been torn in pieces by a frantic mob, who, excited by the monks, paraded the streets of this unfortunate capital, threatening death to every individual whose name had been connected with that of liberty. How many a town and city, once illustrious, has sunk into nothingness. "What remains of their ancient glory ? The ruins of palaces, of fabrics, of storehouses and dwellings ; and undilapidated churches and monasteries, and hospitals, outliving the misery of which they have been the cause.

One might surely expect that in a country possessing eight archbishops, more than fifty bishops, and more than a hundred abbacies, with a jurisdiction almost episcopal, "in which," to use the language of a Spanish writer, "there are more churches than houses, more altars than hearths, more priests than peasants ;" in which every dwelling has its saint, and every individual his scapulary, one might expect to see some benefits, some blessings, resulting from this gigantic mass of ecclesiastical influence. Let us, then, look upon a picture drawn by the hand of an acknowledged master.

"Our universities are the faithful depositaries of the prejudices of the middle age ; our teachers, doctors of the tenth century. Beardless noviciates instruct us in the sublime mysteries of our faith ; mendicant friars in the profound secrets of philosophy ; while barbarous monks explain the nice distinctions of metaphysics.

"Who goes into our streets without meeting cofradias, processions, or rosaries ; without hearing the shrill voice of eunuchs, the braying of sacristans, the confused sound of sacred music, entertaining and instructing the devout with compositions so exalted, and imagery so romantic, that devotion itself is forced into a smile ? In the corners of our squares, at the doors of our houses, the mysterious truths of our religion are commented on by blind beggars to the discordant accompaniment of an untuned guitar. Our walls are papered with records of 'authentic miracles,' compared to which the metamorphoses of Ovid are natural and credible.

"And ignorance has been the parent, not of superstition alone, but of incredulity and infidelity. The Bible, the argument and evidence of our christian faith, has been shamefully

abandoned, or cautiously buried beneath piles of decretals, formularies, puerile meditations, and fabulous histories.

“ Monkish influence has given to the dreams and deliriums of foolish women or crafty men, the authority of revealed truth. Our friars have pretended to repair with their rotten and barbarous scaffolding the eternal edifice of the gospel. They have twisted and tortured the moral law into a thousand monstrous forms, to suit their passions and their interests. Now they describe the path to heaven as plain and easy,—now it is difficult,—to-morrow they will call it impassable. They have dared to obscure, with their artful commentaries, the beautiful simplicity of the word of God. They have darkened the plainest truths of revelation, and on the hallowed charter of christian liberty, they have even erected the altar of civil despotism.

“ In the fictions and falsehoods they have invented to deceive their followers, in their pretended visions and spurious miracles, they have even ventured to compromise the terrible majesty of heaven. They shew us our Saviour lighting one nun to put cakes into an oven; throwing oranges at another from the *sagrario*; tasting different dishes in the convent-kitchens, and tormenting friars with childish and ridiculous playfulness. They represent a monk gathering together the fragments of a broken bottle, and depositing in it the spilt wine, to console a child who had let it fall at the door of the wine-shop. Another, repeating the miracle of Cana to satisfy the brotherhood, and a third restoring a still-born chicken to life, that some inmate of the convent might not be disappointed.

“ They represent to us a man preserving his speech many years after death, in order to confess his sins; another throwing himself from a high balcony without danger, that he might go to mass. A dreadful fire instantly extinguished by a scapulary of Estamene. They shew us the Virgin feeding a monk from her own bosom; angels habited like friars chanting the matins of the convent, because the friars were asleep. They paint the meekest and holiest of men torturing and murdering the best and the wisest for professing a different religious creed.

“ We have, indeed, much *religion*, but no christian charity. We hurry with our pecuniary offerings to advance any *pious work*, but we do not scruple to defraud our fellow-men. We confess every month, but our vices last us our lives. We insist, almost exclusively, on the name of christians, while our conduct is worse than that of infidels. In one concluding word, we fear the dark dungeon of the inquisition, but not the awful, the tremendous tribunal of God.”

This is the representation of a Spaniard. Though the colouring is high, it is a copy from nature, and the shades might have

been heightened had he witnessed the conduct of numbers of the monastic orders during the late convulsions of Spain. There are indeed, few examples of such infamous want of principle as was exhibited by many of them on the king's return. Those who had gone about preaching the rights of man, proclaiming the wisdom, and exalting the blessings of the new constitution; exhorting their hearers, often with a vehemence little becoming their situation, to live and die for its preservation, and hurling their bitterest anathemas against those who dared to question the wisdom of a single article, when the king refused to sign that constitution, became the eulogists of every act of tyranny, the persecutors of the *liberales*, and the chosen friends of Ferdinand. They have had their reward; and though a few of them have occupied the vacant sees, and have been caressed and recompensed with no sparing hand, the finger of hatred and of scorn points them out to the execration of betrayed and suffering millions, while their names will go down to posterity, accompanied with reproaches, curses, and infamy. If those be forgiven who have gone on in one consistent career of servitude and degradation; who have betrayed no cause of liberty, for they are by habit and by election slaves; who have sacrificed no manly principles, for manly principles they had none; still no charity can wash away the stains of those traitors to freedom, to humanity, to Spain, who so atrociously deserted the banners of their country's welfare, to range themselves around the standards of a profligate and unexampled tyranny.

The most notorious of those, however, who co-operated to establish that fatal and ferocious despotism which now degrades and oppresses Spain, have already become its victims. In their sorrow and suffering and exile, let the unshaken friends of constitutional liberty, who are scattered over Europe, console themselves with remembering that their personal fate is no more severe than that of the base tools of a wretched monarch, who have nothing to accompany their wanderings but sadness, shame, and self-reproach, dark and barren prospects, and desolate remembrances; while *those* shall receive from all around them the smiles and the praises of the wise and good. They may look back on the "bread" of virtue which they have "cast on the waters," and forward in the confident hope that they "shall find it again after many days:" but they who sacrificed their country to their cold-hearted and selfish avarice, have wholly erred in their calculations. Their country is fallen, indeed, but they, too, have been buried in its ruins. Ferdinand, who has just as much of gratitude as of any other virtue, has already trampled on the miserable tools of his early tyranny. It were well if those who "put their

trust in Princes," would study the many impressive lessons which the reign of the Spanish tyrant affords.

It is consolatory to turn from the profligacy and vice so often prominent amidst extraordinary political revolutions, to the spirit of truth and liberty which they always elicit ; and Spain has had a most triumphant list of patriots. Their names must not be recorded : for, to receive the tribute of affection and gratitude from any hater of a tyrant, would be sufficient to subject them to his merciless ferocity. How wretched that country where no meed of applause may follow the track of talent or of virtue ; where knowledge and the love of freedom are pursued and persecuted as if they were curses and crimes ! Otherwise, with what delight should I speak of some who, buried in the obscurity of the cloister, or retiring into solitude from the noisy crowd, sigh in secret and silence over the wretched fate of the land of their birth, their admirable powers of body and mind fettered and frozen by the hand of despotism. All around them is slavery and ignorance ; to them remain alone the joy of holding converse with the wise and the good of departed time, and the ecstatic hope that their country will one day burst from its death-like slumbers, and spring forth "into liberty and life and light."

And let those illustrious exiles, the martyrs of truth and freedom, who have been driven by an ungrateful and cruel tyrant from their homes and their country, and doomed "to wander through this miserable world," take heart, for a brighter and better day is about to dawn upon Spain. I have expressed a hope, it should rather be a conviction, that this period cannot linger long. If the extreme of evil brings with it its own remedy, if human endurance will only support a certain weight of despotism ; if "there is a spirit in man ;" if there is a strength in virtue or in liberty, the intolerable fetters *must* be broken.

¿ Que es esto, Autor eterno
Del triste mundo ? tu sublime nombre
Que en el se ultraja á moderar no alcanzas ?
——— ¿ á infelices venganzas
Y sangre y muerte has destinado el hombre ?
¿ A tantas desventuras
Ningun termino pones ? ¿ ó el odioso
Monstruo por siempre triunfará orgulloso ?

MELÉNDEZ.

The object for which the foregoing observations were written, made it necessary to exclude some particulars which perhaps deserve record.

A correct idea of the state of learning in Spain might be formed from the general decline of the public *colegios* and universities, and the almost universal ignorance of those to whom

the important business of education is intrusted. At Alcalá de Henares, where there were formerly four or five thousand students, there are now less than three hundred, and the number is yearly declining. A similar decay may be observed elsewhere. I found every thing in a melancholy state of derangement and delapidation at Bergara, though this, I believe, is now the only public school which has been able to maintain itself. The philosophical and mathematical instruments had been destroyed by rust, or rendered useless by violence; and every thing connected with instruction appeared conducted as if the dreadful apprehension that *too much* wisdom might be communicated, were constantly present to the *enlightened* directors.

There are few objects more touching, more humiliating, than those scenes sacred once to liberty and to literature, and associated with the names of the noblest and "the wisest of our race;" but now become the fortresses of ignorance, profligacy, and despotism. Who would not sigh over Cordoba?

When I remember what thou wert of old,
Birth-place of Senecas; nurse of arms and arts;
When to thy schools from earth's remotest parts
The nations crowded; while thy sons unroll'd
Thy chronicles of wisdom; when I see
The spot Averröes lov'd, and tread the sod
Maimonides and Abenezra trod;
Or seek the umbrage of some rev'rend tree,
Beneath whose shade Mena or Cespedes
At noon-tide mus'd: when I remember these
Or other hallow'd names, and see thee now
Shrooded in ignorance and slavery:
O Cordoba! my spirit weeps o'er thee,
And burning blushes kindle on my brow.

While the majority of the most distinguished writers of Spain have been expatriated, it may be supposed literature is at a very low ebb there. Melendez and Estála have died in exile, while Moratin and Llorente will probably never again revisit their native land. Marina, Quintana, Argüelles, Gallego, and other estimable men, occupy the hopeless dungeons to which tyranny has consigned them; while this island in particular has had the honour of welcoming and of sheltering many a generous patriot and many an enlightened scholar, whose virtues and talents are lost to a country which has so much reason to deplore their removal.

I trust, however, that a work which has been so long a desideratum, viz. a History of Spain under the dominion of the Moors, compiled from Arabic documents, will, ere long, be published by Don José Antonio Conde, the learned Orientalist, whose erudition and diligent research promise a most valuable and interesting narration.

The Spanish Academy are now printing, at Madrid, a new edition of *Don Quixote*, in five volumes, which will be prefaced by a *Life of Cervantes*, by Navarette. This piece of biography will be peculiarly gratifying, as many documents connected with the history of Cervantes have lately been discovered, especially the records of the proceedings against him before his imprisonment.

Herrera's celebrated work on Agriculture is also being printed by the Academy. The biographical notices are written by Don Mariano Lagasca, whose name is a sufficient pledge for their excellence.

The Spanish drama had been in a progressive state of decay from the death of Candamo till Moratin's attempts to introduce the regularity and unity of the Parisian theatre were crowned with complete success. It is a different, and will be considered as a lower order of merit, by all who place Nature and Shakespeare above Art and the French drama. If, however, Calderon and Lope, Moreto and Montalvan, Solis and Candamo, seldom occupy the Spanish stage, it is because the national taste, or the national indifference, has chosen to sanction or permit the puerile trifles imported from the other side of the Pyrenees, to occupy the seats which might be so much more honourably filled by native genius. An active controversy is going on as to the respective merits of the French and Spanish theatres; but it does not seem to excite much interest beyond the immediate circle of combatants. A new dramatic writer (Gorostiza) has lately appeared, and his first effort, "*Indulgencia para todos*," in spite of some improbabilities in the story, and some vulgarisms in the style, gives fair hopes for the future.

By way of conclusion, I would remark, that ultra-royalism and bigotry may receive from the present wretchedness of Spain, a *salutary and corrective* lesson. They may there see the unalloyed triumph of their principles, and study the consequences in the degradation, the disquietude, and the wretchedness of a once-renowned and illustrious nation. They have there a king reigning in "all the glory" of uncontrolled majesty, and a state-religion undisturbed by heretics or schismatics; there is the dull, death-like silence of abhorred submission, unbroken by any hated shouts of liberty---"the prostration of the understanding and the will," that neither dares nor wishes to inquire.

As to the character of Ferdinand, it has been greatly misunderstood or greatly misrepresented. It has been well said of him, that he has all the crimes, and none of the merits of his ancestors. He appears to care little about the church or the clergy, except inasmuch as he can make them the instruments of civil despotism. His habits are gross and licentious; yet he

is inaccessible to any sentiment of benevolence or generosity. He never forgave a fancied enemy, and perhaps he never possessed a real friend. From his very childhood his untameable and barbarous propensities made him the object of fear and dread ; and adversity, that touchstone of character, has served only to excite and heighten the dark ferocity of his disposition. What, indeed, could be expected from an ingrate, who rewarded those that replaced in his worthless hand the sceptre he had cast away, with persecution and exile, imprisonment and death !

Was it for this through seven long years of war
 We bore the miserable wants of woes
 Pour'd on our naked heads by barb'rous foes,
 While thou a patient captive, absent far,
 Nor heard'st our cries, nor saw'st the bloody star
 That o'er our helpless, hapless country rose ?
 Did we not break the intolerable bar
 Forged by the master-tyrant ? Interpose
 To rescue, not our country, but mankind ?
 Did we not break thy prison doors, unbind
 Thy fetters, and with shouts of joy that rent
 The very arches of the firmament
 Receive thee ? And is this our destiny ?
 Insults and slavery, and a wretch like thee !

The following are the details of the population of Spain according to the last official census made in 1803.

	Population.	No. of inhabitants to a square league.
Province of Madrid	228,520	2078
— Guadalaxara . . .	121,115	743
— Cuenca	294,290	311
— Toledo	370,641	505
— Lamancha	205,548	326
— Avila	118,061	549
— Segovia	164,007	566
— Soria	198,107	581
— Burgos	470,588	734
— Extramadura . . .	428,493	357
Kingdom of Cordoba	252,028	724
— Jaen	206,807	772
— Seville	746,221	992
— Granada	692,924	861
New Settlements	6,196	57
Kingdom of Murcia	383,226	582
— Aragon	657,376	534
— Valencia	825,059	1283
Principality of Catalonia	858,818	856
— Island of Majorca	140,699	1256
— Minorca	30,990	1550
— Iviza & Formentera	15,290	1019
Kingdom of Navarre	221,728	1082
Province of Biscay	111,436	1051
— Guipuscoa	104,491	2009

Alava	67,523	746
Principality of Asturias	864,238	1180
Province of Leon	239,812	486
Palencia	118,064	814
Salamanca	209,989	446
Valladolid	187,890	692
Zamora	71,401	537
Toro	97,370	590
Kingdom of Galicia	1,142,630	859
	<hr/> 10,351,075 <hr/>	<hr/> 690 medium population. <hr/>

The new settlements are the colonies founded in the Sierra Morena in the last century. The principal towns are Carlota, Carolina, and Luisiana.

The whole of the foregoing census is probably rated too low. The Royal Society of Valencia, possessing necessarily peculiar local advantages for inquiry, lately calculated the inhabitants of that kingdom at 1,200,000. The Consulate of Corunna give 1,400,000 for the population of Galicia. That of Arragon is nearly confirmed by the report of the "Sociedad Economica," in 1800, which states 658,630 as the number calculated from the parochial records.

The medium population of the maritime provinces is 904 per square league; those of the interior, 507.

The proportion of the clergy to the laity is as 100 to 5914.* There are eight archbishops, fifty-one bishoprics; sixty-one cathedrals, and a hundred and fourteen collegiate.

* In Valladolid there is one ecclesiastic to every sixteen male inhabitants. In Salamanca one to eighteen. In Castile one to fifty. In Ceuta one to 138.

LETTERS

ON

Italy;

ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS.

BY
Antoine Louis
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HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF
FINE ARTS AT PARIS.

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3

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ADVERTISEMENT.

M. CASTELLAN is well known to the Foreign Literary World by his "Lettres sur la Morée, L'Hellespont, at Constantinople;" to which his Letters on Italy form a sequel. The Visit to Italy, of which he gives an account in the latter work, was made at the conclusion of the last century.

These Letters are valuable, as they tend to show this delightful country in a new point of view. M. CASTELLAN traversed Italy with the eye and enthusiasm of an Artist, though not without bestowing due attention on the remains of antiquity and the interesting recollections with which the seat of Roman greatness abounds. Equally attached to the beauties both of Nature and Art, M. CASTELLAN has given a lively and spirited sketch of a country which is favoured beyond all others in its delightful scenery, and in its rich treasury of Works of Art.

TRAVELS IN ITALY,

&c. &c.

LETTER I.

Passage from Corfu to Italy—Arrival at Otranto—Earthquakes in the kingdom of Naples—Temple of Minerva—Appearance of Otranto—Passage to Brindisi—Visit to a Villa—The Convents of Brindisi—State of the Town—Dresses of the Italians.

THE passage from Corfu to Italy does not in general occupy more than four-and-twenty hours: we were eight hours ere we passed the eastern side of the island, visiting, much against our will, every little port. During the night the mountains of Epirus presented a singular and imposing appearance: a thick red-coloured smoke rolled round their sides, or surrounded their summits with a fiery girdle. The wind added strength to the flames and forced them into long sinuous streams, not unlike torrents of lava, which seemed to blaze along the foot of the mountains, displaying their shape by the reflexion of their blaze. In short, the scene had all the appearance of a vast volcanic eruption; it was, however, nothing more than the burning of the innumerable spicy shrubs which covered the face of the country; an operation which the husbandmen find very useful in supplying fresh shoots of herbage, the succeeding spring, for their flocks.

At length, after tacking frequently, and having approached very near the shores of Epirus, we were borne back on the Isle of Fano, or the Scogli, which are indeed nothing but shelves of rocks. A few half-starved wretches exist here, who were unable to offer us provisions of any kind, not even water. Our impatience increased when we beheld the Venetian galleys, which swept through the channel with great rapidity, in every part of it, by means of their powerful tiers of oars, and which could have conveyed us instantaneously to our destination, if

the captains could have been prevailed on to lend us their assistance. A real misfortune was now added to our perplexity; calculating upon the usual length of passage, the provisions, which we had not spared, were nearly all consumed, and it was found necessary to limit us to a small ration. To add to our difficulties the excessive heat of the weather had corrupted our store of water. This disagreeable situation was becoming very alarming, when most fortunately a favourable breeze sprung up which bore us through the channel, and our captain, like a new Achates, called out "Italy, Italy!" and pointed out in the horizon an elevated strip of land. "Italy!" this word echoed through our hearts, which beat as joyfully as those of the companions of Æneas, and with a kind of rapture which we could not help feeling—a sentiment which every artist would have felt in our situation, and which did not surprise even our Greek sailors.

The coast of the ancient Apulia is exactly such as it is described by Virgil, and it forms a striking opposition to the deep declivities of the other shore. We now caught sight of the turrets of Otranto, and with every sail stretched we ran to anchor, rejoicing that we had arrived at the end of our difficulties, when a cannon-shot, hissing above our heads, pierced one of our sails, and we perceived, on the other side of the roads, a galley which made a signal for us to come to, and send on board her. It would not have been wise to have refused such a pressing invitation, and we did not wait to be asked a second time. Our sailors let go the sail in terror, and the captain immediately entered the boat; my friend accompanied him, and they rowed away while we put the ship about to await the result of this ill-auguring circumstance. When they arrived on board the galley, the captain, who was incensed at our disregard of his signals, threatened to sink our little vessel. He had imagined it belonged to some fishermen who would gladly offer him the first-fruits of their labour, but when he recognised a French officer who could complain of this violent proceeding, he endeavoured to treat the matter as a joke, boasting of his skill in firing so as to attract our attention, and procure himself the pleasure of our acquaintance. My companion told him that his pleasantry was rather rough, and that we should have preferred a little less address and more circumspection. The return of our embassy procured us the liberty of coming to anchor, which we did at the entrance of the roads near a mass of rocks, on the summit of which a small church is built.

Otranto has a very picturesque appearance: the view on the right is terminated by the extreme point of the rocks; in front lies a flat shore, which serves as a port for the un-

shipping of goods, and a steep causeway, terminated by two columns, and leading to the gate of the city. This shore is used as a promenade by the inhabitants. In the back-ground a few elevated spots of ground are covered with verdure.

The city extends on the left, and forms at the extremity a rounded promontory. It is built on a platform of rocks which fortify the shore, and afford a protection against the force of the sea and the attacks of artillery. The citadel, which was built by Alphonso of Arragon, and the plan of which is difficult to be comprehended, is commanded by a square tower which supports a belfry on the top, to alarm all the coast when the Turks endeavour to land. The remembrance of the horrors suffered during the siege in 1480 from the Mussulmans who mastered the city and threatened the surrounding country, still keeps the inhabitants in a state of watchful alarm.

Earthquakes are frequent in the kingdom of Naples. In 1450 one was felt which spread terror amongst all the inhabitants, and for many months they lived in fear of being buried under the ruins of their habitations. The province of Otranto suffered extremely; and the Terra di lavoro, Abruzzo, and Puglia were covered with ruins. Some castles were swallowed up without leaving the slightest trace behind them; and 30,000 persons are computed to have perished. At length, in order to appease the divine anger, king Alphonso commanded a procession to Brindisi, to the ancient church of Santa Maria di Leuca, situated on the promontory of Otranto. On this spot formerly stood a temple, which is said to have been that of Minerva, seen by Æneas on his first arrival in Italy.

We may here observe, that the temples of Minerva have resisted the attacks of time better than those of any other divinity—probably because this goddess, who was the patroness of wisdom, found more favour in the eyes of the Christians than any other heathen deity. Whatever be the reason there certainly remain many of her temples which have been converted into churches. We may mention that at Athens, which would still have remained entire but for an unfortunate accident; at Rome the temple of Minerva Medica, the church of Santa Maria della Minerva, &c.

We may also remark, that with very little alteration the statues of this goddess might have been rendered subservient to the Christian worship, and that many of the ancient Madonnas resemble in attitude and drapery the images of Minerva; for it was nearly the fifteenth century before the Virgin was represented holding the infant Jesus.

The houses of Otranto rise above the line of ruins which surround the crumbling walls, and crown them in an agreeable

and picturesque manner. In the simplicity of their form, in their flat roofs, in the terraces by which they are terminated, and in the small windows so distant from one another, we recognized the style which painters attribute to Italian buildings, and which differ exceedingly from that of the edifices of other countries.

Diversity of climate ought always to govern the mode of building. Here the absence of snow renders useless the pinnacles which disfigure our houses. The necessity of breathing the fresh air in the night, and the custom of sometimes sleeping in the open air, are the causes of their terraces and verandas; while their windows, being few and small, admit less heat into the interior of their habitations. The Italians, however, have nothing further to do than to pursue the taste of their ancestors; and we may see they still inherit their genius by the character of grandeur, simplicity, and beauty, which distinguishes all their buildings,—from the simplest cottage to palaces and temples.

In consequence of the necessity of performing quarantine we were not allowed time to examine the interior of Otranto; we were therefore not able to judge of its riches and its population, which is said to amount to 3000 souls. The quay was covered with merchandizes, and the number of ships which frequented the port made us conclude that commerce was in a flourishing state: the city also appeared busy and active. In the evening we perceived on the beach some equipages more rich than elegant, and some gentlemen on horseback well mounted. The pretty peasant girls wore bodices of taffeta and skirts of white muslin, and their heads were covered with straw hats or silk handkerchiefs. Until the night was far advanced the air resounded with strains of music, and with melodious voices mingling with the sound of all kinds of instruments.

Our passage from Otranto to Brindisi, where we were to finish the period of our quarantine, was very short. Our hearts seemed to expand with the thought that we should shortly be no longer exposed to the caprice of the winds and waves, and that after a period of captivity, too long for our wishes, we should be permitted to traverse a land which we almost considered as our own country.

The city of Brindisi is built upon a point of land, the angle of which juts into the port. A lofty column of ancient white marble rises on this spot, surmounted with a rich composite capital; and near it lie the pedestal and base of a similar column which they told us had been transported to Lecca, the chief town of the province so called, where it adorns the principal

square, and supports the statue of the tutelary saint. The other edifices of Brindisi are constructed of brick and stone; churches covered with roofs of flat tiles, or with depressed domes, with their square and arcaded belfrys supported by little columns, gave us a good idea of the Lombard architecture which preceded the revived style, and which displayed a character very superior to that of the crowd of buildings of later ages where the beauty of the edifice is lost in the excess of useless ornament, and in the contortion of every architectural part. Here and there palm trees rise, intermingled with a few cypress and other trees, which form a fine contrast with the buildings, and render their outline very picturesque.

At length the period of our quarantine expired. Impatient to enjoy the pleasure of once more walking at liberty, and to satisfy our curiosity, we traversed the city in every direction. After having been so long shut up in our little vessel without the least exercise, the height of every thing we saw, and the length of the streets appeared prodigious to us; every new object drew from us an exclamation of joy or of surprise, and the view of the country above all produced the most delicious sensations.

This taste was particularly gratified by a visit to a villa, which possessed great attractions for the artist and the antiquarian. Although the buildings were sinking into ruin, and the gardens were abandoned to the dominion of Nature, who seemed to have asserted over them all her rights, we were no less surprised than enchanted by recognising in this situation all the characteristic marks of an ancient villa. These it has preserved by reason of its never having ceased for ages together to belong to contented families, who, averse to change, thought it was sufficient if they enjoyed the pleasures of their ancestors, and who had not therefore been tempted to make any change in the order and ancient disposition of the place.

It is not built on a very regular plan, and the builder has confined himself to the advantages which the inequality of the ground afforded, which is supported in some places by terraces, under which there are vaulted halls, ornamented with stuccoes and paintings, and which served the ancient proprietors, as they may still serve the present, as a refuge during the intense heat.

The part which appeared best preserved was a large gallery (*ambulacrum*), shadowed by a very ancient vine, if one may judge from the size of the branches, which twines itself around the marble columns. Most of the capitals bear marks of antiquity; their form is very simple: it consists of a square basket, on the planes of which are carved in relief the symbols

of agriculture, or animals, such as sheep, goats, &c. A few of these capitals, which exhibit marks of repair, clearly of modern date, enable us to judge more accurately of the antiquity of the others.

Less curious to examine the city of Brindisi than to distinguish amidst modern structures, or those of the middle age, traces of the ancient Brundisium, we should have preferred calling up the manes of their ancestors to conversing with the present inhabitants. However, we were obliged to be content with the living, and we prepared to pay some visits. Our first was to the Governor of Brindisi; he could not receive us, as he was in the access of a fever. Our next was to the Archbishop, but he was too ill, and had been carried into the country. This account gave us much concern, as he was represented as a very respectable character, a man of learning, and a lover of the arts. He possesses a rich cabinet of antiquities.

The convents only were left, to give us an idea of the society of Brindisi: let not this sentence astonish the reader, for his surprise must soon cease. The cloister and society! these certainly in former times were incompatible expressions, but they are now no longer so—we are told that the Jesuits gave to their order the title of a society, and that in fact they caused a revolution in the monasteries, which seem from this period to have almost become the asylum of tolerance, politeness, and proper enjoyment. The monks, without losing any of the dignity of their situation, have adopted the tone and manners of polished society. This change is very perceptible at Brindisi, where, without any exaggeration, nearly half the people are inhabitants of convents. The reason of this is very simple: in a confined situation, possessing neither the advantages of industry nor of commerce, the citizens are exposed for three-quarters of the year to obstinate maladies, which make them prefer the comfort and assistance which association affords to the solitude of a private family: the poverty of many individuals is another powerful cause. In the convents are found cheerful company, games of all kinds, and music; so that, in fact, their apartments are become saloons. We have visited several convents of females: the ladies crowded into the room, and shewed much anxiety to see us; they overwhelmed us with questions as frivolous as our answers, but some delightful music came to our assistance; voices such as we then heard are only found in cloisters; the hymns sung in perfect harmony, accompanied by the organ and other musical instruments, produced a great effect—it seemed almost like a concert of angels in the middle regions of the sky. Abundance

of refreshments were offered us, and we departed with a very agreeable impression of these religious establishments.

We have mentioned the poverty of the town; the interior of it is consequently gloomy and silent; the least article of luxury cannot be obtained here; in fact, sickness has depopulated whole streets. There are some large houses which are called palaces, but they are uninhabited, and the long grass waves in their court-yards; the proprietors have fled to seek elsewhere a purer air, and a less monotonous life; on the walks a few women may be seen, and now and then some monks: we remarked three heavy-built coaches drawn by mules; they contained monks.

The port, which should present an animated picture of merchandize and commercial bustle, is even more dull than the town; it only displays a stranded galley and a few boats. The works ordered by Government languish, affording employment to some galley-slaves, who are guarded by almost an equal number of soldiers, for the most part sickly and diseased: the usual food of both is large white onions, and the inhabitants do not fare much better. Troops of beggars assail the church, and the doors of the convents, where soup is distributed: misery is here so great, and disease so extended, that one hospital was not sufficient, and they were obliged to erect another. The inhabitants of the country seem to enjoy an easier life, at least if one may judge by the costume of the women, which is very neat.

In general, I believe there is no country where dress is more elegant and rich than in the kingdom of Naples—it varies from canton to canton, and from village to village, with the strangest singularity. The costume of the inhabitants of Brindisi appeared very remarkable, especially of the men, who wear our fashions of fifty years since; our fashions, indeed, make the tour of Europe, but they arrive very late at its extremity. Paris, which is the centre of activity, necessarily possesses less influence in proportion to distance; fashions there are like the flowers which bloom during the day, and fade at night; carried into the provinces they live a little longer, and when, at last they reach foreign countries, they take root and flourish there a long time.

LETTER II.

Departure from Brindisi—San Vito della Macchia—Fine landscape—Ottara—Monopoli—Ruins of Egnatia—Polignano—Singular Caverns—Mola—Bari—Fine tract of Country—Giovinazzo—Towns on the Coast—Ancient roads—Barletta—Description of the field of Cannæ—the Tavogliere of La Paglia—Fine mountain view—Bovino—Beautiful scenery—Ariano—Plain of Avellino—Monte Virgine—Cemetery of the White Benedictines.

WE set off from Brindisi, and it was too late ere we reached San Vito della Macchia, to flatter ourselves with the hope of seeing this little town to advantage, which we were told would well repay the trouble. It is also called San Vito degli Schiavi, from a tradition that it was built at the commencement of the 15th century by slaves, who erected there a magnificent church and a splendid palace. We had no opportunity of judging of these, but we were sure of one thing, that the founders had extended very little of their munificence to their inns, for that where we lodged, and which was the best or rather the only one, was very miserable, and yet the population amounts to 4000 souls.

The *Vetturino* did not fail to awaken us an hour before our departure, that we might not make him wait, as we had a day's journey of 35 miles before us.

The sun, as it arose, discovered a very interesting country. The chain of the Apennines was on our left, and the blue summit of these mountains had a very picturesque effect. On our right the sea burned with the rays of the sun, which seemed to pour down from the top of an ancient fortress called Santa Sabina, one of the strongest on the coast. Here and there some trees were scattered, and some shepherds' huts, whilst the flocks were seen hastening to the pasture grounds. We could also perceive the little town of Ostuni, situated on a hill, and surrounded with woods, which supply the inhabitants with the pleasures of the chace. The appearance of the country, the fine weather, the open air, and the exercise,

Ruins of Egnatia.

9

seemed to strengthen us, and give an appetite. We arrived in this disposition at Ottara, where we were to dine.

Our vehicle stopped in the yard of the most wretched and dilapidated inn which can be imagined. The Vetturino having told us, that, as we had still a considerable distance to go, we could only stop a very little time, immediately left us, and bestowed all his attention on his horses; we had then to run from house to house to collect some miserable provisions for our still more miserable dinner. It was nevertheless very late when we arrived at Monopoli, and we had much difficulty in procuring them to open the gates.

Before resting an entire day in this town, we could not resist the desire of visiting the ruins of the ancient Egnatia, to which, it is said, this town owes its origin. The walk was very agreeable at this season of the year. We directed our steps towards the Abbey of San Stephano, formerly a commandery of the Knights Hospitallers, through odorous groves of oranges and lemons which surrounded it. At a little distance, and on the borders of the sea, there stands a small fortress, protected by artillery, and garrisoned by some soldiers, who are always ready in case of alarm, on the signal of the *guardia-marina*, to march towards that part of the coast which is attacked: soon afterwards we arrived at the scite of Egnatia.

The spectacle of a town in ruins and depopulated, is one which ought to excite the attention of the historian, the man of observation, and the artist; the one find traditions, the other sensations, and the third picturesque effect; and all of them deplore the disasters of a powerful city, whose history has perished from the memory of man.

The traces of the ancient towers and walls of the city are visible, but we could not find the temple of which preceding travellers have spoken; nor did we penetrate into the place which is called *il Parco*, and which has a subterraneous vaulted corridor lighted with glass. The other edifices, as the halls of baths, tombs, aqueducts, &c. present nothing but a heap of ruins, round which parasitic plants have climbed. Egnatia did not answer our expectations, notwithstanding all our desire to see it.

From Monopoli to Polignano we followed the sea-coast, where, at stated distances, guards are placed. The country is more fertile than picturesque, and is planted with olives and vines.

Polignano is a pretty little town, built upon rocks, which are hollowed into caverns, into which the sea-water flows, and which may be traversed in boats; they descend into them from the town by stairs cut in the rock. The population is

VOYAGES and TRAVELS, No. 5. Vol. III.

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reckoned at 4000 souls, and includes many respectable families; the country around produces good wine and fruits, and the port excellent fish.

Mola, where we dined, and which is called Mola di Bari, to distinguish it from Mola di Gaëta, is situated on the road from Naples to Capua. It possesses a citadel, said to have been founded by an Athenian colony, on a point which projects into the sea. The inhabitants, who are reckoned at 8000, have preserved nothing of the taste and politeness of their ancestors; the streets are narrow and dark; some soap and leather manufactories render them filthy and unhealthy: there is also a custom-house and a salt warehouse. After having travelled during the day on a very flat but rocky and fatiguing road, we arrived at Bari, one of the most interesting towns on this coast.

Every little town which we have passed through on our route, boasts, perhaps with reason, of the importance which its antiquity confers on it, or of the historical facts of which it has been the theatre. The inhabitants never fail to relate every revolution, vicissitude, and disaster, which can be remembered, and to name the emperors, kings, and bishops, and, in short, every important personage who has given them cause to grieve or rejoice. The vicissitudes which Bari has experienced, have left it very few relics of antiquity; all that we saw was an ancient mile-stone marked the 28th.

Oct. 25.---On leaving Bari we were much delighted by the beauty of the country, so well cultivated and sowed, as it were, at small distances with little towns, all situated on the borders of the sea, with convenient ports for small craft, and surrounded with rural farms, cottages, and villas, which gave an idea of the riches and industry of the inhabitants. We distinguished, in the gardens, plantations of orange and lemon trees, arbours of vines, hedges of laurels, and parterres bordered with cut box, containing all the flowers of the season. We also travelled through woods of large olive-trees, which stretched nearly to the borders of the sea, and through fields covered the cotton plant. At this period of the year many Albanians pass over into Italy to assist the labourers; and, as they preserve their costume, we had much pleasure in recognising in Italy the habits and manners of Greece. The citizens and peasants whom we met on our route were well clothed and mounted; they saluted us in a friendly manner, and possessed an air of happiness, from which we inferred they were well governed: the municipal administration is, in fact, well conducted. Each of these little towns possesses respectable public establishments, academies for youth, and hospitals for the poor, the infirm, and the destitute.

Giovenazzo, the first of these towns after Bari, is old, and built, it is said, on the ruins of Natiolo or Netio; but the period of its construction is uncertain: it is surrounded by walls, and its cathedral is in a good style of architecture. The population is said to amount to 5,200. A few miles further on lies Molfetta, a modern town, whose inhabitants, in number 3000, are said to be very industrious. Then follows Besceglia, built on a rock which is washed by the sea.

It is remarkable, that in this part of the country the houses of the peasants are all built on the same model; at first, on the authority of former travellers, we imagined them to be ancient tombs, which they resemble in form: they are built in isolated situations, and rise here and there in the midst of the plains and pasture grounds, for here the *Tavoliere* commences. (See Plate I.)

Trani, like the other towns situated on the coast, is built of a yellowish stone, which does not grow darker by exposure to the atmosphere, and which gives the edifices a light pleasant appearance. This town contains some curious monuments, and is inhabited by many of the nobility. The population is reckoned at 14,000 souls; but it possesses less commerce than Barletta, where we arrived very late with an intention of staying two days.

In the time of the Romans, Magna Græcia was intersected by an infinite number of roads; and although the Via Appia was the most celebrated, there were many others equally good, and constructed with the same care---such as the Domitiana, the Herculeana, that of Campania or the Consularis, the Nolana, the Latina, the Egnatiana, and the Brusiana, which led from Reggio to Calabria. These roads had all their different branches; at present there is only one great road, which traverses the kingdom, and that is in bad repair.

The streets of Barletta are straight and well paved; the walls, which are a mile in circuit, are solidly constructed, and the citadel is strong: they shew to strangers the *Orfanosio*, or retreat for orphans, two schools of polite learning, and some churches. Here resides the *Reggio Portolano*, who, under the command of the royal chamber of Naples, inspects the provisions which are collected in the Capitanate and the territory of Bari. Here also the Royal Council of Commerce is held, and this town is the residence of the Inspector of the Salt Manufactories, and of the Grand Prior of Malta, who holds the assemblies at which the Knights bring proof of their nobility. The number of inhabitants is said to be 16,000.

We now made a visit to the celebrated field of Cannæ. The expression which is applied to designate the theatre, where

the pride of the monarch-people was humbled, gives a strong idea of the traces which this terrible catastrophe has left on the mind, and of the consternation which seized the people of that day, and which has descended to their posterity—the plain is called, *Il campo di sangue*, or the Field of Blood. It is very sterile, and contains only a few scattered villages, and crowds of cattle which with their rude conductors wander about in the pathless waste. After having left on our right the Adriatic and the Castle of Barletta, situate some miles from that town at the mouth of the Ofanto, we crossed that river by a bridge. This stream is the ancient Aufidus, which, in the sanguinary contest at Cannæ, was covered with floating corpses. When we had crossed the river we entered an immense plain, which, as far as the eye could reach, did not contain a single tree. We were only interrupted by numerous flocks, which were spread over this sterile land; from morning to night nothing was heard but the barking of shepherd-dogs, the shouts of their masters, and the sound of their horns, with which they answered one another, or collected their flocks.

We passed some very miserable villages—San Cassano, La tomba, and Cirignola; between Cirignola and La Stornara we passed the two branches of the *Tratturo delle pecore*, which lead from Foggia the capital of the province—the one towards Ascoli, the other towards Canosa. We arrived very late at Ordona, an inn surrounded by some huts, where we could get nothing but rushes to sleep on. Having foreseen the absolute nakedness of this land, we luckily provided ourselves with some viands, which it would have been impossible to procure there.

It is now time to give some account of the *Tavoliere* of La Puglia, of which we have traversed the greater part. They give this name to the tract of land which lies between the Adriatic and the Apennines, and which extends from Civitave to Andria, in length about 70 miles, and in breadth 30. This vast plain of pasturage is frequented by a set of people, whose cattle successively consume the herbage of every part; yet it would maintain more human creatures than it does cattle at present, if the system of pasturage, which is favoured by the Government from pecuniary motives, were not preferred to tillage. At the present moment the *Tavoliere* supports immense flocks of sheep, and the revenue arising from it is reckoned at 425,600 ducats.

At some miles from Ordona we began to remark the progress of vegetation; first a few thickets, and then some plantations of olives, which certainly were sufficiently distant from one another. At length we perceived the mountains so long

wished for, and by their blue tint could see they were covered with vast forests; as we approached them we felt a sensation of delight which can be experienced by none but painters—their forms gradually expanded, and the outlines of each became visible, and we could distinguish the different kinds of trees with which they were covered, and the little villages and rural habitations built on their sides. We now began to ascend a more elevated country; the cattle of Sauri is the first object in this interesting picture; it commands the plain intersected by the windings of the Cervaro; Bovino next presented itself to our attention.

This town must formerly have been of much importance, if we may judge by the ruins with which it is surrounded, and the marbles, medals, and other antiquities which are found in turning the ground. We had 20 miles to go ere we reached Ariano, so having dined in haste, favoured by the most beautiful weather we gave ourselves up to all the enchantment of the sylvan pictures, which unfolded themselves to our eyes during the remainder of this, and for several succeeding days. Sometimes the road lay along narrow parapets, raised on and bounded by deep declivities; sometimes it was elevated on lofty causeways, and now it was formed of bridges thrown from rock to rock, in order to leave a free passage to the wintry torrents; farther on it descended with a gentle slope to the bottom of the vallies; then we followed the windings of streams, whose rapid waters dashed past rocks which impeded their course, or finding a smoother channel, murmured through the meadows, beneath the shade of nut-trees and alders.

Although it was late in the year, vegetation was still rich and abundant; in the plains which we had quitted the trees had become bare, and the meadows scorched up by the heat, and covered with dust: but here the trees bore the rich livery of autumn, the vines glowed with a purple hue, and the transparent grapes fostered by a refreshing dew, hung in clusters from the extremity of the branches. The hills were covered with orchards, from which Pomona filled her ruddy baskets, and the summits of the mountains were cloathed with the unfading verdure of the pine.

Occasionally, isolated and arid rocks rose before us, crowned with ancient castles, whose pyramidal keeps were now only the refuge of ravens, or the boast of noble families, whose origin they recalled. The picture varied every instant; when we traversed, in the morning, a deep valley, the shadows of the mountains generally covered the greater part of it, while the opposite heights burned with all the rays of the rising

sun; these rays darting through the summits of the rocks, pierced in luminous columns the mass of dense vapours which were collected in the valley; while at night the immense disk of that brilliant luminary sinking before us, illuminated all our path. Before it disappeared, it seemed to communicate a rapid motion to a million of floating atoms in the inflamed atmosphere, which, as it sunk, were plunged, like ourselves, into the shade and the stillness of night.

I have traversed many countries, all celebrated for the beauty of their scenery; I have travelled through Greece, Italy, and Switzerland, and the livelier plains of my own country, but I have no where met with such a rich union of picturesque objects as in the kingdom of Naples.

The climate of this province is more temperate, and the air more pure than that of Campania; the towns are almost all of them built upon the sides of hills; the elevation of the ground, and its mountainous form, render it colder than Campania; indeed, frost commences at the end of October, but the rivers never are frozen. This province produces good marble, and has a salt mine at Monte-Fuscoli. Notwithstanding the feudal system, it is the best peopled part of the kingdom after Campania; the pasture-grounds are few; as for thefts, the number was so great that we left off counting them; we lost several little articles by the way, but all our inquiries after them were vain; all the answer we got was an articulate sound, a grimace, or a shrug of the shoulders, as though they mocked us. Having left an article of some value at our inn we despatched a messenger back for it, having the politeness to pay him before hand: the consequence was, that neither messenger or property ever made their appearance.

At length we perceived Ariana, situated on a range of high rock which rose in the midst of a plain washed by the *Calore* and the *Tripaldo*; we reached the town after many windings, for our course resembled that of a vessel in distress, which is obliged repeatedly to tack in order to enter the port. The fatigue of our horses, which had ceased to regard the admonitions of the whip, the coldness of the evening air, and the calls of hunger increased our impatience, which seemed to afford much diversion to our driver; he insisted on the advantages of the impregnable situation of the town; he boasted of the purity of the air, and the beauty of the prospect, and answered all our pressing inquiries by the words *adesso, adesso, arriviamo, ci vuol flegma*. We had need of all our patience not to lay a hearty malediction on the men, whose madness had led them to build their habitations out of human reach.

Ariano is a miserable town; all its manufactures consist of

common earthenware: the soil is mixed with marine remains. The country between Ariano and Avellino presents some very picturesque prospects; sometimes embosomed in rocks, and amid the deepest solitude, we listened to the rush of the torrents, the cries of the birds of prey, and the roar of the winds which swept through the clefts of the mountains. Farther on we found ourselves buried in the deep silence of woods which seemed impenetrable. On leaving the forests the scene changed, and as we emerged we perceived by the noise of a mill, the barking of dogs, or the *sampogna* (the pipe of a shepherd,) that we were in the neighbourhood of human habitations. At last the plain of Avellino was spread before our eyes in all its richness.

There is not a spot in it uncultivated; every part is covered with vegetation; orchards are mingled with vines, and meadows with corn-fields: all the gifts of Nature are lavished most luxuriously, which delight the eye, and rejoice the senses. Magnificent avenues of trees lead to the gates of the town; and, as the traveller enters, he recognizes the bustle of commerce and industry, the footsteps of the arts, and all the appearance of a populous city.

On the *Monte Vergine* there is a convent of white Benedictines, founded about 1134; the cemetery of the convent is considered as a curious object; it is a vast cavern on the same level with the church, and is cut in the rock: it has the singular property of preserving the bodies deposited in it, in the freshness of the period of their dissolution. On leaving this town we left Monte Vergine on our right; the appearance of this mountain is curious, it is sprinkled over with chapels, oratories, and crosses, the whole length of the winding way which leads to the sanctuary. The buildings present a very picturesque outline, and the whole effect is almost theatrical.

LETTER III.

Arrival at Naples—Character of the Neapolitans—Vesuvius—Castel-nuovo—View from the Gulf of Naples—Visit to Pouxzuole—Grotto of Pausilypo—Curious effect of the sun-beams—Singular phenomenon—Remains of Antiquity—The Solfatara Tomb of Virgil—and of Sanazaro.

WE are in Naples! The city of which the Italians themselves are at a loss for expressions of sufficient admiration, compressing their praise into the proverb—*See Naples and die!*

As we approached we entered the walks which extend from the gates of the city, bordered with fountains, chapels, and houses of entertainment ; a little later and it would have been pleasant enough, but at present it was nothing but a scene of noise, dust, and disorder—only imagine crowds of peasants in every description of dress, carts loaded with the produce of the country jostling brilliant equipages preceded by outriders, open carriages, and horsemen spurring through the crowd, and in the midst of this confusion our melancholy vehicle dragged slowly on by our tired horses.

The Neapolitan delights in ease, pleasure, and noise ; he is full of vivacity, speaks quickly, and at great length ; and he has great power of comic expression in his gestures, which are innumerable ; much attached to fetes and shews, nothing is seen but rope-dancers, pickpockets, puppet-shows, and ballad-singers : they make great use of the tambourine, of the castanets, or *nacchere*, and of the *colascino*, a two-stringed instrument. Their religious festivals are generally preferred, and they certainly are very brilliant. The churches seem to be converted into theatres, and resound with light and cheerful sounds ; the audience turn their backs on the altar, and fix all their attention on the orchestra. The processions are an object of great curiosity ; they extend to an immense length, as almost the whole population of the city is enrolled in some one of the fraternities of white, blue, grey, or black penitents.

The pleasures of the table are much sought after by the Neapolitans, the least sober of all the Italians. During the carnival, and the great festivals, the streets seem loaded with viands, which are scarcely sufficient to supply the consumption of the day ; at every corner stand immense baskets of macaroni, which the passengers carry away by handsfull ; while ices are distributed from coolers filled with snow. At another place you may see them measuring out to the Lazzaroni the coffee, which they call *levante*, and which if it does not possess the fine flavour, at least has the colour. Pride and misery, which in great capitals border so nearly on one another, present in Naples a striking picture ; individuals who sport splendid equipages, lacqueys, and couriers cloathed in rich liveries, live in the most restricted style in the interior of their palaces, of which they perhaps only inhabit the garrets.

The Lazzaroni, however, seem to boast of their poverty ; they walk bare-footed, and frequently without shirts, and sleep in such places as the recesses of a church. These people are completely unincumbered, without a hearth, and without a home, they live continually in the open air ; as soon as they have collected a few *carlini*, they spend them in a glass of ice,

or some boiled macaroni; they then fall to sleep, till urged again by necessity to seek their little sum of money, that they may once more enjoy their *benedetto far niente*. There are many different accounts given of the Lazzaroni : some pretend that they form a separate body, and elect a king who enjoys a pension, and that their number amounts to 40,000, all which is false—the population of Naples is only 400,200, and it is very improbable that a tenth part of it should be composed of Lazzaroni.

In the manners, institutions, and even language of the Neapolitans, the footsteps of strangers are visible; the French more especially have left many traces of their dominion; their name even is become the generic designation of strangers, and the word Frank is applied to every foreigner. The Greek origin of the Neapolitans may be still perceived in their physiognomy and their character; they possess the intelligence and quickness of perception, and even the manual address for which the Greeks were remarkable; they are like them lovers of noise, joy, and pleasantry, and of mimicry and satirical productions; we therefore find amongst them the best mimics: the facetious Tiberio Fiorelli, who gained such celebrity in France, under the name of Scaramouch, came from Naples.

One of the greatest objects of my curiosity on my arrival at Naples was Vesuvius; my surprise and disappointment were great on beholding this celebrated mountain—I had imagined to myself a volcano ploughed into deep furrows by streams of lava, which marked with black traces their devastating path; I thought to walk amongst hanging rocks, demolished edifices, and the crumbling ruins of the mountain over which clouds of thick floating smoke passed, forming a scene almost resembling one of the mouths of Tartarus: in fact, however, I only saw a hill of ordinary dimensions, of a broad conical shape, without any variety in its appearance, without any inequality in its declivity, of an uniform ashy colour, and the crater of which exhales a little vapour, which is only perceptible in the morning and at evening, when the rays of the sun fall upon it obliquely. No doubt the volcano, filled with fire and flame, burning in the darkness of night, and terrifying the country, its bellowing and shaking would have produced a livelier impression on my senses, than this dark and sterile mass which rises in the midst of a flourishing country. Nevertheless, when one thinks how a whole people can gaily dance and sing on the edge of this terrific precipice—that their harvests, their orchards, and their delicious villas, are supported by a thin bed of earth, cloathed indeed with the

most verdant carpet, but undermined by ever-burning fires, which may at any moment engulf them—this contrast of animated and vigorous life with a spot where every thing languishes and dies—this opposition of the brightest colours with an uniform grey and livid tint—the silent crater, and the profound but deceitful calm—all inspire a melancholy kind of feeling, and a conviction of disaster, which persuade us of the emptiness of human pursuits, and speak of peril and death.

Castel-nuovo, from which there is a fine view of Vesuvius, is a favourite promenade of the Neapolitans, who walk there for the sake of enjoying the pure air, and the odours of the flowers with which the valleys are covered; they are wafted by the land-breeze very regularly, which every evening sweetens and refreshes the streets of Naples, which are parched by the heat of the sun—it re-animates the over-fatigued frames of the inhabitants, communicate fresh vivacity to the spirits, and gives birth to festivities and pleasures which stretch far into the night.

The view of Naples from the sea has been compared to that of Constantinople, and it is said these two cities form the most beautiful pictures of the kind in the world; but Naples is infinitely more picturesque, and it owes this advantage to the disposition of the ground, which, by its winding and abrupt pines, displays the edifices of the city better, towering above each other, and yet gives the masses sufficiently detached and distinct, while the borders of the Bosphorus, in general level or rounded into hills, present lines of great length without variety of form, and without contrast of effect.

In arriving in the Gulf of Naples, leaving the isles of Ischia and Capree, which seem like advanced guards, the most beautiful pictures break upon the sight; on the left the steep rocks of Procita stretch from Cape Misene, behind which the Gulf of Pouzzuole is seen, overshadowed by Monte Barbaro.—As the gazer approaches, the interest is concentrated, and his eye takes in the prospect between Pausilypo and Mount Vesuvius: Naples occupies the centre, and its edifices rise in groups behind Santa Elma, the Acropolis of the ancient Parthenope.

To enjoy this view an hour should be chosen favourable to picturesque effect; the traveller should enter his boat towards the close of day—the sun is setting behind the tomb of Virgil, surrounding it with his resplendent rays; not yet concealed behind the point of Pausilypo, he still sheds his lights on the remains of antiquity, which lie dispersed on the shores of Pouzzuole, and he at last plunges himself into the sea between the promontory of Misene and the isle of Procita, though he still gilds behind us the rocky cliffs of Anacapri.

The evening deepens, and the clear azure of the sky is painted with the colours of the rose and the violet, and then with a grey silvery tint, the soft shadowing of the mantle of night, through which even now a few trembling stars are visible—the breeze dies, the waves grow tranquil, the sea becomes smooth and transparent; and the star of Venus, reflected in the waters, shines like a diamond swimming on their surface, while the voices of the sailors rise upon the air singing their evening hymn.

After having tasted all the sweets of the deepest calm, and enjoyed the most sublime beauties of Nature, the noise and bustle of the city was more than I could bear, and I hastened to repose.

Although it is late in the year the weather is beautiful, and the atmosphere is as pure as in any of our summer days; the plains are still green; there is no season more favourable than this for visiting the delicious banks of Pouzzuolę. I set off with my friend in a *calesso*, a vehicle drawn by one horse, and we traversed the populous streets of the city, dashing over the pavement, and piercing the crowd with the speed of light, and grazing and crossing other carriages, which flew as quickly, yet without any other injury than the anxiety occasioned by the rapidity of our course; when we arrived on the quay of Chiaya, our horse redoubled his speed, and in a moment we reached the grotto of Pausilypo.

At sun-set in this place, but only at this period of the year, a very picturesque effect may be observed; the horizontal beams grazing the side of the grotto, penetrate into the cavity, and illuminate all the length of it; and when you pass at this moment, the particles of dust always in motion, have all the appearance of a stream of flame, with which the passengers are dazzled, and almost suffocated, and immersed in which they seem only like transparent shadows.

On leaving the grotto we drove to a village called *Fuori-Grotta*, and then through a country where the trees were twined together by festoons of vines; after that we entered a long avenue of poplars, leaving Cape Pausilypo on the left, and on the right the *Vomero* covered with beautiful villages and seats, overtopped by a delicious hermitage, from which all the *Campania felice* is seen, and even a part of the Roman states. The sea, with all its isles, lay before us; the road is cut amongst the rocks, and a numerous body of galley slaves was employed in repairing it. The miserable lot of these wretches causes many melancholy reflexions, and casts over the laughing landscapes a shade which tarnishes its beauty.

The history of Pouzzuoli is well known; celebrated in the time of the Romans for the unbridled luxury and voluptuous-

ness of its inhabitants; it was destroyed by an earthquake. The declivity of the hill, at the foot of which the modern city is built, is covered with the ruins of ancient edifices and temples; that of Jupiter Serapis is alone distinguishable by its form. The foundations exist entire; three columns are still standing, and the fragments of the others lie scattered about; this temple was magnificent, though of small proportions and of a circular form.

The three columns present a singular phenomenon, which has never been explained in a satisfactory manner; these columns, and many of the others which have been overthrown, are perforated nearly all at the same height in the form of a ring, by a little marine worm (the *mitylus lithophagus*). Some people pretend that this is a proof that at some period the waters of the sea have flowed much above their present level, and that they have left these traces on the shores of Pouzzuole; but this assertion, though supported by many clever men, seems by no means satisfactory; for how can it be supported, that an inundation, which must have covered a part of Europe, and have lasted long enough to have allowed these worms to pierce the marble, has left no trace in history, and that there are no marks of its remaining but on the coast of Pouzzuole? The real cause probably is, that these columns have been all cut from the same quarry, which has contained a bed of marine petrifications, softer than the base of marble, which, being decomposed, have left the cavities with which the column is pierced.

On ascending the hill we meet with subterraneous remains bordering the road, belonging to some ruins which they call the Temple of Neptune; a little higher there are some remains of a Temple of Diana, the ruins of an ancient way, and an aqueduct, of which some portions are well preserved. The last object is an amphitheatre, the seats of which, no longer visible, are entirely covered with little gardens. On leaving the amphitheatre our guide conducted us to the *Via Campana*, an ancient consular road, which forms a continuation of the *Via Appia*; it is bordered with tombs constructed by the ancient inhabitants of Pouzzuole; the sepulchral chambers are varied in their forms, but are built in a good style; they are all built of brick covered with stucco, or with cement, on which are still distinguishable the remains of paintings of exquisite taste. If these tombs have been violated, it is owing to the shameless curiosity of modern times, when the sacred asylums have been overthrown in search of vases containing only tears, or some few pieces of gold mixed with cinders!

Continuing to ascend, the traveller arrives at a sort of mole-

TOMB OF VIRGIL

sure, which is clearly the crater of an ancient volcano: it is the *Solfatara*. The mouth of the crater is immense: surrounded by arid rocks, the centre is crowned with a wood of young chestnut-trees; a winding pathway, overshadowed by their foliage, conducts us to the alum mines and to the *Solfatara*. On the way our guide related to us some curious facts respecting this place. Thus, if you dig to the depth of one foot, the stones which lie there are too hot to be held in the hand; if you stamp violently on the ground it returns a sound which seems to indicate the existence of great cavities.

But the most extraordinary appearance is that of the columns of smoke which rise from the crevices of the ground, covering it with crystallizations of every colour. To catch the full effect of this spectacle it is necessary to stand on the side from which the wind blows, or it is still better to wait till the atmosphere is calm. The vapour then rises in thick twisted columns of brilliant whiteness; they whirl around, enlarging as they ascend, and at last they seem to dissolve into air, leaving no trace in the azure sky. An attempt was made to establish an alum manufactory where these vapours issue most abundantly, but the fevers which attacked the workmen caused it to be relinquished.

In descending the steep sides of the crater, by a very difficult path we visited the fountain of *Pischiarelli*, which appears to take its course from the furnace of *Solfatara*. The waters possess strong medicinal properties. Tired with our journey, we stood in need of repose, of freshness, and of shade, and we found them all on the borders of the limpid lake of *Agnano*, where we enjoyed a rural repast.

As we ascended a hill an ancient edifice, covered with verdure and crowned with laurel, met our view. The following inscription was traced upon the rock:

QUÆ CINERIS TUMULO HÆC VESTIGIA? CONDITUR OLIM
ILLE HIC, QUI CECINIT PASCUA, RURA, DUCES.

It was the tomb of Virgil! Time has shewn less respect to this last asylum of the illustrious dead, than to his unperishing glory: the monument is in ruins, and the interior is empty. (*See Plate II.*)

The memory of great names adds beauty to the most desolate scene. I was now surrounded by objects, which to the most picturesque charms, added the interest of having been described by Homer and by Virgil. There, *Avernus*, the marches of *Acheron*, and the grotto of the Sibyl, lay stretched before me; farther on, the city of *Cumæ*, and the perfumed hills of *Falernia*. At my feet was the superb *Parthenope*, and the sea of *Misene*, while my eye rested on the

isles which adorned its bosom ; then turning off at Capree, it rapidly glided along the shores of Lorrente, along the Lattian mountains, the rock of Hercules, and the ruins of Stabia, Pompeii, and Herculaneum. At last it reposed on temples, on marble palaces, and all the beautiful edifices of the capital, whose low murmurs, and light wreaths of smoke, scarcely reached my elevated station.

It is said that the tomb of Virgil was constructed by the orders of Augustus in the bosom of the villa which the poet possessed upon the borders of Pausilypo, and where a great portion of his work was composed. The younger Pliny informs us that this country residence was afterwards the property of Silius Italicus, who was consul after the death of Nero. He was formerly the owner of the villa to which Cicero gave the name of the Academy. Silius delighted to meditate in the very spots where Virgil drew his inspiration, and which prompted his own muse in the composition of his poem on the African war. The tomb of the immortal poet was to him an object of worship, and he suffered not a single day to elapse without visiting it. This monument, the situation of which is pointed out, in the place where it is now seen, by Ælius Donatus, a grammarian of the fourth century, now presents only ruins, of which the original design can hardly be conjectured. It is covered with a vault constructed in *opus reticulatum*; in the interior are seen several niches, to which access is only obtained by irregular passages opened by violence about the year 1326, until which period a sarcophagus remained in the tomb, supported by nine small columns of white marble, and containing the ashes of the poet. These venerable relics were removed by King Robert of Anjou, who was anxious for their safety, and transported to Castel-nuovo, where, notwithstanding the researches of Alphonso I. of Arragon, they have never since been seen. In the time of Eugenius, about the year 1625, the following inscription was dug up in the neighbourhood:—

“ *Siste Viator, quæso ; parce, legito, hic Maro situs est.* ”

On leaving the ancient heritage of Virgil, the eye enjoys a prospect of the greatest richness. Pathways, winding down gentle declivities, border the edges of the rocks.—They are supported by enormous walls, pierced with arcades, and flanked by counter-forts. Houses, embosomed in gardens, rise on these ramparts in the form of steps. These are again surmounted by terraces, rendered impenetrable to damp by cement, and on which flourish the arbutus and the vine. These aerial bowers guard the habitations from the rays of the sun, and make the most delightful retreats, which, catching the refreshing sea-breeze, temper the heat of the atmosphere. During the

night, especially, the most delicious freshness is found here. Many persons pass the night on these terraces under no other roof than the vault of heaven, or the shade of the trees, a pleasure well appreciated under the serene sky of Naples, and in the warm, dry, and healthy climate of Greece.

At the foot of the mountain, on the borders of the sea, at the extremity of the beautiful piers, which in this spot stretch out in semi-circles, rise the church and convent of Santa Maria del Parto, celebrated for the tomb of Sanazaro, the Virgil of the Neapolitans.

King Frederic, who was much attached to the poet, gave him this agreeable retreat, with a house which he had built there. Sanazaro took great delight in embellishing the solitude which he never afterwards quitted, and whose charms he unceasingly celebrated.

We may judge of his despair, when, during the siege of Naples by the French in 1528, Lautrec, having made this place his head quarters, was attacked there by the Prince of Orange. They fought with great fury on both sides; at last, Lautrec was defeated, but the Casino and its plantations were destroyed. The poet, in grief, quitted Naples, and died soon afterwards, leaving this estate to the monks of the Holy Virgin, that they might erect, on the ruins of his favourite retreat, a church, which he endowed with an income of six hundred ducats, and to which was given the name of *Santa Maria del Parto*, in remembrance of one of Sanazaro's poems, entitled, *De Partu Virginis*.

The relations of Sanazaro carried his body to Naples, and raised a magnificent tomb to him in the church of Santa Maria, at the foot of the mountain where the ashes of Virgil repose, and on it were inscribed the following lines, written by the celebrated Cardinal Bembo:—

“ Da Sacro cineri flores. Hic ille Maroni

“ Sincerus Musæ proximus ut tumulo.*

The Neapolitan bard wrote on the model, and indeed caught many of the beauties, of his master. Like him he sung of the Shepherds, and the pleasures and labours of the country; but, instead of depicting heroes, he has produced, in the poems on which he rested his reputation, a most extravagant mixture of Christian mysteries and mythological fables. Although his Latin poetry is written with great purity, and in his Italian poems, and particularly in his *Arcadia*, there is much delicacy

* “ Fresh flowerets strew, for Sanazar lies here,

“ In genius, as in place, to Virgil near.”

Roscoe's *Leo X.* v. 3, p. 389.

Accius Sincerus was the academical name of Sanazaro.

and simplicity, yet it may perhaps be said, that his talent has more facility than originality, more grace than vigour. In short, to mingle with the poets of antiquity, he seems to have resigned his rank amongst the poets of modern times.

The tomb of Sanazaro has been the subject of much lively discussion amongst the historians of the arts; and, as it is well designed and executed, the glory of it is attributed to several different artists. Some assign it to Gio-Angelo Poggibonsi, a Tuscan; others to Girolamo Santacroce, a Neapolitan.

The executors of the poet, and the brothers of the convent of Margellina, formed themselves into two parties, when the monument was to be erected. The former declared themselves in favour of the design modelled by Santacroce; the monks wished Poggibonsi, who was one of their order, to undertake the whole work. At last they came to an arrangement, and each of the artists had a portion of the work assigned to him.

LETTER IV.

Description of Pompeii.

I CANNOT quit this part of Italy without giving some account of the Museum of Portici, which contains a very complete collection of antiquities, discovered in the bosom of the earth, still perfect, and in the very situation in which they were surprised by the dreadful scourge which at the same time overwhelmed the cities of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia. (See plate III.)

Portici is a country residence of the King of Naples, who frequently visits it with his court. This palace, which commands a magnificent view of the sea is surrounded by beautiful gardens, planted on the base of Mount Vesuvius. It was built in the year 1738, by Charles of Bourbon, who also founded the Museum. This immense collection consists of a vast number of bronze and marble statues, of pictures, and of vases of gold, of silver, and of earthen-ware still more precious. On one side are seen articles of furniture elegantly designed, such as tables, curule chairs, tripods, lamps and candelabra; on the other, instruments of agriculture, of chirurgery, of music, and kitchen utensils. In another quarter are arms offensive and defensive, jewels and other appendages of the toilette; intaglios, cameos, and other precious stones set in rings, in pins, and bracelets. We find there also colours for painting, eggs, ~~cheese~~, walnuts,

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Abstract

POMPEII.

and leguminous vegetables, the forms of which are still distinguishable. There are even some remains of wine and oil. One of the greatest curiosities is an entire library, which once was the delight of some scholar of the Augustan age, and which creates despair in our own; for all the rolls of Papyrus have been either reduced to a cinder or destroyed by damp. The latter fall into dust the moment they are touched, and the others only owe their superior preservation to the heat which has calcined them. With skill and industry, it is even possible to unfold them, and to put them into a condition to be read and transcribed. The famous Padre Antonio Piaggi, the inventor of the process, has as yet unfolded only a very small number. The slowness of his operations, and, above all, the disappearance of a great part of these precious manuscripts, are causes of just complaint.

It was in the first age of the Christian era, and in the reign of Titus, when that violent eruption of the volcano occurred which destroyed several cities, and filled all Italy with consternation. To the ruin which seemed to have extinguished them for ever, Herculaneum, Stabia, and Pompeii, are indebted, for their miraculous preservation and their present celebrity. Herculaneum and Pompeii stood near each other, but the history of the latter is but little known; it was a sea-port town, situated about five miles distant from the crater of Vesuvius, at the mouth of the Sarno. Its harbour was common to the inhabitants of Nola, of Nocera, and of Acera, but the eruption of the volcano changed its site, or, rather, that of the river, which now flows several leagues distant from its former bed. The lava and the ashes filled up the port, and created a new shore, which encroached to a great extent upon the sea.

Pompeii had been much injured by the earthquake, in the year 63, and it was entirely buried by the eruption of 79,—the first-mentioned in history, and fatally celebrated for the great number of cities which it destroyed, for the multitude of its victims, and for the death of Pliny. Herculaneum, much nearer the volcano, was overwhelmed by a hard and compact substance, which it has been necessary to dig out with infinite labour, in order to disengage the monuments. This substance, in its fluid state, had penetrated into the remotest recesses, and had filled them as if with molten lead; whilst Pompeii had only disappeared under a shower of loose ashes. These it was easy to remove, since they only rose a few inches above the edifices. This shower of stones and burning matter extended as far as Castello a Mare, the ancient Stabia, and covered the country for thirty miles round, but with an intensity decreasing

VOYAGES and TRAVELS, No. 5, Vol. III. E

in proportion to its distance. At Pompeii there fell stones weighing as much as eight pounds, and at Stabia not more than an ounce.

In 1689, on turning up the earth in the neighbourhood of Vesuvius about a mile from the sea, some antique inscriptions were found, making mention of the city of Pompeii, which was not suspected to have existed on that spot, and this discovery produced no further consequences. However, in 1713, the Prince D'Elbeuf, a general officer in the Austrian service, built a country house, at Portici, a beautiful spot, but almost deserted. Having occasion for some blocks of marble, he was informed that an inhabitant of the village, in sinking a well, had discovered a large quantity. The prince purchased the land; and his workmen, having discovered a vault, penetrated into it, and found several fine fragments of marble statuary. Encouraged by this circumstance, the prince redoubled his researches, which produced so many remarkable acquisitions, that the jealousy of the Neapolitan government induced it to assume to itself the direction of the works. At last, at the depth of 70 feet there was discovered an entire city—the ancient Herculaneum, with its temples, its theatres, its private houses, replete with marble and bronze statues, with pictures, and with furniture; and, in a word, with every thing which the unforeseen and sudden catastrophe had allowed no time to remove.

It seemed impossible to restore Herculaneum to the light of day, because the earth which covers them now supports the cities of Portici and Castello a Mare; but, the true site of Pompeii having been fortunately discovered under land little adapted to cultivation, it was easy to obtain possession of it, and it was determined to disengage that city from the mass of ashes which concealed it.

The first excavation, made in 1755, discovered by a singular and fortunate chance, the road which led to the gate of the city. It has three passages: that in the middle for carriages; and the two others, which are much narrower, for foot passengers. The road, paved with irregular blocks of lava, and lined with causeways, runs into the interior of the city, not in a direct line, but in a winding course, and varying considerably in breadth. Before entering the city, we see the tombs, according to the custom of the ancients, on each side of the road; and, at a little distance, a country house, having a court ornamented with columns; it is raised only a single story from the ground, beneath the level of which are found dining apartments, and other rooms, which were used as cellars, or as retreats from the heat of the weather.

The houses of the ancients had not, in general, like ours, a

multitude of stories, rising one above another; they were unacquainted with those long suites of apartments which luxury and wealth have since introduced. The rooms are small, without any communication between themselves, and often only lighted by the door. They all opened into a portico, something similar to the cloisters of a convent, which surrounded a small court where the air was refreshed by a little fountain. The upper story was lighted by a few narrow windows; those which opened on the street were situated like the windows of the Turks, about six feet from the ground, and were closed by leaves of talc, by plates of alabaster, and sometimes by little squares of unpolished glass; this construction prevented the inhabitants from seeing what passed out of doors, and also protected them from the impertinent inspection of others. Timber wood was rarely used in the construction of these houses, and its place was supplied by arches; and, in general, the roofs terminated in terraces. The floors were inlaid with Mosaic work, and the external walls were covered with paintings, worked on beautiful stucco.

In visiting Pompeii, a striking resemblance is found between its buildings and those of the Levant, and particularly of the modern Greeks. We find there those low seats running round the apartments, on which the inhabitants, no doubt, reposed, as in Turkey, on cushions, carpets, and pillows. These seats are raised about a foot from the floor, which prove pretty clearly that the ancients sat in the oriental mode, a fact which is further supported by the seats in the theatres. We also find in the Levant, marble pavements, Mosaic works, paintings on the walls, fountains in the courts, and even in the interior apartments, windows removed from sight; rooms lighted only by the door opening into covered galleries supported by columns. The vapour-baths of the orientals; their painted, gilt, and sculptured tombs; their sepulchral edifices, situated at the gates of the city, at the side of the high roads, and surrounded with public walks; the same arrangement of the shops; the foot-paths raised in front of the houses, and along the roads: all these customs of the Levant are founded on antique usages. The resemblance is such, that these ruins appeared to me the remains of a Turkish city, with the exception of the architectural style of the public buildings; and if it had been inhabited by Orientals, I should have conceived it to have been built by them. In fact, a tolerably correct idea of the manners of the Romans may be formed amongst the Turks; while many vestiges of their arts are to be found in the Museum of Portici.

Amongst the buildings of Portici, one observation struck me

with astonishment,—the extraordinary diminutiveness of their proportions. The houses, the streets, the squares, of this city, seem to have been constructed for a race of pigmies. The principal street is only twelve feet wide; the others eight or ten. The lateral gates of the city are only four feet wide; some rooms are only six feet square. The walls of the town are only twenty-five or thirty feet in height, and the steps which lead to the ramparts will not admit two persons abreast.

This circumstance presents a striking contrast with the other antiquities of Italy, and particularly of Sicily; where we find colossal temples, with columns so enormous that a man can readily stand in one of their flutings, which are not less than eighteen inches wide. How can we reconcile the proportions of this minute city with the accounts of historians, which are calculated to aggrandize the works, and even the personal stature of the ancients?

Even in Rome itself, notwithstanding its immense extent, the common citizens occupied but little space. The houses of individuals must have been as confined as those of Pompeii, if we take into consideration, that half of the city was occupied by the immense palaces of the emperors, which alone were equal to small cities; by the circuses, the theatres, and an immense number of temples, chapels, baths, and gardens. It is true, that the Roman people spent the day in the open air, or in the public establishments, and therefore only stood in need of a small habitation to shelter them during the night.

It presents, in fact, a singular spectacle, when we behold this city, of so remote an origin, and discover in it the traces of those antique manners which the classical authors can only imperfectly display. The structures of the town, though somewhat injured in the higher stories, were, when discovered, perfect in other respects. The statues, the Mosaics, and even the pictures, preserved all their freshness; every article of furniture, every household utensil, remained in the spot which they had occupied sixteen centuries before; bread, wheat, fruits, although dried up, or slightly burnt, might still be recognised; and, above all, several bodies of the inhabitants were discovered in the attitudes and dress in which they had been surprized by death: some in the act of flying with their most precious jewels, or concealed in remote retreats; and others surprized at table, or stifled in the bath.

LETTER V.

Departure from Naples—Terracina—Temple of Jupiter Anxuris—Description of the Pontine Marshes—Arrival at Rome—First View of that City—Visit to Tivoli—Celebrated Men—Temple of the Sibyl—Scenery around Tivoli—Grotto of Neptune—Dreadful accident.

NOTWITHSTANDING my desire to depart, I felt considerable pain on leaving Naples; my former companion was compelled to reside some time longer in that city, and my new fellow-traveller did not seem inclined to waste his thoughts in melancholy meditations. He was a young Roman who had been finishing his education at Naples, and who was impatient to return to his family to display the extent of his acquisitions. His memory certainly was well stored with an abundance of quotations and anecdotes which rendered his conversation very interesting. As we passed Gaeta he mentioned the Cecubian wines celebrated by Horace; at Capua he gave us the history of its destructive pleasures; here was Formianum, the favourite retreat of Cicero, and at this turn in the road he was perfidiously assassinated. In spite of my friend's entertaining exertions, I could not prevent myself from falling to sleep: my pitiless companion then raised his voice that he might converse with the postillion, but receiving no reply he consoled himself with singing a *canzonetta*. He wakened me to join in the chorus, in which our post-boy sung the base.

The appearance of the rocks of Terracina excited my curiosity and the loquacity of my companion. "It is," said he, "the Anxur of the ancients, the capital of the Volsci:" and he then related its ancient history. From the summit of Mount San-Angelo, and near the monastery of that name, are the ruins of some vast edifices attributed to Theodoric. After draining the Pontine marshes, and building Terracina, the sovereign of the Goths, struck with the beauty of the prospect, from these heights, built a magnificent palace here, and surrounded the city with walls and strong towers, many of which are still visible; but death surprised him ere he had completed his splendid undertaking. The remains also of a temple of Jupiter

Anxuris are seen here. Under the ruins there is an excavation opening towards the south. It is the work of nature, if we may judge from the stalactites which hang from the vaulted roof and cover the walls. On penetrating into the inner cavities of this grotto it is said the sound of winds and the dashing of waves is heard. It is thought that this cavern served as a retreat to some of the primitive Christians, who fled from persecution, to practice in this solitude their mysterious ceremonies. But the sulphureous waters, which rush forth from many parts of the rock, render it probable that it was formerly used as a bath; and some remains, such as were used as ornaments in the halls of baths being found here, strengthen this conjecture.

The pyramidal rock of Terracina, called *Pesculo*, or *Pescio Montano*, was formerly crowned with a strong fortress, which commanded the passage to Campania, and could have defended it against a numerous army. The rock is isolated on three sides, and is joined to the mountain by its base. It seems worked with the chissel, like a wall, to the height of upwards of two hundred feet.

After visiting all the curiosities of Terracina, I resolved to examine the famous Pontine marshes which extend nearly to the gates of that city. I took a guide, and our route lay over the summits of the mountains by the ancient road of Piperno, then descending into the marshes, traversing them sometimes in a *sandalo*, a flat and very light sort of boat, and sometimes meeting with dry and solid ground. My companion, who was to meet me at Cisterna the following day, filled my pockets with garlic, and furnished me with a flask of a certain liquor to defend me from the influence of the *aria cattiva*.

The Pontine marshes occupy a plain of twenty miles in length and ten miles in breadth, bordered on one side by the Appennines, and on the other by a chain of hills which run from Mount Circello, and separate the marshes into many little lakes, which appear to be formed by the waters of the sea. Between Mount Circello and Terracina the stagnant waters extend as far as the sea, into which the superfluous waters pour themselves. The portion of the Roman territory which the marshes occupy, was formerly so fertile that it was called *Feronia*, from a temple of that goddess, the patroness of vegetation. In fact, in the times of the Romans, the *ager Pontinus* was considered as the granary of Rome, and it was covered with towns and splendid edifices. Atticus, Mæcenas, and even Augustus retired hither to enjoy the delightful picture of rural pleasures and labours. The hills were crowned with olive trees, and their sides blushed with the clusters of the vine, while the plains were intersected with streams and ponds.

Appius Claudius, when he was constructing the famous road which bears his name, and which passed over these marshes, was the first who raised the banks and cleansed this portion of the country overflowed with the unchecked streams. Under the consulate of Cornelius Cethegus the draining was continued, but it was not finally completed till the time of Augustus. This tract of land retained its salubrity for more than four centuries, till the incursion of the Barbarians, and the removal of the emperors.

Under Theodoric it was again proposed to drain it, but, at the end of the fifth century, the plague, famine, and, above all, the attacks of the Barbarians, caused the enterprize to be abandoned. The writers of this age speak with horror of the Pontine marshes. When the Goths were expelled from Italy the popes turned their attention to this undertaking; but Boniface VIII. was the first who seriously applied himself to this object. When the apostolic chair was transferred to Avignon these labours languished. They were again attempted by some of the Pontiffs, but without success.

It is to Pius VI. that the present improved state of these marshes is owing; who, after having pursued a well-advised plan, of which the experience of many years has proved the success, has changed the appearance, and even the nature of the place lately so frightful, and converted it into one vast garden. It is with pleasure no longer mingled with fear that the traveller proceeds through a magnificent avenue, straight, well-paved, and shaded with beautiful trees, and bordered by canals, the evaporations from which are said to be no longer noxious, serving merely to give freshness to the atmosphere.

Attempts are making to lead back the inhabitants to this deserted spot. Along the road four post-houses are built; and inns, granaries, mills, and bakehouses. There are also several houses built for the workmen and the superintendants. In addition to these a convent and a handsome church are found there. The lands have been divided, and some parts let on long leases. Villages will shortly rise, and then this plain, lately so unhealthy, will form once more the granary of Rome and the rest of Italy.

I rejoined my companion at Cisterna, and it was dark ere we reached the gates of Rome: and, on the following morning, my eyes opened on the ancient capital of the world. From my windows I could see innumerable palaces and cupolas of marble, and the summit of Trajan's column. I am absolutely distracted! I admire! I compare! I study!—One object attracts me and another calls off my attention; and I seem to wish in

one day to amass recollections to serve me the remainder of my life.

What a scene for an artist! The borders of the Tiber, the hills of the city, the shape of its walls, the immense heaps of ruins, the admirable variety of the gardens, which make you think you are wandering in the country when you are surrounded by the walls, all furnish the painter with studies and picturesque subjects, and with infinite sources of renewed delight. There is not a single bye-way which does not offer him an opportunity of exercising his pencil. Here the open gate of a house of ordinary pretensions displays at the bottom of the court a little fountain surmounted with some fragments of ancient sculpture, shaded by jasmine bowers; there a flight of stairs open to the air, leads to the summit of a terrace crowned with an arbour and bordered with vases of flowers, which the attentive hand of a young girl nurtures and cultivates: farther on the fragments of an aqueduct serve as a frame to the rich perspective. On one side a rude cabin, inhabited by an hermit, stands against an ancient palace of marble, of which there is nothing left but the front of a hollow wall, the unequal summit of which is decked with wall-flowers. Everywhere the new city rises on the ruins of the ancient kingdom of the Cæsars, while the magnificent marbles which form the modern tombs were fashioned for the city of Augustus or of Adrian.

It is this fortuitous mixture of distinct elements which gives Rome such charms;—it is the ideas which rise on surveying them, and the deep train of feeling which they occasion, that render this place so attractive in the eyes of the artist, and make him regret that he cannot consecrate his life to beholding it.

I pass my time in wandering about without design or determinate object; and if I have not yet seen the museums and the more precious monuments of art, at least I have caught the picturesque and moral character of Rome. I have become familiar with the inhabitants, and with the topography of their city. My portfolio is full of sketches, and my memory of delightful recollections.

I resolved to visit Tivoli before winter made any further advances. Leaving Rome by the gate of San-Lorenzo, a little less than a mile off, we passed the church of the same name, one of the most ancient of the Christian edifices. Its character is simple and imposing. Constantine is generally regarded as the founder, but it has been successively restored by Sixtus III. and several of the succeeding Pontiffs. Many of the architec-

COTTAGE OF THE SHEPHERDS OF LA PUGLIA.

TEMPLES OF VESTA AND OF THE SIBYL.

tural parts have been borrowed from still more ancient buildings. I passed over the Tiburtine road, bordered with the relics of innumerable tombs and temples. In the midst of these, quantities of cinerary urns are perpetually discovered, and inscriptions and other curious remains. Here stands the tomb of the haughty Pallas, the freedman of Claudius. Farther on lies the *Campo Verano*, beneath which are catacombs filled with the bones of Christian martyrs. Passing over a canal of the Solfatara I reached some baths called the Baths of the Queen; they are probably the remains of a villa belonging to Regulus, a famous jurisconsult, mentioned by Pliny and Martial. I then arrived at the bridge of Lucano, which is terminated by the monument of the Plautian family, who possessed a superb villa at this spot: the tomb is of a circular form, resembling that of Cæcilia Metella. Constructed principally of travertine stone, it was faced with marble and ornamented with columns and statues. The decline of day made me hasten forwards to Tivoli.

Who can sleep the first night of their arrival at Tivoli? My delightful bed-chamber was close to the temple of the Sybil, or rather of Vesta, and in sight of a magnificent cascade. The stream dashes itself down, disappears, and separates into a thousand little currents in the subterraneous passages which pierce the mountain upon which this part of the city is built. (*See Plate V.*)

The fall of the waters produces a deafening sound, sometimes imitating the noise of thunder, according as the sound strikes directly on the ear, or is dispersed by the wind. Between me and the cascade lay the bridge, the church, and the town; and the effect of the moonlight on the river which flowed round the town was most beautiful.

How different was the scene when I beheld it in the morning, yet equally delightful! The heavens were cloudless, and the dashing of the cascade seemed softened, and it was mingled with sounds which told of the awakening of nature and of man. The chirping of swallows, the turning of mills, the noise of the horses' hoofs as they passed the bridge, the voices of the peasants, clothed in their best habits and hastening to church, the sound of the bells floating on the air, all announced a day of festival. It was indeed so to me to find myself at Tivoli! Nothing is pleasanter here than the perpetual chiming of the bells, so disagreeable in other places: it resembles in Italy a sort of aerial music. So well do this people, whose taste is so delicate in all the arts, know how to harmonize and time their sounds, and to produce intonations as correct as those with which nature has inspired their songs.

The ruins of the temple next drew my attention; situated, like an eagle's nest, on the pinnacle of hollow rocks, and surrounded by precipices down which the river dashes, this edifice of a circular form, is built in a style of architecture singular, rich, and elegant: of the eighteen Corinthian columns which surrounded it in the form of a detached peristyle, only ten now remain. The light must have entered by the door or through an opening in the roof, for the windows appear less ancient than the primitive building, the origin of which is unknown.

During the Augustan age the environs of Tivoli were the retreat of a crowd of celebrated men,—Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Varro, and lastly Mæcenas, the protector of letters, of arts, and of all those who cultivated such pursuits with success, fixed their residences on the borders of the Anio. Mæcenas built at Tibur a villa, or rather a city, the immense circuit of which is still filled with an infinite variety of beautiful edifices which almost seem destined for immortality. This wise Roman flying the noisy pleasures of the capital preferred the charms of a private life to the vanity of grandeur; and rejected the first offices of the state, offered to him by the most powerful ruler on earth, who was also his most intimate friend. In his Tiburtine villa Augustus frequently visited him; and in the house of Mæcenas the emperor sought consolation under the afflictions of sickness.

Tucca and Varus, both poets and courtiers of Augustus, the intimate companions of Mæcenas, were the persons who at the recommendation of Virgil introduced Horace to the friendship of their patron. The good offices of the latter were extremely important to the illustrious poet, who had embraced the party of Brutus and Cassius, for which offence his new protector procured him the pardon of his sovereign.

Horace made use of his favour with these great men to re-establish his fortunes; and Mæcenas gave him a small villa, built on the banks of the Anio. In this retreat, in the neighbourhood of Catullus, freed from all his cares and in the enjoyment of a voluptuous repose, he composed his immortal poems, and celebrated the praises of his benefactors.

The prosperity of Tivoli decreased at the death of those illustrious persons who had carried glory and pleasure into this fortunate corner of the earth. Quintilius died the first, and the prince of lyric poets wept over his death. Soon afterwards Virgil, seeing his end approaching, appointed Augustus, Mæcenas, and some of his other friends, his heirs, commanding them to commit his divine poem to the flames! Horace, as he seemed to have wished, preceded his protector to the tomb. Augustus became the possessor of the villa of Mæcenas

and passed there the remainder of his days. In the temple of Hercules, which was in the neighbourhood of this habitation, he administered justice to his subjects.

The inhabitants of Tivoli deplored the death of a sovereign, whose almost constant presence had been the means of carrying life, and prosperity, and riches into their city. They delighted to recal the memory of this prince by inscriptions on monumental stones; and they raised to Livia, his wife, a statue in the forum of Hercules.

I now laid a plan for disposing of my time during my residence at Tivoli, and I resolved on several excursions, refusing, however, the company of a guide. The Cicerone disenchanted me at Naples, and I dismissed them that I might not be stunned by their impertinent babble, and that I might receive answers only when I put questions. I was just on the point of commencing my first excursion when some large drops of rain fell, which were followed up by a long succession of showers. When it rains here it is in torrents.

The *Tramontana* has chased away the showers, and the dry leaves rustle as it blows. The ground is firm again, and the vapours which obscured the atmosphere have disappeared, and I can now set out on my first excursion. I hastened to the gate of San-Angelo through old houses built on the ruins of the magnificent villa of Manlius Vopiscus. There I beheld the road of the Cascatelles, a delightful route running along the crown of a hill, which extends in the shape of an amphitheatre: I perceived through the olives planted on the declivity, the Anio, which winds along and dashes itself into its deep and flinty bed. On the other side rise immense rocks, and the temple of Vesta; that of the Sibyl, and a portion of the city, crown their summit.

The most remarkable object during my excursion was the grotto of Neptune, which almost resembles the palace of that divinity. Only imagine an immense rock in which the force of the waters has scooped out a number of secret channels through which torrents burst forth to mingle in the gulph, where their murmurs resound; they fill the atmosphere with their spray; and the air is agitated by the rapidity of their motion.

The sound of the falling waters, repeated by the echoes, and varied by the winds, produces a singular and terrible harmony, in the midst of which the human voice, the sound of musical instruments, and even the report of fire-arms can scarcely be distinguished, and which appears to impose silence on the rest of nature, that the voice of the god of tempests may alone be heard.

At the bottom of these precipices scarce any other creatures

are seen but clouds of wild pigeons, which build their nests in the crevices of the rocks. Accustomed to the roaring of the waters they dash through the clouds of spray, sometimes darting into the depths of the grotto, and struggling with the current of air which seem to whirl them along.

On returning to the city I heard confused cries, rising above the voice of the elements. I quickened my steps, and at last distinguished, amongst others, the voice of a woman who rent the air with her cries. I saw the summit of the rocks lined with a crowd of people, running, shouting, and answering each other with every sign of terror and anxiety. I followed to the verge of a precipice hanging over the great cascade, and there beheld the disfigured body of a young man who had gone out in the morning to hunt on the steep banks of the river: not having re-appeared during the day, his friends, anxious for his safety, sought him amongst the moist and slippery rocks of Tivoli, which the hunters frequent, regardless of the danger, and they had now first discovered his body, suspended amongst the bushes which cloath the rocks of the great cascade. The cry of dismay spread through the valley till it reached the mother of the unfortunate victim. Fearful of the truth, she ran in agony to the borders of the precipice, and, hanging over it, she was only prevented by force from throwing herself forwards. In the mean time an intrepid hunter descended by means of ropes to the spot where his unfortunate companion lay—a lifeless form ! Whilst they were drawing them up together the friends of the miserable mother endeavoured to remove her from the spot ; but the convulsive movements which affected her increased to an alarming degree. They then determined to bring to her the body of her son. A heart-rending scene which I shall never forget ensued. After having bathed the corpse with tears, and loaded it with caresses ; after having attempted to warm it in her bosom, she was at last convinced of the reality of her misery, she passionately exclaimed, “He is dead !” and fell senseless by his side.

LETTER VI.

*The House of Catullus—Of Horace—English Caricatures—
Temple of Tosse—Musical taste of the Italians—Description
of the Ruins of the Villa Adriana—Rustics playing al porco—
Return to Rome—Villas of Este and of Mecænas.*

AN ancient tradition says, that on this spot stood the house of Catullus. It is singular that the habitation of a poet like

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CASCATELLES

Catullus should have become the retreat of austerity; but it may be remarked, that we ought generally to seek for the traces of the ancient villas on the scite of the convents. If there existed in the middle ages any vast and magnificent, but half-ruined building, it was converted into a church, and its dependant buildings became the habitations of the ministers of religion. In examining the houses of Pompeii, or in reading the description of an ancient villa, we perceive the most faithful imitation of them in the modern monasteries. The courts, surrounded by porticoes to walk in, and from which branch the chambers without any other communication between them; the basins which adorn them, the terraces or covered galleries, the oratories in the gardens, even the churches with the chapels often built like the halls of baths, all offer striking analogies to the houses of the ancients.

It is difficult to find a situation which agrees better than this with the idea which may be formed of the habitation of Catullus. In digging in this enclosure very beautiful pavements of different coloured marbles have been found, and a column on which was sculptured in bas relief figures of women representing the muses, or the graces: Horace was the neighbour of Catullus. I arrived at the dwelling of the poet by a very picturesque path, shaded by olive and chesnut-trees, laurels, and vines. This is, no doubt, the famous *Tiburni luculum*, where, in the time of Pliny, three immense chesnut-trees were seen, older even than Tiburnus who founded the city. Here also rose his tomb and his temple; for the people of Latium were accustomed to reckon their founders amongst the gods, and to raise altars to them. The house of Horace was not far off. I perceived through the trees a little convent, built of the remains of other structures, in a most picturesque situation. I had no further to go—I stood on the lands of the friend of Mæcenas! (*See Plate IV.*)

But all at once I beheld a spectacle which surprised and enchanted me, and even made me forget Horace, his house, and his verses. It was the *Cascatelles*! I had already beheld with a feeling amounting to solemnity this river precipitate itself into its deep and rocky bed; I now beheld it dancing in its course and burning in the rays of the sun, sometimes concealing itself, then re-appearing and bounding to the bottom of the valley, through verdure and through flowers. (*See Plate VI.*)

It is in the morning that these scenes should be visited;—then is the moment of inspiration and musing! The fresh sensations of the mind are not then harassed by the fatigue of the long and laborious day; they have found tranquillity in the arms of sleep, and we hasten to enjoy, in voluptuous delirium,

all the faculties of the imagination. With what delight did I cast myself under the shade of the ancient olive-trees, which I was willing to think were planted by the hands of Horace, or which adorned the immense possessions of Quintilius Varus!

A tradition, common amongst the inhabitants of Tivoli, points out the foundations of the little convent of San-Antonio as the scite of the poet's habitation. Situated on the right bank of the Anio, this villa, like that of Catullus, might be called either *Sabina*, or *Tiburtina*, according to what Suetonius says, who places it in the neighbourhood of the sacred forest of Tibur. Though Horace boasted of his poverty, it was only relative; he possessed a house in Rome, and rents, and stewards, and slaves: he did not consider himself rich, but enjoyed that *aurea mediocritas*—that happy competence equally removed from riches and from poverty, and he did not therefore excite the envy of his opulent neighbours. The steep scite which the house occupies proves that it was not spacious; a garden, sustained by terraces, stretched nearly to the borders of the river, and a wood of chesnut-trees, which still exist, formed a shelter against the burning heat of noon, and formed a walk which might be compared, said the poet, to the delicious groves of Tarentum. In short, this enchanting retreat where all the pleasures of the country and the charms of study might be enjoyed in peace, might well satisfy the wishes of a heart attached to solitude and literature.

From the modest retreat of Horace, I turned to the haughty habitation of Quintilius Varus, situated in front of that of Mæcenas, which it seemed desirous of rivaling in magnificence; this villa crowns the hill, at the foot of which runs the Tevere: on the other side, fronting the south, extend the ruins of the palace of Mæcenas. The waters, which add to the beauty of the scene, lose themselves amongst the ruins, and again seek the light through the crevices of the walls which they undermine.

Ancient fortifications, with embattled towers, which rival in height the spires of Christian churches, and the edifices of Tivoli, are disposed with a sort of picturesque symmetry on the table summit of a vast acclivity, whose sides, though steep, are covered with verdure. On every little shelf where the industry of man could convey a few baskets full of earth, are seen fruit-trees and vines; even the peaks of the rocks are cloathed with moss and tufts of herbs, the verdure of which is nourished by the humid mists which perpetually surround them. The streams flow from all sides with more or less abundance, and they are converted to useful purposes in turning mills for the manufacture of copper, iron, and other articles. After per-

forming these useful services they escape from the midst of the houses and trees, and embellish the country with the effect of their innumerable falls—producing those delicious *cascatelles* which form the delight of the traveller, and the despair of the landscape-painter. Now they glide from rock to rock, like silver threads; now they separate themselves, and shine like plates of metal—sometimes confined in a narrow bed they are covered with foam of snow-like whiteness: but how can even the first of the *cascatelles*, so abundant and so beautiful, be described at once? Imagine a river springing from many fountains uniting itself in one bed, and dashing headlong in columns of unequal size, which unite as they descend, and, ere they reach the bottom, form a cloud of sparkling spray; the waters then break upon pyramidal rocks resembling in their colours that beautiful mineral malachite: there the vapours, undergoing a metamorphosis, are converted into a liquid state, and, swelling through the rocks, burst forth, and surmounting every obstacle which opposed their course towards a less rugged channel, they gain their level, and, with it, their former transparency and beauty.

It was late when I returned to Tivoli—my dinner was spoiled and my wine was flat; but every thing appeared excellent to me—I had visited the *cascatelles* and the house of Horace!

The bad weather has detained me in the house; but fortunately the situation is extremely picturesque, and furnishes me, without going out of doors, with numerous prospects. I also enjoy another source of amusement; the walls of the rooms are covered with verses and sketches, the latter frequently the productions of good artists, who have wasted an hour or two in thus bestowing entertainment on succeeding travellers. The English artists seem to have carried the art of caricaturing to the highest state of perfection: one of them has lately ornamented the whole length of our hosts gallery with a sketch of the *post-asses* of Tivoli; that is to say, he has represented all the incidents of an excursion from hence to the Villa Adriana. I lost much of the merit of this pleasant caricature, from not being acquainted with the persons (of both sexes) that were represented in great variety, and extremely well expressed; but, independent of this, the sketch of the long-eared coursers was most excellent, and their ridiculous positions, and the other laughable incidents which often take place in large parties, afforded me much entertainment.

The following day the heavens grew clear, and at the break of day I set off with one of the sons of my host for my guide: on leaving the city by the *Porto delle Colle* there is a fine river, which I recommend to artists. We left on our right the

temple of *Tosse*, which ivy and climbing plants covered with their foliage, concealing its form, and giving it the appearance of a verdant arbour; an isolated and colossal column marked the station of the house of Mæcenas; further on rose some towers; as far as the eye extended there was a beautiful mingling of gardens and houses, and ruins, shadowed with cypress and pine trees; at the bottom the elevated summits of Monticelli, Montalbano, and San-Angelo in Capoccia, which form the limit of the Sabine territory, and of the Campagna of Rome, seem to crown the plain, through which the Anio winds, peaceably reposing, as it were, from the fatigues which it has experienced in the rocky passes of Tivoli.

The temple of *Tosse* is situated in the garden belonging to the canons of the cathedral; its form is circular, and it is in a good state of preservation; in fact, it is not known to what divinity it was consecrated, although popular tradition has dedicated it to the goddess who presided over *coughs*. It is certainly true that the ancients sometimes erected altars to malevolent deities, to propitiate them, and to protect themselves from their influence; Cicero mentions a temple consecrated to Fever; Pliny speaks of the temples of Misfortune and Idleness; perhaps, however, the etymology of this denomination may have arisen in another manner. The designation of families was frequently added to the names of divinities as *Juno-Claudia*, *Fortuna-Flavia*; may not this temple have been dedicated to some *Venus-Tossia*, or *Ceres-Tossia*? Fabretti mentions two monuments of a family of that name.

As we proceeded on our route, we traversed woods which shaded a soft green turf; we forded little brooks, or climbed small hills covered with myrtles, sage, and rosemary. The sun which falls direct on these unsheltered and uncultivated spots, almost burns them, rendering the odours of the plants still more strong, and drinking up their balsamic emanations, which rise like the incense of gratitude to the great Creator. I gave way to the beauty of the scene, and, plunged into contemplative thought, I made no answers but in monosyllables to my young guide; and he, on his side, withdrawing himself, instigated no doubt by the chaunting of the birds, began gaily to sing those beautiful airs which the people of this land so much delight in, and the melodious simplicity of which is truly charming. What is that natural taste which is found only in Italy, where every simple villager, every child that sings is accompanied immediately by the bye-standers with such taste and judgment? In joining their voices the same air is continued, not in the same tones, but with the melody of different parts. Whence does that tact arise, that nice and

To Volume V									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

SITE OF HURACAN HOUSE

delicate perception, which enables them to catch the most harmonious notes, and to reject every false tone? They know not the rules of music; they are ignorant of the lowest principles of composition, yet they form combinations which indicate the finest skill, and seem the effect of a sort of instinct.

Without experiencing the least fatigue from the length of the way, we arrived at the entrance of the ancient mansion of a powerful emperor. No triumphal arch, no succession of porticos were left—a simple and unornamented door-way, formed of two pilasters covered with plaster, was all that remained. As I entered the vast inclosure of the Villa Adriana, I found myself surrounded by heaps of ruins which astonished me by their immensity.

The proud retreat of Adrian, situated about three miles from Tibur, towards the south-west, occupied, in a line of nearly three miles, a chain of hills in the midst of a winding valley, bounded by rocks: it was protected towards the east by high mountains crowned with thick forests; and on the opposite side lay the numerous monuments strewn along the plain of Rome. In the distance the seven hills of the eternal city, covered with obelisks and temples, rose above the horizon, burning with the setting splendours of the sun. A nearer view of the villa discovered the edifices built on the summits of the hills, on their sides or at their base; some built on level ground, some raised on terraces, and some constructed under ground; there were porticos, gymnasiums, theatres, circuses, stadiums, temples, and houses mingled with gardens, bowers, and pieces of water. This vast territory contained such a quantity of monuments, that it bade defiance to the outrages of time and man.

Sallust, Horace, and Seneca, complain with reason of the ruinous magnificence of the villas of their time; Adrian surpassed all his predecessors, and put the world under contribution for embellishments for his Tiburtine Villa. This emperor is said to have had a desire of constructing in this place, imitations of all the most celebrated edifices which he had admired in his travels, as the Lyceum, the Academy, and the Prytaneum of Athens. Nay, it was even said that a representation of the infernal kingdom and the Elysian fields was to be seen here. One cannot doubt the truth of history, when one beholds these monuments. Though explored a hundred times, and presenting no interest but to painters and architects, yet the immense space which is covered, the thickness and solidity of the walls, the precious objects, the remains of which crowd every step, the very considerable number of statues, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions, which have been discovered in this

place, and carried to Rome, to enrich the museums—all add to the idea which we have formed of the powerful magnificence and never-failing resources of the monarch-people.

The principal entrance into the villa looked towards the bridge of Lucano, and the Tiburtine road; a way, the remains of which are still seen, led to it: two piles of masonry, distant from each other 75 feet, mark the entrance—they rise on the border of the road, at the entrance of the modern enclosure. On entering, the most remarkable object which presents itself is a very high wall, which overlooks the Pæcile, a double portico of 700 feet in height, once ornamented in all probability with paintings, like that at Athens, and supported on each side by the wall we have mentioned. This building is so high, that it casts a shade at almost every period of the day. This wall was situated between two squares equally surrounded with porticoes; that on the south still preserves the form of a parallelogram, terminated at its extremities by flattened arches. In the centre of this vast court there rose some low walls, which formerly supported a fountain, if we may credit those who levelled the place, in order to plant it with vines.

It was in the Pæcile, and in a hall which yet exists, that Adrian used to assemble his literary friends, and where he used to amuse himself in listening to, or disputing with them, according to the Athenian custom. The *Bibliotheca*, or Library, was not far from the Pæcile—nothing remains of it but the wall, in which there are 25 niches.

On a neighbouring hill rises a magnificent theatre; fragments of 48 statues have been discovered here; the rising seats are still distinguishable, and the *proscenium* and some other parts are in good preservation: it is the same with the other ancient theatre, with the exception of those of Pompeii and Herculaneum, which are more complete.

Turning to the south, we see the remains of the porticoes which led to the baths; then we arrive at the Academy and the Temple of Apollo and the Muses, which was ornamented with columns of Parian marble; not far from this, in the place in which the wild-beasts were confined, there were discovered in the pontificate of Alexander VI. the statues of the nine muses, which now adorn the Royal Museum of Paris. The neighbouring ground is covered with the ruins of the buildings which formed the Academy, habitations mingled with gardens and fountains formed by conducting thither the waters of the Marcia and the Anio: from this point extends a portico, which led to that part of the villa called the Lyceum—

a building dedicated to philosophical studies, where a group of Pan and Syrix was discovered.

After having traversed the foundation of an *ædium* and of the baths, the traveller arrives at the *Canopus*, one of the most beautiful ornaments of the place; here part of the valley had been shaped so as to contain a vast sheet of water, where imitations of naval combats were represented: at one of the extremities lie the ruins of a temple in the form of a shell, which was dedicated to Neptune, who was called Canopus by the Egyptians. Here also the statue of a sea-horse, one of the attributes of that deity was discovered; and also a considerable quantity of figures of Egyptian divinities, which were conveyed to the Museum of the Vatican, and deposited in the hall called on that account Canopus. In proceeding towards the east the traveller enters another valley, which is supposed by antiquarians to have been fashioned into a model of the delicious bowers of Tempè and the Elysian fields, and in which was the entrance to the infernal regions.

It appears to me that the excavations ornamented with sculptures and paintings, and in which mysteries, so terrifying to the uninitiated, were celebrated, were formed from the quarries, whence the immense piles of materials used in the construction of this villa were drawn; the entrances are through three apertures, which, in the opinion of Pirro Ligorio, mark the avenues of the three-quarters of the world—Asia towards the East, Africa towards the west, and Europe towards the north: long corridors, forming a labyrinth, led to an immense cavern filled with water, where the thrones and tribunals of the infernal deities were seen. The Crypto Porticus was a grotto formed in the rock. (*See Plate IX.*)

Towards the south, and at the extremity of the villa, extends the rest of the Prytaneum; it was composed of vast piles of building, where the emperor lodged the sick soldiers, his ancient companions in arms. Here were the granaries, the cellars, and innumerable other magazines for all sorts of provisions. Both in the environs, and in the centre of the beautiful gardens, rose the monuments of the illustrious persons who died in the villa. Many cinerary urns have been discovered. With the exceptions above mentioned, the villa only presents a mass of ruins. In the time, indeed, of Pirro Ligorio, many other buildings were standing; this was about the year 1550.

I quitted these interesting scenes, and hastened towards Rome. On my return from the villa, I passed a crowd from which loud laughs proceeded, and cries of bravo. I enquired the reason, and found that they were engaged in the game

al porco, or of pigs. Popular amusements generally resemble one another, although they vary according to the country, and the manners and character of the inhabitants. There are some games which, though cruel and sanguinary, are tolerated only on account of the address and courage which they require. It is in the nature of man to prefer games in which some personal danger is mingled. But it is shameful for man to amuse himself with the sufferings of harmless animals, frequently of a timid and peaceable nature, in cold blood; and without danger to himself exciting them to fight and mutilate one another, and then enjoying their agony.

The game which I have just mentioned is of the latter species, though scarcely more ridiculous than cruel; and it is not without risk to those who engage in it. A pig is the subject and the victim of the entertainment. This animal is adorned with ribbands and painted with various colours, and a bell is hung round its neck. The object of the game is to pursue and catch him; and this is very difficult for the performers, since they can neither see nor walk. Each of them in fact, is tied up in a sack of thick sail cloth, which is tied together at the top, so as to protect the person inside from the effect of blows. Two apertures are left for the arms, which are left completely at liberty. Muffled up in this strange manner, the hunters are placed in a ring, at some distance from one another, and are armed with sticks, ready, when the pig is let loose, to commence the attack. As soon as the ringing of the bell betrays the situation of their prey, and warns them of its approach, they all begin to leap forwards, for, as they cannot walk, they are obliged to use this motion. The slightest obstacle, and the least shock, trip them up; much of the sport consists in their endeavours to overthrow one another. The terrified animal, scared by the cries of the crowd, runs awkwardly about, endeavouring to escape from its enemies. It flies from one and meets with another, running against him and knocking him down;—then it makes a new attempt to pierce the crowd of spectators, which drives it back into the circle, beneath the sticks of its pursuers: at the sound of the bell, the weapons again descend, frequently on the shoulders of the other combatants. The animal becomes the property of him who seizes or disables it. The conqueror generally invites his companions to feast on the fruits of his triumph.

In re-entering this city, two objects of great interest, and which form good proofs of the taste both of the ancients and moderns, the villas of Mæcenas and Este, (*See plate VIII.*) claim from the traveller a more than ordinary attention. It is necessary to call up every power of the judgment and imagination,

to form an accurate idea of the former. The latter, better preserved, is yet nothing more than the shadow, as it were, of what it was in the time when this family, now extinct, flourished—a family which has gained an immortal name in the verses of Ariosto. The long terraces, the elegant porticoes, the refreshing grottoes, are solitary and silent. The stillness of the gardens is only broken by the rustling of the leaves; and the light murmurs of the waters, which, formerly subjected to the tortures of art, rose in jets, or fell in cascades, upon beds of madrepore, of mother-of-pearl, and of shells. Now, abandoned to the beautiful wildness of nature, they wind through the unequal plain, or amidst the trees, to the beds which they have formed for themselves in the hollows of the valley. The luxury of Nature has replaced the haughty vanity of the former proprietors. Whilst the marbles are sinking in decay, the enormous cypresses which adorn the garden continue to increase, till their lofty heads seem searching in the clouds the bolt which has often blasted their form and their beauty. Time, the great vanquisher, has already begun to leave in these places the traces of his power, which are so cruelly visible in the villa of Mæcenas.

Mæcenas knew how to make a noble and generous use of life and riches. The Society which he enjoyed, composed of Augustus, of Horace, and of Virgil, and indeed of all the most celebrated men of his time, rendered his life truly pleasing to him. The beauty of the situation of this villa, the variety of vast and splendid edifices, the refined distribution of the interior apartments, and the objects of curiosity which were collected in this place, attracted hither all the luxurious inhabitants of Rome. The grandeur of style observable in these ruins, and their vastness, recal the memory of their former greatness, and excite sentiments of admiration for them, even in their present state of decay.

They were described by Pirro Ligorio, at a time when they existed in a more perfect state. But the many vicissitudes which this edifice, dedicated to delight, has suffered in the lapse of ages, have despoiled it of the most of its beauties. Scarcely a trace remains of the paintings, and the sculptured ornaments have all disappeared. How different now is this habitation from what it was when the minister and favourite of Augustus fled to this retreat, in search of that repose and slumber which so obstinately refused to shed its influence on his eye-lids. Yet the murmurs of the waters, which as they flowed, refreshed the delightful sojourn, and fell from various cascades; musicians placed at a certain distance from the bed-chamber, so that the harmonious sounds of instruments and

voices, bore only to the ear murmurs which invited to sleep; all the resources which riches can lavish on their master, could not calm the trouble of his soul and the inquietude of his spirit.

The very appearance of these ruins tells their ancient magnificence. They rose pile above pile in retreating grandeur, and the loftier buildings were reached by means of flights of steps ornamented with grottos, from whence flowed fountains of waters. The peculiar residence of Mæcenas, surrounded with innumerable porticoes and gardens, like a high tower, commanded a view of all the town of Tibur and its environs, and could easily be perceived by the inhabitants of Rome: and even at this day, when we see, rising from the green summits of the rocks which impend above the stream, two prodigious ranges of arcades, built in a noble and impressive style of architecture, we are struck with admiration of this edifice, one of the most extraordinary relics of an age fertile in the productions of genius and splendour.

LETTER VII.

St. Peter's—View of the Pontiff—History of Mosaic Painting—Villas of the Italians—their Gardens—the Villa Borghese.

IT is impossible to enter the cathedral of St. Peter without experiencing a sentiment of respect which produces awe and silence. This is, in fact, the first and most celebrated temple in Christendom. It is the sanctuary of devotion, the scene of the most solemn ceremonies. As I slowly gazed on the details of this vast edifice, and as my thoughts were employed with equal surprize and admiration on the astonishing objects which environed me, my attention was attracted by a scene, most simple, yet most impressive, the lively memory of which brings it now before my eyes. I saw, slowly advancing in the midst of a crowd which fell prostrate at his feet, a venerable old man. His finely shaped head was covered with white locks, and kindness and calmness were expressed in his countenance. I beheld the floating of his long white robe, and, though devoid of every ornament, I recognized the sovereign Pontiff. The deepest silence reigned around him.—Advancing alone to the middle of the nave, he knelt down—and, prostrate on the marble pavement, he humiliated himself before the sanctuary, confounded and mingled with the other worshippers. I have

since seen him under a magnificent canopy, crowned with the triple tiara, and environed with all the pomp of sovereignty: but to me he appeared far more great when, lonely, bending over a tomb, and plunged in deep meditation, he prayed for the peace and safety of the human race. His humility elevated him in my eyes: he then appeared a worthy successor of St. Peter, a fit pastor for the Christian world—his lowly attitude inspired more respect in my bosom than if I had seen him officiating at the most gorgeous ceremonies.

A picture of another kind, yet no less interesting to me, now engaged my attention—the sublime representation of the transfiguration of Christ. I know not whether it was accident, or the consequence of the ingenious mode in which this Mosaic was placed,—but a sunbeam shed its light on the Glory, while the rest of the composition was in a soft and harmonious demitint. The appearance of this inimitable painting, for it must be called so; the sanctity of the place; the religious silence, succeeded by the swell of harmonious voices which rolled along the vaulted roofs; the whole scene ended so truly imposing, left such traces in my mind, that I doubt whether the sublime original* could give rise to similar sensations.

Some observations on the art of Mosaic painting will not be impertinent in this place. This art, which consists in uniting small pieces of various coloured marbles, so as the surface may have the effect of a painting, was discovered by an artist, whose industry Pliny qualifies with the term of *importunum ingenium*. The invention is most probably due to the Persians, from whom it passed to the Assyrians, and thence to the Greeks; it was not practised at Rome till the later years of the republic, when works of this kind were introduced from Persia, Numidia, Phrygia, and Egypt, and raised amongst the Romans a desire of imitation. Accordingly, marbles were collected from various countries, and a school of Greek artists established at Rome. The art was at length gradually naturalized in that city, and was carried to great perfection under the emperor Adrian, who was much attached to it; and the relics of Mosaics, which have been found in our time in the villa of that emperor, do not belie the pompous descriptions which Statius has left us. †

The art continued in great esteem during the two first ages of the empire; but under Septimus Severus, with the other arts, it also began to decline. Still, in Italy, they worked in Mosaic under Gallienus, Aurelian, and their successors. The Goths, who sometimes imitated the Romans in their protection of the fine arts, professed some esteem for Mosaic painting;

* This picture had been carried to Paris. The copy is in Mosaic work. , ,

and Theodoric, when he became King of Italy, caused a pavement to be worked at Santa Maria, in Cosmedin, at Ravenna. The Goths seem to me to have been unreasonably accused of destroying the monuments of art: that destruction should be attributed to other causes; but a dissertation on this subject would detain me too long.

In the sixth century the working in Mosaic was much practised at Constantinople, and was patronized by Justinian. By the orders of that prince, the dome of St. Sophia was ornamented with paintings of this kind, which were rather distinguished for the selection and richness of the materials, than for the purity of the design. It was at this period that the custom of executing paintings and Mosaics on a gold ground was introduced, a custom continued to our days in the churches of the modern Greeks. From the seventh to the tenth century, the art of Mosaic painting was promoted by various pontiffs; but, at the latter period, this, with the other arts, suffered so much neglect, that the abbot of Monte Cassino, wishing to have some designs executed in it, was compelled to procure artists from Constantinople. From this period, few Mosaics were painted in Italy till the fourteenth century, when Venice became the true school of the art. Andrea Tafi, a Florentine, having been instructed by Apollonius, a Greek, established a school for Mosaic painting in Florence, in which Gaddo Gaddi, Vicino de Pisa, and many others were instructed.

This art was in great request at Rome, under the pontificate of Benedict XII.; and to the talents of Giotto, aided by Simone Memmi, and by Piero Cavallini, we owe the celebrated picture of the bark of St. Peter agitated by the waves. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Ghirlandajo completed, at Florence, a magnificent Mosaic, composed of cubical pieces of stained glass, which procured him much fame. As design grew more perfect, the works in Mosaic became less stiff in their contour, and the colouring was better understood. Titian perfected the art, when he had the direction of the decoration of St. Mark's, by causing imitations in Mosaic of his own immortal paintings to be executed. Under Clement VIII. it was determined to ornament the church of St. Peter with paintings; and, in consequence of the humidity of the place, Mosaics were preferred; the ablest artists were engaged Cigoli, Passignano, Vanni, &c. It is impossible in this place to give a detailed account of these productions: it may be sufficient to say, that some of the finest works of Domenichino, Guercino, and Poussin, were imitated in the most durable materials. The Transfiguration, after Raffaele, executed by the orders Clement XII. is one of the most perfect specimens of the modern school of Mosaic painting.

We shall now give a succinct idea of the mechanical part of this art as it is practised at Rome. The fragments of marble, coloured glass, or stones, which are made use of, vary in size. They are square, triangular, or lozenge-shaped; or, rather, they take every angular form which allows of their suiting the purposes of the artist in the contour of design, and at the same time enables him to join them without leaving the least interval. There are various ways of shaping these fragments; and, after they are cut into prisms or cubes, they are disposed in order, according to the different shades of colour. The artist then selects as many of these as he imagines will furnish him with a day's work; and he prepares a ground of plaster, formed of chalk and marble powder mixed with gum-adragant and the white of eggs. The stucco thus prepared is spread very thick on the walls, where it remains fresh and moist, sometimes for three or four days; and it is occasionally moistened with damp linen. The artist charks on this plaster the outline of his design after his sketch, then with a pair of fine pincers he takes the small squares of glass and inserts them in the stucco, arranging them one after another so as to give the lights and shades and the various tints. In this he follows the design which he has under his eye, taking care to leave no opening between the pieces, and placing them all equal and at the same height. At length, by continuing this process, and polishing the surface with very fine sand and water, the artist completes his labours.

As my object is peculiarly to recommend the application of Mosaic work to splendid and magnificent subjects of decoration, I shall only add, that the moderns appear to have surpassed the ancients in this art, at least in the immense proportion of some of their works. There is no ancient monument of this kind which can be compared in richness to the church of St. Peter, where twelve or fifteen of these large compositions which I have mentioned may be seen. The vast cupola and the lantern are also magnificently ornamented with Mosaics.

There is also another process, derived, no doubt, from the same idea of durability; the origin and history of which are curious and little known. I mean the *terra invetriata* and the *majolica*, which have given rise to the painting on enamel and porcelain, and perhaps also to the staining of glass. But enough at present of the arts.

Rome presents so many interesting objects to the traveller, that an age would be necessary to see and describe them. The Vatican alone would fill volumes. I find myself unable to dwell for a long time together on the same object. Notwithstanding winter, the country offers many charms; and these

are most delightful when, surrounded by hills whose summits are white with snows, we breathe all the sweetness of the spring-tide; and, though the verdure be less fresh than at that beautiful season, we scarce lack anything of the charms of the country.

Yet it was with regret that I turned from the magnificent galleries, even though it was to wander in the laurel shades of the *Villa Medici*, or under the verdant chesnut trees and pines of the *Borghese* gardens. These delicious spots where Nature and Art have united to produce beauty, are my delight.—There I read, I draw, and I meditate; and, although alone, I am never tired of my occupation.—There I never experience either the wild elevation of joy, nor the dejection of deep sorrow; but that peaceable contentment of soul, arising from the calmness of the passions, and the absence of worldly business, which permits me to give myself up to the sweet and tranquil pleasures which a liberal cultivation of the arts induces.

The name of *Villa*, which the French, by a periphrasis, translate *maison de plaisance*, awakens in the mind ideas of peace, grandeur, prosperity, and pleasure. In fact, these little palaces, built in picturesque situations, can only be inhabited with ease and security in nations where the country is peaceable and the towns flourishing. Thus amongst the ancient Greeks, who were always at war with one another, and perpetually menaced with foreign incursions, the husbandmen were forced to shut themselves up in the cities, seeking within their walls a shelter for their fortunes, their liberty, and their lives, and edifices of this kind were completely unknown. It was the same among the Romans, till the time of Augustus, when that powerful people had repelled the waves of war from their shores. Then the plain of Rome, the borders of Campania, and the margins of the lakes of Lombardy, became covered with those charming habitations which, for a part of the year, afforded a retreat to the illustrious Romans. This luxury was carried to such an excess, that the Ciceros, the Mæcenases, and the Plinies, could travel over almost the whole of Italy, from the capital to the confines of Apulia, without, as it were, quitting their own property; for, during the whole route, they rested at their own villas or houses, which supplied them and their suite, frequently very numerous, with every thing which was either necessary or agreeable. In fact, these journeys, where every thing which pride or luxury could require was found, were converted into parties of pleasure.

Amongst the moderns none but sovereigns can travel in this style. One is surprised to think how a simple Roman knight surpassed in this respect some of the greatest monarchs of antiquity, and even many of the sovereigns of our own day.

The wars, of which Italy became the theatre, during the convulsions of the Lower Empire, soon swept away these delicious villas of which scarce anything but disfigured ruins remained; and it was not till the epoch of the restoration of the arts and of peace that great men began to imitate in the disposition of their villas the example of the ancients. In this the French were very late, and it was not till the age of Louis XIV. that we saw any royal edifices, or castles, worthy of the name.

The villas of the Italians have served as a model for all Europe. Celebrated by poets, and admired by travellers, they well deserve a faithful graphic representation: and yet to this day there is scarcely a single work which gives a tolerable idea of these edifices.

Disposed in the best manner for effect, the builders have taken advantage, with admirable address, of the nature of the situation, and the position in which frequently they have been obliged to build; their gardens, above all, have a fairy-like appearance which is rarely found elsewhere, and which results less from the wildness with which they affect to imitate nature, than from a sort of regularity which harmonises with the decorations and the architectural effect. The gardens of the Tuilleries perhaps convey the best idea of their Italian prototypes.

It may perhaps appear extraordinary, that, in a country which naturally presents such a variety of beautiful walks, the forms of regular gardens should have been adopted; but this surprise will probably cease when we reflect, that all these natural beauties are the property of every peasant who can feast his eyes on the variety of woods, and hills, and brooks, and cottages, and ruins, which form the elements of English gardening. But this prospect, which is so common in Italy, on that very account possesses no attractions for the great and the rich; they esteem it necessary that nature should present to their eyes a new, an imposing, and a singular appearance. Thus they plant in lines, and trail their trees in a thousand different forms; they imprison their streams in narrow channels, force them to spout into the air, and to fall down precipices in symmetric cascades.

In this the modern Italians only follow the example of their ancestors; the art was restored by the Medici, as favourable to the decoration of the brilliant fetes with which they wished to amuse their fellow-citizens; in their sumptuous gardens nature was subjected to the rules of art; the brilliant fictions of the poets were realised, and every sense, flattered and delighted, held the imagination in continued enchantment.

It may be objected, it is true, that all these effects are false and that nature here is entirely factitious; that the long wedge-shaped alleys, the forced fountains, the well-assorted flowers enclosed in regular compartments, and all these objects so symmetrically repeated, only fatigue by their length, and speak little to the mind, and still less to the heart; but, in fact, the only object is to amuse the senses, to excite astonishment and admiration, and to make a royal habitation harmonize with the pomp and splendour of a court; and this is besides the true mode of laying out a public garden, where people walk less for the sake of solitude, than for the purpose of meeting pleasing society, and where it is so frequently the object of every one to shine.

The citizen, to be sure, fatigued with town-pleasures, may convert his little garden to the English model; he may make mountains scarce comparable to American ant-hills; vallies a few feet long; and he may now and then pump a respectable stream which shall flow a full quarter of an hour.

The passionate lovers of the true beauties of nature, will pardon these observations on the contemptible imitations which outrage their model, and will prefer in many situations the monotonous uniformity of our old French gardens, to those which are laid out in what is called the English style; it is true, that very regular plantations are far from pleasing; the Italians have perceived this, and they have stopped at a point when the deformity becomes monstrous. It is a correct remark, that the gardens of Italy present all the variety and picturesque effect of modern gardens, without any of their monotony or puerile simplicity; they are planted regularly round the houses, and, by a skilfully managed progression as they recede, they mingle with the sylvan appearance of the country; they do not, as amongst us, endeavour to make a fine situation of a garden; but they make the garden in a fine situation; art follows nature, and does not strive to create it; even in the least thing, the traces of genius, the refinement of good taste, and the *decorum* of art, are perceptible in this country. Frequently we see architecture, sculpture, and painting, all directed by one mind, often executed by the same hand, concurring to produce a general effect, and by their perfect harmony a most delightful agreement of parts. In fact, these gardens give the best idea of the boasted villas of the ancients, and nothing probably better resembles the habitations of Lucullus, the gardens of Sallust, and the retreats of Cicero and of Pliny, than the *Ville Albani*, *Panfili*, *Aldobrandini*, and *Borghese*; the latter more especially, which is the constant boundary of my walks, well supplies the place

of the villa of Pompey the Great, which was situated in this place, and which that celebrated general bought in the year of Rome 692, under the name of his freedman Demetrius Liborius, with the produce of the riches which he had acquired in his wars with the Armenians, the Parthians, and the Assyrians, and in his triumph over Mithridates.

This vast piece of land, which extended over all Mount Pin-cius, contained large gardens of unequal ground, ornamented with fountains and other superb buildings: though now of less extent, it contains nearly as many objects of curiosity as formerly. The mode in which they are distributed is full of taste, and might serve for a model.

The inequality of the land is taken advantage of in order to produce the most extraordinary effects, one of which surprises the beholder the more as it is rarely met with; it is a lake suspended, as it were, on the summit of a mountain: the waters are carried there at a great expense, but then they give life to these beautiful gardens. They rush from the top of a rock filling the urns of many sculptured nymphs, and at last, flowing round a temple consecrated to Esculapius, this irregular lake is surrounded by magnificent trees, such as chesnut trees, laurels, weeping-willows, and also with fragrant shrubs, the trembling and dome-shaped foliage of which is reflected in the waters which it darkens.

During those beautiful nights, the calmness and freshness of which are so much prized in Italy, this temple and these cascades are sometimes illuminated in an ingenious and pleasing manner. Elegant boats shoot along the borders of the lake, or linger under the flowery bowers; bands of musicians, distributed here and there, make the scene echo with the sublime notes of Paesiello and of Cimorella, while select companies wander amid the enchanting arbours, or form themselves into parties for dancing.

These beautiful gardens in every part offer some object of interest; little edifices appropriated to various uses are scattered throughout—here rises a chapel in the middle of a quincunx; there extend the ruins of a Grecian temple surrounded with laurels; farther on there rose a vast Hippodrome, used for equestrian exercises and races. In a retired valley, the arid sides of which are covered with immense pines, an old embattled castle bursts upon the view, and herds of deer may be seen wandering along the sylvan shades; fragments of antiquity, statues, monuments, and bas-reliefs, which have not been fortunate enough to find a place in the palace, nor in the museum which has been recently constructed, are tastefully distributed along the walls, along the paths, and in the arbours.

The Princes of Italy do indeed thus make a noble use of their riches; in other respects they live in a very simple manner, and they seem only to exist for the arts; in labouring for them they effectually extend the glory of their country, and contribute to render it worthy the homage of men of taste of every country.

LETTER VIII.

*Journey from Rome to Florence—Remarks on the two cities—
The Carnival—The Stanza and Caxina.*

MY journey was so rapid from Rome to Florence, that I shall not permit myself to describe a country which I travelled over without stopping; yet, in spite of the speed with which I travelled, I could not help remarking the great contrast between the states of the church, and the grand duchy of Tuscany: it appeared to me so striking, that I could scarcely believe it was the effect of prejudice.

When two states are separated by an arm of the sea, by a river or by a chain of mountains, the communication between the inhabitants becomes difficult, and a distinction in manners and character and habits ensues; but here the line of demarcation is in fact only ideal: the nature of the land is indeed the same, but every thing else, even to the physiognomy of the people, is different. The Romans have a taciturn and almost savage air among the lower orders; I frequently remarked figures, which always enveloped in their mantles, and eyeing you with a scrutinizing look, appeared as if they were meditating some act of vengeance, and we might feel uneasy if we were not aware that these people all this time are absolutely thinking of nothing, and only in their own way enjoying their *benedetto far niente*; this, when continued, is undoubtedly a state of ennui, and gives to their features an expression which becomes frightful from its immobility.

The plains of Rome, and here there is no illusion, are badly cultivated; the villages are miserable, and the country, almost

a desert, presents moors and heaths over which the traveller passes with reluctance. The towns, filled with monks rather than with citizens, seem the asylum of sloth. Such is the picture which all this territory, even to its frontier, presents! But on entering the bounds of Tuscany every thing changes, even to the countenances of the inhabitants, which seem full of contentment and benevolence. Their rural cottages, adapted to all the necessities of agriculture, are well built; their fields, skilfully cultivated, bear good crops; for Nature, avaricious only towards the idle, always recompenses industry and labour with treasures, the sources of prosperity and pleasure. I shall pursue no farther a comparison which may be injurious, and, perhaps, unjust, to one of these governments. I content myself with pointing out the difference without seeking for the cause. Perhaps I have overcharged the painting, but careful observation will be found to fortify my opinion.

It is very rare at Rome to find a meeting of a few individuals which is not disturbed by a quarrel, often terminating with the *coltellate*.

At Florence, on the contrary, on occasion of their many ceremonies and public fêtes, frequently the largest crowds assemble peaceably; on the festival of the Assumption, especially, the inhabitants of Florence and its environs assemble early in the morning in the vast and delicious walks of the Casinos, on the borders of the Arno. There all ranks are mingled and confounded by pleasure: the day is passed in joy; the air resounds with songs, and with the sounds of the musical instruments which animate the steps of the dancers; and in the shade of the pines and chesnut-trees small parties seat themselves on the turf to enjoy a rural repast.

The festival frequently extends far into the night, but there is not a single instance of a quarrel attended with bloodshed; and yet there are more than twenty thousand persons collected and enclosed in one place:—this made me love the Tuscans.

Rome and Florence present in their appearance the same contrast which we have remarked between the two states, and they are in many respects opposed to each other.

At Rome, the mingling of modern edifices with the ruins of those of the republic of the Cæsars forms an interesting picture for the artist and the historian: yet this confusion of all the styles of architecture takes away from the modern city, which is grafted as it were on the ancient town, every peculiar and national character. On the contrary, the capital of Tuscany, possessing no antique monuments, presents the appearance of a town constructed at the same epoch and in the same style. That of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries still predominates,

and if the Florentine costume did not so much resemble our own we might think we were still living in the noble age of the Medici. The ancient monuments of Rome do not produce this illusion: few of them are preserved entire, and those which are, are converted to modern uses, which has despoiled of their enchantment these venerable relics.

The magnificent portal of the Pantheon would present to the mind the temple consecrated by Agrippa, were it not for the modern clocks which shew it is converted into a church. Its interior more especially has preserved nothing of its ancient decoration; and the contrast on entering it is the same which we meet with in buildings the exterior of which displays rustic simplicity, while within we find saloons ornamented with all that luxury can bestow.

The arches and triumphal columns have very little effect, surrounded as they are with miserable houses, or buildings in a modern and frequently extravagant taste: the other remains of antiquity offer nothing but foundations or naked walls. The imagination with difficulty views them in their pristine state. In order effectually to recal the feeling of antiquity, nothing should remind you of the present; and these reveries, produced by the enthusiasm so common to artists, ought to enjoy retirement and solitude. The appearance of the Roman ruins rarely procured me this delight, which I felt in all its plenitude as I traversed the deserted streets of Pompeii.

If in Rome the mixture of antient and modern recollections repels the imagination, which only acts to be deceived, this is by no means the case at Florence. It is true the epoch which is there recalled is neither so ancient nor so interesting,—but the mind recurs with less effort to the age of the Medici than to that of Augustus.

On approaching Florence the eye discovers the same walls, flanked with picturesque towers, which surrounded the city in the fifteenth century, and against which the Pisans and the Siennese so frequently spent their efforts in vain. All the monuments which rise so proudly, those immense domes, the embattled palaces, which resemble fortified castles, the chapels enriched with pious offerings, the handsome streets paved in the ancient style, the flowers which hang in festoons from one palace to another, which crown the walls and the summit of the towers, seeming by their abundance to have given its name to the city, all recal the age when Florence, free, or voluntarily submitting herself to the rule of her illustrious children the Medici, dealt out to the rest of Italy science, politeness, taste, and magnificence.

Let us enter the ancient public square;—let us survey this

palace, loaded with escutcheons of old families;—let us rest under this *logge*, ornamented like the square with the works of Donatello, of Michael Angelo, and of Giovanni di Bologna: but the imagination cannot conjure up the glorious men of that time, who in this place, presided by their magistrates, distributing rewards to merit, decreeing peace or war, and ruling the affairs of the state.

The pleasures of the carnival broke in upon my researches into the monuments of Florence; but it will furnish me with some shades of habits and manners which I should not have been able to catch at any other season. It really seems that one forms a worse judgment (though the assertion may seem paradoxical) of the human character in society when the true sentiments of the mind are dissembled under false colours, than when under the mask of folly they make themselves amends for the habitual restraint in which the rules of society hold them, well assured that they are less likely to be recognised in proportion as they act with the freedom of unassumed nature.

In some of the towns of Italy the period of the carnival is a time of riot and sanguinary quarrels. It is here characterised by a bustling joy and lively pleasure, yet tempered by the politeness and natural suavity of the inhabitants. In these public festivals the population for twenty leagues round are collected without the least trouble or accident. The carnival frequently lasts the whole season, that is, the three winter months. This is the only period of the year when the theatres are open at Rome. But at Florence two of them do not close all the year, those of *Pergola* and *Cocomero*. During the carnival others are opened, in which a variety of pieces are performed. Besides this the squares and the streets are filled with rope-dancers and pantomimic performers of every kind, and winter wears away in a round of amusements in which all partake.

I shall not give a long list of all the particulars which compose the character of this carnival, as it resembles in many respects similar festivals in other cities. I shall only relate what seemed to me peculiar to Florence; the description of one day alone will be sufficient.

The carnival opens with the procession of the *Befana*, in the midst of torches and with the noise of horns and drums mingling with the noisy gaiety of the people. In the midst appears a ludicrous colossal figure representing a woman, or rather a sorceress, cloathed in flowing garments. The movements of the figure are directed by a man who is not seen

himself. As it traverses the streets it turns on every side to terrify the children, which it attacks even in the second story. The enormous phantom called the *Befana* is all the year round the bug-bear of the young Florentines, who, if they behave ill, are threatened with its presence. When they have traversed the city they stop on the bridge and throw the image into the water amid the cries and imprecations of the multitude.

The nurses of Florence also call *Befana*, or *Beffania*, those good or evil fairies which, according to them, enter the houses by the chimney on the night of this festival. And children suspend their cloaths above the hearths that the fairies may fill their pockets with cakes in proportion as they have behaved themselves well or ill.

I shall not endeavour to account for the procession of the *Befana* from the saturnalia, or any other ancient pagan rite. I am rather of opinion with Manni, that it is a relic of the representation of the ancient mysteries, and is intended to commemorate the gifts of the magi: the black and ugly figures represent the magi, and the presents which the children expect to receive commemorate those offered to the Holy Family. Whatever the true explanation may be, as soon as the *Befana* announces the opening of the carnival every person in good circumstances is never seen abroad but in his *bauto*, or domino, which is a kind of black cloak. This mantle, which crosses in front, conceals all the other garments, and serves equally well for the promenade, for company, for the *stanza*, or for the theatre. The women wear a kind of high black bonnet, shaded with plumes of the same colour: this is equally the head-dress of all the females. Exercise, fresh air, and pleasure animate their complexion and their eyes; and, mingled together in this uniform dress, they appear still more striking. During the days of the festival gaiety is pushed almost to excess, and few persons can preserve a solemn or an indifferent countenance.

The men wear a hat, clasped up in front and ornamented with plumes. Though ordinarily they only wear a small white mask fastened to the loop of their hats, or a pasteboard nose, yet they are considered as disguised, and they pass before their most intimate acquaintance without noticing them, and even without the air of knowing them. They in return preserve an equal distance, and thus both sides enjoy the greatest liberty.

How well would this fashion suit some people in society! They might then pass their superiors without respect, their benefactors without any mark of gratitude, their creditors

without being dunned, and their mistresses without agitation! Towards noon the fashionables assemble at the *Uffizi*, an arcade under the celebrated gallery. Here witty repartees are exchanged, pleasantries cross one another, and bon mots circulate. Laughter communicates itself like an infection, and joy becomes universal. And, in the midst of the confused murmurs and rapid movements the spirit of intrigue is not idle, but assignations are made for an evening meeting at the *Corso*, in the square of *Santa Croce*, and thence for a visit to the theatre or the ball-room.

The Florentines, like the inhabitants of all southern countries, are great mimics; they can do what they will with their figures and countenances; and frequently, by a mere change of dress, they disguise themselves wonderfully, though their figure is seen. A young man disguised himself and walked for many days in the most frequented streets without a single person of his acquaintance recognising him. He dressed himself as an Abbè, in a little mantle; his hair, which was black, and had been usually combed high on the forehead, was curled, combed back over the head, tied in a knot behind, and powdered. Naturally pale, he rouged himself carefully, and, to conceal the thinness of his cheeks, he put a ball of ivory on each side of his mouth. In this state he gravely met his acquaintance, stopped before them, and boldly eyed them, while they supposed that this grave personage (for the balls of ivory prevented him from laughing) was an absolute stranger.

Sometimes, in addition to this little mask, a strange-shaped nose is added, which forms a strong contrast with the other features. Some masks are made from wax moulded on the human face, and afterwards tinted by portrait-painters so as to represent well-known faces, while the wearer imitates the dress, countenance, gestures, and even tone of voice of the original, in a manner which almost deceives you.

Other masquerades imitate the costume of the ancient statues; thus we saw the Capitoline Juno walking arm in arm with Silenus, and Diana entering with the Apollo Belvidere.

The square of *Santa Croce*, however, is the great rendezvous of the masks. Its length, and the beauty of the palaces which surround it, fit it for the theatre of the festivals which are given in it, and which were formerly more frequent. Here were tiltings, and tourneys, and races, and lastly games at foot-ball. We have descriptions of many of these festivals; and, amongst others, of a magnificent masquerade given by Cosmo I. in the carnival of 1565: the carnival of 1615 has been engraved by Callot, and many others have exercised the graver of *La Bella*. The taste for these amusements was so great that during the

reign of Ferdinand II. and in the space of five months, six fêtes of different kinds were given, each more magnificent than the preceding.

The square of Santa Croce is surrounded with a boundary of chains, which leave sufficient space for the passage of carriages before the houses. On certain occasions amphitheatres are raised, round which also carriages can drive. The square was thus laid out in 1738 for the last festival of the *Calcio* or foot-ball, which has been engraved by Gioseppe Zocchi. This print gives a good idea of the masquerades of Florence. Besides the harlequins and punchinellos, which the French have in such numbers, the other characters are very various and well kept up.

All ranks, without exception, are turned into ridicule. A carriage filled with porters has a judge dressed in a long robe and large wig, for a coachman. A physician is mounted on a lean ass, with panniers and cages filled with cats, and carrying a long staff, from which some large dead rats are suspended, while a scroll on the top of it bears the words *Remedi da topi*, 'antidotes against rats:' to these may be added doctors with asses' heads, &c. The spectators themselves form a spectacle; the windows of the houses, and the balconies of the palaces, are all ornamented with rich tapestry, and graced with brilliant company. The people cover the tiles of the houses, and on these aerial theatres engage in games, from which Italian confidence and address take away all danger, and which afford a very diverting appearance.

The spectacle which we ourselves saw was very agreeable. The carriages, which throng the road, give great brilliancy to the scene; they are filled with masks who answer the joy and acclamations of the multitude by throwing them cakes and *confetti*, and by sprinkling showers of perfumed water from little syringes towards the spectators who line the windows and the balconies: some of the carriages contain musicians, and others are in the shape of triumphal cars, ornamented with different symbols.

I shall only mention one of these masquerades, where luxury was united to good taste, and the contrivance appeared to me new and ingenious: the car, drawn by twelve beautiful horses richly caparisoned, represented Olympus ornamented with foliage, and on which stood the principal heathen deities, surrounded by nymphs and rural gods, and a numerous orchestra. Jupiter occupied the summit of the mountain, seated on the extended wings of an eagle, and enveloped with clouds, whilst Apollo and the Muses were singing and reciting some sonnets, copies of which were thrown amongst the crowd, and

in the midst of the deafening noise of the musical instruments Jupiter was perceived to be agitated on his throne of clouds. He shortly leaves the summit of the mountain, rises majestically in the air, and sails along amid the applause of the wondering multitude, on whom he lances his artificial thunder, which, as it falls, changes into serpents; he still ascends, and as the last rays of the sun shine upon him he vanishes from the eyes of the enchanted crowd, who load with prolonged applause the contrivers of a spectacle as splendid as it is ingenious.

The inhabitants of Olympus did not disdain to mingle in the evening with simple mortals, and to appear at a masked ball which was given at the theatre of *la Pergola*; where we had the pleasure of finding ourselves in the company of the muses, who, forgetting the sanctity of their former existence, gave themselves up to pleasure and joy. Here we beheld the sage Lucina transformed into the youngest of the graces, Venus here quitted the mask of Minerva, though still as wise as before, while Juno tempered the majesty of heaven's queen with sweetness and affability.

The assembly of the *Stanze* was one of the most agreeable for select company; though none but masks were admitted, the door-keeper suffered none to pass but whom he knew: the sagacity of this man was wonderful—though you disguised your voice, and altered your walk, the door-keeper instinctively apprised, as it were, of the approach of an intruder, suffered you to proceed no further. This tact, this nice discrimination, though I believe it is perfectly mechanical, and common to many individuals in Italy, was one of the things which particularly excited my attention; this rare faculty, the mark of a more perfect organization, explains the facility with which the Italians execute all their undertakings—a facility which astonishes other nations, amongst whom such works are only the result of time, study, and reflexion.

The denomination of *stanze* or saloons, is applied to an establishment formed by the middle ranks of the city, in opposition to the *cazina* of the nobility; the latter, indeed, only comprises a small number of the community, and the nobles frequently abandon it for the *stanze* of the citizens, where more freedom and gaiety reign than in their own circle, over which, it is said, the pretensions of etiquette throw a coldness and constraint; the founders of the *stanze* bear all the expense, and admit such persons as are presented to them; here, for conversation, there are various rooms, which are filled with good company; here are news-rooms, billiard-rooms, ball-rooms, and also a garden; in short, nothing is wanting to render the place agreeable; the evening flies in a

circle of varied and decent amusements; the building communicates with one of the theatres, so you may walk thither under the arcade and hear a song, return and eat an ice, join in conversation, or figure in a dance.

This establishment, where manners are respected, and where fashion reigns, supplies the place of our *Atheneums*, and other places of public amusement; every stranger of respectability is received with distinction; thus means are discovered, both instructive and amusing, of employing the long evenings of winter.

LETTER IX.

The Palazzo Pitti—The Gallery of Florence.

THE celebrated gallery of Florence is commonly the first object which attracts the attention of strangers, and this is too frequently all they see of the city: it seems that all their interest is concentrated in this museum; but ere they have well examined it, the colossal idea of Rome crosses their minds, and they hasten thither as the object of their desire, observing few of the objects of curiosity on their route.

I have paid considerable attention, during my stay here, to the subject of Tuscan architecture, and to the exterior character of the principal monuments of Florence; in this study I was much favoured by the beauty of the season which is here called winter, and which from the softness of the temperature would be esteemed summer in other countries; in fact, till February the weather has been constantly serene, and the cold so little perceptible, that I have not omitted my usual custom of sketching in the open air; sometimes, indeed, the heat of the sun has been so great, that I have been compelled to shelter myself beneath the foliage of the ever-green trees, which give a false yet pleasing appearance of spring to the landscape.

I have been very much delighted with the delicious gardens of Boboli, which are situated on the hill commanding the Palazzo Pitti, the usual residence of the Grand Dukes.

The palace is connected with the gardens by means of a large sort of amphitheatre, in the middle of which rises an obelisk of Egyptian granite; this amphitheatre is composed of white marble, and the steps are supported by balustrades, and surmounted by niches containing statues and vases, which are finely relieved by the dark back-ground of ever-green

verdure. The gardens, planted under the directions of Tribolo, and of the ingenious Buontalenti, are ornamented with monuments of architecture and sculpture, distributed by Vasari and Giovanni di Bologna. The distribution of the gardens into various terraces, which are gained by flights of steps, offers a fine contrast of lines, and different points of views of great richness.

As yet we have had neither ice nor snow, and I have not yet felt melancholy at the sight of those sombre clouds, which shade the face of heaven for so considerable a period of the year in the north of France; we have yet no need of fires, and in the house in which I live, as indeed in all the others in the city, the kitchen chimney is the only one. It is only within these few years, that one or two others have been added in the Duke's palace, less from necessity than from curiosity. If at any time they feel cold they use a brazier of copper, sometimes of silver, in which they burn charcoal prepared from the wood of the olive tree, the fumes from which are not considered prejudicial. This brazier is called *veggio*, and they sometimes carry it with them when they walk abroad, though at most the cold is not two degrees below the freezing point.

At last the bad season has commenced, and it has terminated, as is frequently the case, with heavy showers, which have lasted without intermission for three weeks.

We do not see here as in the other towns of Italy, porticoes or covered galleries along the houses; but the inconvenience of sudden showers is guarded against by providing in various quarters of the town open *logge*: you may also prevent yourself being wet if you walk close to the houses, as you are protected by the projecting roofs, which are thus constructed to protect the front of the building from showers, and to ward off the rays of the sun. The streets, however, have one great advantage, being paved with large and well joined flags, so that the rain runs easily off them, and they are dry again in half an hour.

I have employed all the time the rainy season continued, in an examination of the celebrated gallery of Florence; as I surveyed it my admiration scarce knew any bounds, and I felt penetrated with veneration and gratitude towards the family of the Medici, who first set the example of such a noble employment of power and riches.

The arts always follow the fortune of empires: born at the same time, they experience the same vicissitudes, and their progress is equally regulated by circumstances. Flourishing in the bosom of peace, their flowers have sometimes been

blasted by political storms, or have withered under the influence of bad taste or of court corruption. They only bear their true fruit in a time of public prosperity, and under the protection of a wise and pacific government. What has chiefly contributed to expand the taste, and to promote the study of the arts, has been the establishment of museums, where the great works of ancient and modern times are collected. The Gallery of Florence, without doubt the most celebrated of all, merits a particular description; and, at the same time, I shall endeavour to give a sketch of its origin, of the vicissitudes which it has experienced, and of the successive additions which have been made to it.

The ancients, like the moderns, were much attached to the collecting of curiosities, and the remains of antiquity. Both in Greece and Rome they ornamented in this manner their porticoes, their temples, their schools, their libraries, and even their baths. But this attachment to objects of art was unknown to other nations, which possessed neither knowledge, taste, nor riches; and it was extinguished even in Italy during the long ages of barbarism.

It was the Medici, in the fifteenth century, when their family possessed no other influence but that of virtue and opulence, who awakened the genius, and afforded protection to the arts of peace. And, after they filled the throne of Tuscany, they contributed all in their power to the regeneration of Letters and Arts, and had the glory of giving their name to this memorable epoch. Cosmo the Elder, named by a decree, and still more by the voice of public gratitude, the Father of his Country, extended his paternal care to scholars and artists.

The sons of Cosmo, educated in the midst of a polished court, imbibed there a taste for study, and transmitted it to their descendants, and even to their people.

Giovanni de Medici encouraged these pursuits by his example, but a premature death carried him off. Piero de Medici, the second son of Cosmo, though under adverse circumstances, threw some lustre on the arts, and encouraged them by his liberality.

But it was Lorenzo, called the Magnificent, who opened, in his garden near the church of St. Mark, that famous school which had such a powerful effect on the re-establishment of the arts. He filled this place with a variety of specimens of both ancient and modern art; so that the *logge*, the alleys, and the halls, were ornamented with statues, paintings, designs, cartoons, and models,—the productions of the ablest masters, as Donatello, Brunelleschi, Masaccio, Paulo Ucello, Fra Gio Angelico, Filippo Lippi, &c. This school was open to all the young painters, sculptors, and architects.

At the same periods the museums *Estense* and *Gonzaga* were established. Nevertheless, the Medicean collection was still the most useful and complete. After the death of Lorenzo, his son, Leo X. extended great encouragement to literature and the arts; but the property of his brother Piero became the prey of his ungrateful fellow citizens. I shall not detail the disgrace and flight of the latter.—He left behind him the greatest part of his property.—His palace was sacked, and three thousand medals of gold and silver, without mentioning those of brass, which were probably equally curious—the vases of agate—the beautiful cameos—and a crowd of other curiosities, were stolen and dispersed.

Notwithstanding this misfortune, a servant of the Medici, who remained faithful to his trust, preserved, at the peril of his life, the precious objects which had been confided to his care. This man was the father of the celebrated Baccio Bandinello. But, at length, forced to fly, he buried the cameos, the antique figures of bronze, and the other riches; and this proof of fidelity did not remain without recompense when his patrons returned.

After the assassination of Alessandro de Medici by Lorenzo, one of the same family, the houses both of the victim and murderer were pillaged. They contained a great number of Greek and Latin MSS., statues of marble and bronze, and other valuable articles. The animosity of the people was such, that these palaces were completely razed; and the open spot, on which they formerly stood, was called the Traitors' Street.

Cosmo I. Grand Duke of Tuscany, collected the scattered relics of this once precious collection, and rapidly augmented it by commanding a strict search to be made throughout his territories for the monuments of antiquity, and at the same time increasing it by the acquisition of many private cabinets.

The success of these researches was considerable. At Arezzo, the celebrated inscription of Appius Claudius was discovered; and a little time afterwards, the Chimera, of bronze, a most singular and curious object. In the ruins of a temple, a Pallas of bronze was found, of beautiful workmanship. Cosmo was rejoiced at these discoveries, and with the fruits of them ornamented his cabinet in the Palazzo Vecchio; but, having purchased the Palazzo Pitti, he made it the place of his abode, and transferred thither this collection, to which he made incessant additions.

At this time many individuals, desirous of gaining the good graces of the sovereign, or induced by a disinterested love of the arts, and desirous of contributing to their progress, enriched

the Museum of Florence with many valuable articles, ancient and modern.

It was this prince who first conceived the idea of the Gallery which now contains the Museum Florentinum, and which has been carried to such a degree of magnificence by his successors. This vast edifice owes its origin to a design of uniting the ancient palace of the Republic to the Palazzo Pitti. Vasari executed this beautiful and useful work. The corridor, which passes over a bridge and through a part of the city, leading from the old palace to the habitation of the sovereign, was built in 1564, in the space of five months.

But this gallery became insufficient to contain all the objects of art which increased so rapidly. The Grand Duke Francis continued the labours of his predecessor; and, on the scite of some of the neighbouring houses, he added to the gallery some magnificent halls. The ceiling of one of these halls was covered with mother-of-pearl. And yet this cabinet is more ornamented by the beautiful objects it contains.

The Grand Duke Francis considerably augmented the collection of medals, and added all the antiques he could procure.

In 1552 he received twenty-six marble statues, which had been in the Vatican; but which that scrupulous pontiff, Pius V. dismissed, from a principle of religion; but not wishing them to be transferred into ecclesiastical hands, he had refused them to Ferdinando de Medici, on account of his being a cardinal. Amongst these statues were the seven muses, without the least traces of any part of the figures having been restored.

The Cardinal Ferdinando, the brother of the Grand Duke, had got possession at Rome of the villa and gardens of the Medici. Here a second Museum was established, which was fated one day to increase the richness of that of Florence. It is sufficient to mention the Venus de Medici, and the statues of Niobe and her children, to appreciate the value of this collection. In 1569 the two brothers divided between them the collection of the bishop of Pavia, consisting of fifty-nine statues.

Cosmo II. who had bad health, did not contribute much to the embellishment of this gallery. But, in the long reign of his successor Ferdinando II. many additions were made to it. The Cardinal Leopold, the brother of Ferdinando, formed a rich and numerous collection of pictures and sketches; which, to their beauty, added the merit of antiquity. They extended as far back as the restoration of the arts and the time of the Greek painters. The cardinal also possessed a collection of medals, cameos, &c. Cosmo III. added many pictures to the museum.

The Genius of the house of Medici, ere totally extinguished, seemed to wish to establish its rights to the gratitude of men

by some durable monument. Giovanni Gastone, the last scion of this illustrious family, commenced the magnificent description of this gallery, which is known by the name of the Museum Florentinum.

The new sovereigns of Tuscany, princes of the house of Lorraine, contributed to the embellishment and completion of this admirable collection. In the year 1762, however, it was on the point of being totally destroyed by a fire, which burst out with great violence. It lasted many hours, extending its ravages into the western corridor, and consuming a considerable part of the building. The fire arose in a chimney which had been imprudently constructed over the *logge de Lanzi*; and it was fortunate that the fire commenced at this extremity, where there were fewer valuable articles than on the other side; but it was extinguished with the loss of only a few of these precious objects.

Under the government of the Archduke Pietro Leopoldo, the legislator and reformer of Tuscany, the Gallery of Florence assumed a new appearance. The great fault of the gallery was a want of classification. Under his directions, many more halls were built, and a new flight of steps to ascend to them; and he added to the museum the most precious ornaments of the other palaces. He likewise sent to Rome for the statues from the Villa Medici, and more especially for those of Niobe and her children. By his exertions every class of objects had their distinct place, they were found without trouble, and classed so as to satisfy all tastes. He was rigorous in his selection, and admitted nothing that was not worthy of being preserved. The prince himself watched over the execution of his projects, and animated the workmen by his presence. One knows not which most to admire,—the grandeur of the enterprize, or the celerity of the execution. In 1780, in the space of one year, new buildings were added, and divided into halls; while, by this means, the communication was rendered more easy, and they were ornamented with stuccoes, gilding, paintings, and marbles; the tapestry and other drapery was renewed; the statues and pictures were placed in other situations, cleaned, or restored; whilst every thing was ranged according to the system of a library, where every volume has its own separate and distinct place. And this metamorphosis was executed in so rapid a manner, that travellers, ere they had completed the tour of Italy, as they repassed through Florence, thought they beheld a new gallery, and were full of admiration at a change which almost appeared magical.

LETTER X.

Festival of May—Arrive at Fiesole—Its History—Its Antiquities.

THE traces of winter have disappeared in the space of a few days, and as if by the power of magic the balmy breath of Favonius has dissipated the frost, and changed all at once the aspect of the country; vegetation shews itself, the sap begins to rise in the trees, and the ground is covered with spontaneous verdure.

It is now time for me to quit the city, and commence my picturesque excursions—it becomes my pleasure, my care, and my duty, to assist in the awakening of nature.

I passed the gate of Santa-croce, and the mills and fall of the Arno, and I wandered slowly along the shady banks of the river. What a fresh and beautiful situation! Through the bowers of fruit-bearing trees and the boughs of lilacs, I perceived the waters sparkling against the banks, or rolling peaceably amongst the flexible branches of the osiers, which bent over the current. Farther on, on a hill covered with vines, rose some elegant *casinos*, which broke the blue line of the rocks of Fiesole, crowned with their Tuscan walls, remarkable for the lofty tower which serves as a belfry for the cathedral; nearer me the fields, divided by rows of reeds, presented an appearance of varied cultivation; I could not perceive any one at work, and I met none but villagers clothed in their gayest habits, who seemed more intent on their pleasures than their rustic labours.

At last I arrived at a farm-house; a young tree had just been planted before the door; knots of ribbands and little fillets of tinsel, were fluttering in the air, suspended from the branches, and sparkling through the leaves; every bough bore some ornament, and a crown of flowers shaded the window of the house. The air was echoing with the strains of a serenade, when the casement which served as a door opened, and three beautiful girls, fresh as the season, and neatly dressed, laughingly made their appearance to greet their lovers.

This pastoral scene reminded me that it was May-day, *Calendi-maggio*, a festal day in the spring of life, and at the name of which the heart throbs, even amid the coldness of age. In the gaiety and liveliness of this rustic sport the

youth of both sexes form a chain-dance around the May-pole ; they pursue each other with rapid and well-timed steps, whilst their relatives prepare a feast in some shady spot.

As soon as they saw me the master of the house advanced, and with an unembarrassed air invited me to partake of their rural repast. I hesitated ; my host's youngest daughter observed me, and separating herself from the group of dancers, she gave me her hand. It was impossible to resist the simplicity of this action ; I yielded ; she led me towards her companions, and the chain, in which I now formed a link, was recommenced with double joy and vivacity.

At the *Calendi-maggio*, rustic improvisators, dressed in a fantastic style, recite tales and legends for the amusement of their audience—I heard the history of *Ferragosto* ; the songs, which are composed on this occasion, are called *Maggeolate* ; and the tree, whose branches, adorned as I have mentioned, overshadow the windows of the young maidens, is called *maio*. The festival, which is only preserved in the country, has given place in town, to concerts, dances, and entertainments, which last several days. There are numberless *maggiolate*, composed by a crowd of authors, and even by Lorenzo the Magnificent.

As I proceeded I perceived before me the city of Fiesole, situated on the table-land of the mountain, and between the two swellings of the hills ; I saw its public square, its ancient cathedral, the more modern buildings of the archiepiscopal palace and the Academy ; lower down a road, the windings of which follow the bend of the hill, leads along the rocks which supported the ancient Etruscan fortress, where we now behold the church, the convent, and the vast garden of the monks of the order of St. Francis.

On the side opposite the plain of Florence the gazer's eye rests on the deep but elevated pass, through which the boiling waters of the Mugnone forces its way through a channel of rock and marble ; the rapid declivity causes no apprehension of danger, for its force spends itself on its own steep banks : evergreen woods clothe these mountains, which join the chain of the Apennine Alps, which display in the distance their summits capped with snow.

The most interesting prospect is that which includes the principal remains of Fiesole. This view appeared to me so beautiful, that, wishing to give my entertainers a proof of my gratitude for their kindness, I resolved to adorn the room with paintings in distemper, of which this view formed the most conspicuous part. There may seem a little vanity in mentioning this fact in my letters, but I possessed so few occasions of

exercising my pencil on a large scale, that this was really an epoch in my pictorial career.

On the hills of Fiesole I beheld the beautiful skies of Italy in all their purity, and there I experienced the plenitude of those sweet and vivid emotions, which the artist enjoys when youth and inspiration, and the desire of fame are his,

Mention is made, by the ancient authors, of Fiesole, but its ruins afford no means of judging of what it formerly was—temples, palaces, theatres are all swept away; even the tombs are violated; the inscriptions, the monuments of art, have been all destroyed or carried away, and even the traces of its former glory are eclipsed.

The origin of Fiesole is involved in the inextricable mazes of ancient fable; but its walls display, notwithstanding so many assaults, a style of building of the most remote antiquity, and seem to prove the prodigious force of the men who constructed them; the walls are not composed of ordinary and evenly wrought stones, but of immense masses of rock, irregularly shaped, and artfully placed one upon another: in short, the solidity of these erections, and the elevated scite which they occupy, seem like the work of the elder race of mankind terrified at the tremendous catastrophe of the deluge. Aqueducts, erected probably at the same period; carried to Fiesole the waters of Mount Reggi, several miles distant; and, although they were broken down in the time of Cæsar, as Villani tells us, yet their remains dispersed along the country, resemble real rocks in magnitude, and may be confounded with them from their rude and savage appearance. Fiesole was one of the twelve cities of Etruria; the ancients praised the serenity of its atmosphere, and the salubrity of its waters and baths, which were reported to be a cure for many maladies. This city had the glory of resisting, though unsuccessfully, and of fatiguing the armies of Rome, on which occasion they gave proofs of the greatest courage. We perceive in the writings of Livy and the other Roman authors how formidable the inhabitants of Fiesole and the rest of Etruria were esteemed; all the forces of Rome were employed at various times to subdue them, and several dictators were created for the purpose of allaying the fear which this people inspired. The inhabitants of Fiesole distinguished themselves on several occasions, amongst them, one of the most remarkable was when, on the discovery of Catiline's conspiracy by Cicero, the seditious citizen, compelled to seek safety in flight, escaped from Rome accompanied by his fellow conspirators; they fled to Fiesole, the only city which by its formidable situation, and the courage of its inhabitants, was capable of

resisting the Roman arms. Catiline indeed did not hesitate to hazard an engagement with the consul Caius Antonius, the result of which was a doubtful victory, although the brave citizens of Fiesole were few in number and almost without arms. The fortune of Rome at length triumphed, when the leaders of the Etrurian army, mortally wounded, fell upon the mangled heaps of their soldiers' bodies. The victory was, however, almost as dear to the conquerors as to the conquered, and at Rome smiles struggled with tears when the news of the battle arrived there.

In the year 405, Fiesole, assisted by Florence, opposed the attacks of Radagaisus king of the Goths, and Rome was delivered from the yoke of that people, under the weight of which Italy had so often groaned. It was on this occasion that the Florentines consecrated a temple to St. Reparata, as a contemporary historian relates. Saint Ambrose had promised frequently to visit his beloved Florentines, and, during the time that Radagaisus was besieging Florence, the Holy Prelate, who had died a little time previously, appeared in a dream to one of the inhabitants, and promised them deliverance on the morrow. This man communicated to his fellow citizens his vision, which inspired them with great courage. Accordingly Stilicon, the imperial general, made his appearance with his army, and a division arising amongst the Goths, their defeat was rendered still more certain. As this victory took place on the birth-day of the Virgin Martyr, St. Reparata, the Florentines raised a temple in her honour, which was ornamented with the trophies borne from their enemies.

Desirous of enriching this church with some relics of the Virgin Saint whose body was deposited with the monks of Jeanno, a little town in the Terra di Lavouro, they applied in 1352 to the king of Naples, who ordered the monks to deliver up an arm of their Patroness. Grieved at a command which obliged them to do so great an outrage to the remains of the martyr, the good monks sent in its stead a piece of wood so exquisitely carved, and so well imitating nature, that the fraud was not discovered until several years afterwards by a jeweller who had been directed to make a rich reliquary to contain the precious and holy limb.

The subjection of Fiesole was the means of Florence receiving amongst her citizens some very noble and distinguished families. It may be sufficient to mention the Pazzi, the Strozzi, the Guadagni, and the Adimari. The destruction of that city also furnished Florence with innumerable columns and other materials for the erection of beautiful edifices; and from the same place she carried away many statues and sculp

tured marbles to adorn her temples and her palaces. It is very probable that the four columns which support the arched roof of the gallery of the Baptistry, are the remains of some monument in Fiesole, and even at this day, they find in the soil of its environs, very rich materials.

Fiesole was one of the first cities after Rome that embraced Christianity. She has produced a great number of philosophers and literary men besides several celebrated artists both in sculpture and painting. The city of Fiesole may say with pride "here rose my high towers and my impregnable walls—there lay the baths of Catiline—yonder were the temples of Jupiter Fulminans, and of Mars—in that place stood the college of Augurs and the palace of the ancient kings," and even yet the relics of those indestructable walls, the steep rocks, and the precipices which seem to be the vast tomb in which the ancient city is buried, inspire sensations of awe and veneration. On the ruins of the temple of Jupiter there now rises a church where the All-powerful God is worshipped; and the college of Augurs is replaced by an Académie, where they no longer teach the superstitious art of reading the future, but the truth and holiness of the Christian doctrine. The bathing waters, formerly so celebrated, still run amidst the most delightful villas and gardens of Tuscany. These beautiful retreats no longer re-echo the sound of the warlike trumpet, but the sweet accents of joy; and Fiesole has exchanged the splendour of military renown for the more durable glory of peace and the arts.

The most remarkable antiquities of Fiesole are the colossal fragments of the old Etruscan walls, of which a few vestiges only remain, particularly near the monastery of Saint Jerome, which was converted into a villa by the Counts Bardi, and also the aqueduct, the ruins of which may be seen near the convent of La Doccia. The vast subterraneous chambers near the cathedral, and which are called the *Buche delle Fate*, the fairies hiding-places, are worthy of the attention of the traveller.

LETTER XI.

Description of the Country about Fiesole—Oratory of John of Bologna—The Convent of La Doccia—Monte Senario—The House of Politiano—The Villa Salviati—The Retreat of the Decameron—Topaja.

IN the midst of pleasant and select society, solely occupied in games and diversified pleasures incessantly renewed, and which seemed to borrow something of the vivacity of the air which we breathed on these heights, I yet felt a desire of solitude. There we find enjoyment, less expansive perhaps, but more deep, and in which a slight tinge of melancholy is mingled, which is not without its charms.

Thus lonely, and with a book which served me as the text, and so to speak, as the vehicle of my thoughts, I slowly traversed the perfumed hills of Fiesole, under the shade of woods of pine and sycamore. I frequently passed the hours of declining day, in contemplating at a distance the plain of Florence, with its palaces, its high towers, and its domes, coloured by the vivid light of a sun, cloudless and ardent even in its setting. The complete absence of every vapour permitted me to see distant objects with such clearness, that I could trace every detail, and I almost conceived that I must hear the confused murmur of voices and the noise of mechanical occupations amongst the inhabitants of the capital. This prospect was rendered still more interesting by contrasting it with the peaceable shades by which I was sheltered. I placed a just value on the tumultuous pleasure of the town, when I compared them with the silent freshness of the country. This addressed itself eloquently to my heart, and immersed me in that sweet meditation which is the fruit of a tranquil spirit, of a feeling of happiness, and health, and calm joy, or rather of the pleasure one experiences in youth when the passions are slumbering and our being is in perfect harmony with every thing around us.

The day faded, and I heard nothing but the light murmur of the winds of night, as they swept through the foliage mingled with the rippling of a fountain, and the expressive chirping of birds, which, flying here and there, answered one another, and seemed in haste to take advantage of the remains

VOYAGES and TRAVELS, No. 5, Vol. III. L

of day-light, to search for their food and a secure retreat for the night.

I quitted this place with regret, resolving, in gratitude for the sensations which I had there experienced, to visit it again, and to enrich my port-folio with several fine views which I had remarked there.

Guided by the twilight, and shortly afterwards by the beams of the moon, which seemed to rise most majestically amid a crowd of stars, which appeared far more brilliant and numerous than in our climate, I followed a path which I supposed would lead me into the road to Fiesole; when suddenly I distinguished the sounds of rustic music, amongst which I heard the notes of the bagpipe, the guitar, and the *sampogna*. Attracted by the charm of this melody, than which, when well executed by the rustic performers in the depth of a wood, and amid the solitude of night, nothing can be more agreeable, I beheld all at once a light shining through the trees. This led me to the place where the rural concert was, and, guided by its light, I arrived at a fountain, or rather a chapel, for beneath an arch, supported by columns, I saw a painting of the Virgin and the Infant Jesus, surrounded by cherubims and prostrate angels. An abundant stream fell from a sculptured lion's head which frowned under the painting, and flowed into the reservoirs which were placed at the sides of the edifice. A lamp, suspended from the centre of the arch, rendered the scene still more interesting. A whole family were imploring the Divine grace for the recovery of an infant which its mother held in her arms, covering it with tears and kisses; the other members of the family were praying with fervour, or chanting hymns which they accompanied with their instruments.

If the reader can imagine the mingling of voices and music, most simple and harmonious, with the sound of the dancing waters flowing over the stones and along the green turf—the light of the moon through the foliage—the clear lustre of the lamp which gilded the figure of the virgin in the niche, and shone in the reflexion of the crystal and moving waters, shedding at the same time a light over the actors of this pious scene—if he can imagine this scene more impressive as it was unexpected, and so sweetly harmonizing with those serious sensations which filled my heart—he will even then have only a weak idea of the impression which I experienced.

At my approach, the good people rose from their prayers, but I begged that I might mingle my intercessions with theirs. The hymn was recommenced, and the voices of the young girls, joined to those of musicians of every age, made one of the most delicious concerts I ever enjoyed.

The route of these villagers lay along the road to Fiesole. As I accompanied them they related to me a crowd of miracles, which they attributed to the virtues of those waters, and above all, to the intercessions of the Madonna to whom they are consecrated. It is pleasing to behold the gifts of nature associated with the name of their Author.—this is to attribute blessings to their true source, and to awaken those consoling ideas of mercy and protection, which nourish faith and inspire gratitude towards the Deity.

The chapel of this fountain, which I frequently revisited, is one of the finest monuments of the kind. It presents a mixture of antique and modern taste, which to me is very delightful. It was ornamented, according to tradition, by John of Bologna, who possessed a mansion in this neighbourhood. He employed some fine materials, procured from an ancient edifice, and he has arranged them with great taste.

I had promised to visit the convent of La Doccia, and I had an opportunity, while I was employed in sketching in this picturesque spot, of becoming acquainted with its inhabitants, who did not belie the good opinion which I had at first conceived of them.

Pious, without affectation, one might perceive from their manners, from their physiognomy, which was rather amiable than austere, from the neatness and propriety of their garments, from the flowers which shaded the windows of their cells, or which, placed in crystal vases, ornamented their church, in short, from all the details of their domestic management which was excellent and well understood, one might perceive that these monks did not neglect any of those innocent pleasures which their situation allowed. Indeed they appeared perfectly happy; and doubtless they would not have exchanged their pleasant and peaceable life for the grandeur and pomp which the world bestows upon its votaries.

The church, though small, possesses some objects worthy of attention, such as the pictures of the great altar, and of one of the chapels, which are from the pencil of Niccodemo Ferrucci, a pupil of Passignano.

In front of the church runs a terrace, planted with large cypress trees, which form, as it were, the peristyle of the edifice. It is also surrounded with beautiful gardens. The building, upon which these grounds are now supported, formerly served as aqueducts, or perhaps as baths, and the streams which yet wander through them give freshness to a vegetation which is extremely vigorous. The lines which the different stages of these ruins present, form combinations of figures of which the effect is pleasing and picturesque.

At some distance from Fiesole there is another monastery, of a very different character from that which I have just described; it is that of *Monte Senario*.

Isolated in the mountains, and removed from every other habitation, it occupies the centre of a wood of fir-trees, which surround it on all sides and hide it from the view of those who climb the steep side of the mountain. The pilgrims who travel towards this sanctuary would easily lose their way over the heaths and in the underwood were it not that little oratories, which serve as stations and land-marks, had been erected at short distances to point out the way. This place would serve extremely well as the retreat of hermits who have completely renounced the world, and who, relieved from their earthly bonds, seem to have no other aim, by the isolated and skiey spot which they have chosen, than to approach that Heaven which they hope one time to enter, through sufferings and privations of every kind, and the renunciation of all the sweets of life.

The monks of La Doccia, on the contrary, seek Heaven by a more practicable way. They do not resemble these austere religionists, but rather those persons, who, disgusted with the noisy pleasures of society, retire into an agreeable solitude to enjoy the innocent delights of a country life. In quitting the world they do not become misanthropists, and they still hold communication with their fellow-men, when they administer to them succour and consolation.

The origin of the convent of Monte Senario was as follows:—Towards the middle of the thirteenth century Brother Giovanni di Vicenza, a monk of the order of Preachers, and at this time an eloquent and celebrated missionary, arrived at Bologna, where he was soon surrounded by a multitude of the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages. He converted and reconciled many; he repressed the luxury of the women, and he produced many other admirable effects by the preaching of the word of God. This same Fra. Giovanni preached a general peace in Italy; and the princes, magistrates, and people, to the amount it is said of four hundred thousand persons, entered into that engagement. Every one was ready to embrace it, but, unfortunately, these good intentions lasted only a few days. The zealous missionary, proud of the ascendancy which he had acquired over his fellow-countrymen, now wished to become their master, and to gain the sovereignty. His triumph did not last long: he was cast into prison with his partizans, and soon afterwards exiled; too late repenting that he had not confined himself within the bounds of his

sacred ministry, and convinced of the instability of all human things.

Nevertheless, the seeds which he had scattered fructified in the timorous minds of his disciples. Many persons, of various conditions in life, adopted the monastic vow; and in 1233 seven noble Florentines retired into the heart of the forest which surrounded Monte Senario, and constructed, in the summit of the mountain, cells, in which they might pass the lives of anchorites. They called themselves the servants of the Virgin Mary; and they soon were followed by others who were zealous in imitating their example. Another Florentine, Filippo Benizi, was a vigorous propagator of this new order. At this day there may be seen within the walls of the convent the seven grottoes of the founders, and also that of Benizi, who was canonized and became the patron of the society.

There are some good paintings in the church. On the roof Gabbiani, the best scholar of Dandini, a painter of the school of Cortona, has represented the Virgin bestowing their habit on the founders of the order. This hermitage is most remarkable as having been the retreat of many men of merit.

A contemplative life, which exalts the imagination and fixes it constantly on one predominant object, or idea, which it continually nourishes and examines, as it were, in every point of view—this concentrated existence, directing its attention towards only one study as its aim and end, gives birth to talent, and carries it to its highest perfection. We might mention the names of a crowd of celebrated people who have been educated in the shade of the cloister, and whose happy dispositions might never have been developed amid the tumult of the world, and in an active life which might only have stunned and distracted them. It is not, therefore, astonishing that the hermitage of Monte Senario, the situation of which adapts it so well for reflexion, and where the distraction of the world is so well avoided, should have produced many literary men and artists. Amongst the latter may be mentioned Mascagni, who in this monastery assumed the name of Arsenio; and J. B. Stephaneschi, who took the cowl in 1605.

My frequent walks in the neighbourhood of Fiesole had not, as was my custom, any determined aim; I wandered at hazard, and this mode of seeing and observing procured me much unexpected pleasure, and many an agreeable surprise; it furnished me with contrasts which might have escaped me in a more methodical route. The numerous villas which I passed particularly attracted my attention, from a double motive of interest—the historical facts which they recalled, and the picturesque situations which they occupied. The environs of

Fiesole indeed, so well known for the beauty of their prospects, have been the retreat of numbers of celebrated men, who, in the tranquillity of that place, have given themselves up to study and reflexion. Amongst these may be mentioned the celebrated Politian, who in one of his letters addressed to Marcilio Ficino has described the situation of his villa at Fiesole, and which reminds us of the modest but commodious habitation of Horace. Thither he frequently retired to correct and complete his writings, and from thence he addressed, in 1478, to Pandolfi Collenuccio, the *Racconti Amatorii* of Plutarch.

This house, which is not far from Fiesole, in a place refreshed by a fountain which flows underneath the thick shade, and which the poet distinguished by the name of *lucens fonticulus*, appears to be the same as the oratory which is called *Fonte lucente*, and which was erected at the end of the seventeenth century in memory of a miraculous crucifix. In this place Ant. Pellori, in 1733 painted his picture of the Resurrection. There also may be seen there a picture on wood, bearing the date of 1398, which was brought from another chapel which has been demolished.

From this spot the traveller beholds the whole course of the Mugnone; an ancient bridge terminates the view on one side; and on the other extremity of the pass where Radagaisius was enclosed and destroyed, with all his men, there is another Roman edifice, which has gained the appellation of Cicero's Tower.

This quadrangular building, which is very lofty, and composed of stone and bricks, resembles a fortification destined to defend the pass of the mountain, rather than the house of an individual. It is a curious fact, that there are iron rings fixed in this tower, at a certain height from the ground, similar to those which, in sea-ports, are used to moor ships and boats to. It is conjectured that this must have been their use: but then the level of the river must have formerly been much higher than at present; or else this valley must have been a lake, the waters of which, breaking a passage through the rocks of Fiesole, have flowed into the low grounds. Indeed, the boundaries within which the Mugnone flows appear almost to have the shape of an oval crater. The borders of the circumference are very clearly marked out, except on the side of Fiesole, where there is a very deep cut, by which the torrent escapes.

It is the opinion of some naturalists, that the neighbouring valley of Mugello was the mouth of a volcano, and that it also contained a lake; and that the plain of Florence, as I have just mentioned, formed another immense lake, which extended to the mountains of Lucca and Pisa.

The Mugnone presented many more variations in its course; for, after passing the bridge at Badia, and turning round the hills of Fiesole at *Cure*, the villa *Bilotti*, and the monastery of St. Benedict, it flowed through the *Via Ceia*, as far as the *Via Frusa*, perhaps so called from the rapid current of the waters as they passed; then, still seeking the lower grounds, it turned towards the city, passing by *Pinti*, by *Caffeggio*, and by the street called *San Gallo*; till, falling by the street *de Gori*, it arrived at the point of its junction with the Arno, a little beneath the bridge *della Carraja*. Tradition strengthens this idea, and the ancient maps of Florence confirm it; and, moreover, the sand and gravel which in our days have been dug up in these various spots, amount to a demonstration. But let us return to the villas which adorn its borders.

Dino Dazzi, a Florentine poet, possessed a house in the neighbourhood of San Domenico, as well as Ugolino Verini. Scipio Ammirato the Elder dates the dedication of his Commentaries on the wars of Don Juan of Austria, with the Turks, from his little villa of Fiesole, the 1st of March, 1581; and the traveller still perceives with pleasure this inscription traced on the stone-work of the architrave:

SCIPIO ADMIRATUS REIP. FLOR. SCRIPTOR.

On the banks of the Mugnone, there is a cluster of houses which has received the name of the *Cure*. Dante retired thither to enjoy the tranquillity of its solitude. When this illustrious poet was driven into exile, his house was confiscated.

It was not far from hence, and in the villa Salviati, which is built upon an eminence, at a place called *La Lastra*, that the faction of the Bianchi, to the number of sixteen hundred gentlemen, and nine thousand foot soldiers, assembled in 1304, during the night of the 19th of July. From thence they marched upon Florence, and even penetrated into the city. But, seized with a panic terror, they fled precipitately out of the gates, and, dispersing, abandoned their enterprise. It has been thought that Dante was a party to this rash enterprise, in the hope of returning to his country; and, indeed, it was not long after this event, that he abandoned Tuscany and retired to Padua.

Petracco, the father of Petrarch, and the friend of Dante, was also connected with the party of the Bianchi. Exiled from Florence at the same time, and by the same sentence, they participated in the dangers of this nocturnal attempt. Returning immediately to Arezzo, whither he had retreated with his wife, Eletta Caccigliani, Petracco found, that on this night, which had been attended with so much peril to himself, his wife had presented him with a son, whose birth had endangered his mother's life. This son was the celebrated Petrarch.

The Villa Salviati gives a good idea of those strong castles which, in the fourteenth century, formed the retreat of the revolting nobles, whose followers tyrannized over the neighbouring country. One of these castles, called Monte Acinico, which was built by some cardinal in the Nugello, and in which he received the honour of a visit from the pontiff Gregory X., became so formidable a station, that the Florentines were compelled in 1306 to besiege and raze it.

A very melancholy circumstance, which happened in 1349—the assassination of Christiano and Mainardo, two of the intimate friends of Petrarch, by the exiles of Florence, gave occasion to that illustrious poet to write to the governor of Florence a very vehement letter, which seemed to carry all the indignation of its author into the breasts of the Florentine magistrates. They sent troops into the Mugello, and, in consequence, many of their strong-holds were destroyed; and, as a modern historian of Italian literature has observed, Tuscany owed her tranquillity to the eloquent appeal of one of her banished citizens, and one to whom the goods of his family had not yet been restored.

By degrees the sombre and formidable appearance of these fortresses has vanished. Porticoes, inclosed with light iron gates, have succeeded to the draw-bridges; and the walls of the terraces are covered with vases of marble or bronze, which contain the rarest plants, while the details of ancient architecture have been converted into more elegant or convenient forms. Frequently, as is the case with the Villa Salviati, the ancient mansion only serves as a habitation for the steward and the *famiglia*, or domestics, and porticoes or passages paved with Mosaic or small stones, unite the ancient building to a new edifice, constructed in a more elegant style, and in a more accessible situation, embellished with all the brilliant additions which fashion, however variable, renders necessary; and which were unknown to the austere and gothic feudatories who formerly possessed such domains.

On the banks of the Mugnone also is situated the majestic villa which is called *Tre Visi*, and which appears to have been the retreat of the company for whose entertainment Boccacio composed his Decameron during the plague of 1348.

Indeed Boccacio himself, without pointing out the place otherwise than by the word *il contado*, says in his work “On Wednesday, at break of day, the ladies and their cavaliers, leaving Florence with their suites, commenced their route, and after proceeding two miles, arrived at the place which had been prepared for their reception, and which was sufficiently remote from the highway. It was a palace with a spacious

and handsome court, surrounded by *logge*, and by halls and other well arranged apartments furnished with pictures. This edifice occupied the summit of a hill, which was covered with a variety of shrubs and trees of the finest foliage, and surrounded by meadows and beautiful gardens abounding with springs of the freshest water.

At the commencement of the third day, Boccacio speaks of the cellars of this palace; and he mentions the limpid waters which oozed through every part, and more especially a very abundant fountain that flowed through the meadow, and, falling to the lower grounds, turned two mills.

In another part, he says, that from this spot there is a view of Fiesole; in short every circumstance confirms the idea that this is the villa in question. It is two miles from Florence, and near it there rises a spring, the water of which turns two mills. The idea is also confirmed, from the traditionary evidence of the residents in the neighbourhood.

Near the royal mansions of Castello and La Petraja, there is a *villetta* called *Tōpaja*, which is supposed to have been built by Cosmo I., whose arms are placed on the left angle of the house, with this motto, “*Exaltabo te, Domine, et exultabo!*” In thy exaltation will I exult, O Lord!

This Prince, who was much attached to the celebrated historian Benedetto Varchi, and who had already loaded him with benefits, wishing in 1558 to give him a new proof of his affection, presented him with this house, to enable him with greater facility to complete the history of Florence, which he had commenced. The author accepted the favour with gratitude, and retired to this spot, where he passed nearly the whole year, with the exception of some short intervals, during which he visited Pisa, where he commonly resided with the Grand Duke, and read him his history. With these interviews Cosmo was much delighted and only interrupted the author occasionally with a cry of admiration, “*Miracoli, Varchi, Miracoli!*” Varchi took advantage of one of these moments of satisfaction to ask permission to change the vulgar name of *Topaja*, which was very displeasing to him, for that of *Cosmiano*, but the Grand Duke insisted on his adopting the appellation of *Var-chiano*. The polite struggle which ensued prevented any innovation—the ancient name prevailed—and the house still bears it, being always called *Topaja* (a nest of rats).

Besides his history, Varchi in this place wrote several other works, and particularly his *Ercolano*, one of his most agreeable productions. At the head of this work he gives a description of his house. He speaks of the walk in the green field before his door; of his herb-garden, in which he seems to

have taken much delight; and of dining tête-à-tête in the little terrace, whence, amid a thousand other beautiful objects, Fiesole and Florence were discovered.

He did not live a solitary life here. His friends visited him daily, and sometimes remained whole weeks with him. At last he became so habituated to their company, that he could not live without society. Indeed there was not one man of letters, or of any consideration, who did not visit him, so agreeable was he, and so much honoured and esteemed. The year of the death of this celebrated historian is not well known, as many authors disagree as to the fact; his epitaph at Florence however bears the date of 1571.

La Topaja having been restored to its former owners, the Grand Duke Cosmo III. ornamented it with a great number of pictures of rare foreign fruits, and the most singular productions of the earth, with descriptions of them written underneath. This collection, which was made by a prince who was an amateur in these sort of things, was afterwards divided between the Villa Real di Castello and other places.

The villas of Castello and Petraja, of which a description will be given, are very celebrated for the excellence of their wines. The plants are procured from Spain, from the Canaries, from France, and from the most celebrated Islands of the Archipelago. Redit found in this excellent Muscatel an inspiration which burst out in a dithyrambic, where he sings—

*Ma lodato
Celebrato
Coronato
Sia Petros, che nelle vigne
Di Petraja e di Castello
Pietto primo il muscadello. !*

Come, let us raise
A song in his praise
And crown him with bays;
For he is an hero, an excellent fellow,
Whose hand in the vineyard that grows at Castello
First planted the stock of the true muscadello.

But of all the delicious places which the voluptuous Romans of the Augustan age did not disdain, none is more celebrated and less frequented than the palace of Pratolino, a beautiful spot buried in the heart of a wood, and which I only discovered by chance. Friendship detained me here some time, and I quitted it at last with that pleasing regret which forms in our after-life such an agreeable theme of recollection

LETTER XII.

Gathering Cherries—Visit to Pratolino—Story of Francesco de Medici, and Bianca Capello.

SETTING out alone, to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, the eager pursuit of my prey had gradually drawn me to a considerable distance from Fiesole, and I completely lost my way in the intricacies of the mountains. The day was wearing away, and the heat became overpowering. Uncertain as to what path I should pursue, I looked in vain for a human countenance to succour me in my wanderings, and at last, sinking with fatigue, half-famished and overwhelmed, I directed my steps to a wood, where I calculated at least on finding a shelter from the sun. It was an orchard of cherry-trees; and to increase my happiness, I perceived a peasant who had climbed into one of the trees, and was gathering the fruit, which he threw into a large basket, supported on the head of a young girl of ten or twelve years of age.

This group appeared to me very beautiful; but just at this time the cherries possessed the greatest attraction for me; upon my offering to buy some of the fruit the owner answered me quickly, that he did not sell them retail, but in baskets full. "Cannot you, at least," said I, "permit me to select a few for my refreshment?" at the same time shewing him a piece of silver. "Hold your hat," he answered, "and you shall have the best." He filled it in spite of me, although I told him I had more than enough, and that the rest would be all wasted. "I must give you the worth of your silver," said he, still showering them down. The conscience of this man was inexorable, and the fruit being very abundant and cheap, I should have been overloaded if I had allowed him.

After making a delicious repast, for the young girl offered me a piece of a thin light cake which she had kneaded herself, I began to think of returning to Fiesole, and inquired the way of my friend. "You are far enough off," said the villager, "and you had better go to Pratolino, which is in the neighbourhood; the agent will show you all sorts of hospitality in the name of our dear Archduke." Delighted with the accident which had conducted me to a place I had so great a desire to visit, I followed his advice, and my conductor

continued to talk in the florid language of Tuscany. "Do you see that mountain shaded by the great chesnut trees, and in the midst of that green spot, the burning windows of that old edifice? Go along this side, leave the house on your left, and you will see a pathway where the fountain throws up its sparkling waters, and rolls away along the green-sward; then follow the windings of the stream, and it will serve you as a guide through the leafy darkness; when you come to the meadow you may take your time, for you will soon reach the gardens of Pratolino; you will have no longer need to follow the banks of the stream, for you will see on a hill-side the house of the agent. A pleasant walk to you," said he, "good bye—may the woods afford you a pleasant shelter—may the winds refresh you, and the benediction of a poor man procure you peaceful slumbers." The young girl seconded the good wishes of her father by a gentle sigh, and a graceful courtsey.

I gaily resumed my way, well refreshed and well directed, yet not without frequently turning my head to look back at the beautiful Italian, who called out, "Don't lose sight of the ruins, the fountain by the side, and the stream that murmurs over the turf." These sweet words, repeated by the echo, died in murmurs on my ear, till I could no longer perceive the fair villager or her father, whom the foliage of the wood hid from my view, nor even the clump of cherry-trees to which I owed so much.

At the entrance of the wood I met a man who offered to conduct me to the factory, whither he was going himself; the kindness and politeness of the inhabitants of these regions assured me of a pleasant reception at Pratolino. I met with marvel after marvel; for, after pursuing a very uneven path, through which my conductor guided me, forewarning me against making false steps over the more unequal parts, I was absolutely overwhelmed with astonishment, when on arriving at my destination I found that the guide to whom I had entrusted myself, was blind! He was, indeed, a man of great intelligence; the acuteness of some of his faculties had been carried to such perfection, that he manufactured a number of very delicate mechanical instruments, and, in fact, became clock-maker to all the neighbourhood.

The little adventures of the day gained me a very gracious reception from the agent and his agreeable family; they compelled me to partake of the supper to which they were just sitting down, and we deferred till to-morrow exploring the retreat of Bianca Capello, the enchanting habitation of a new Armida.

Erected in the sixteenth century under the directions of one of the Medici, the *Villa real di Pratolino* united all the grandeur, beauty, riches, and ingenuity, which that remarkable age could furnish; and although now only the shade of what it was, it still preserves so many charms, and recalls such memories, that a description of it cannot but possess considerable interest.

In 1569, Francesco, the son of Cosmo de Medici, wishing to possess an agreeable retreat in the country bought a vast tract of land, situated six miles from Florence, on the shelving side of Monte Morello; it was a savage, rough spot, covered with wood, and irrigated with numerous streams; the air was fresh and healthy, and although this valley was but a few miles from the capital of Tuscany it was uninhabited. It appeared consecrated to mystery and silence, yet it was destined to become the secret asylum of beauty, of that Bianca Capello, whose singular history presents a striking example of the vicissitudes of fortune, and of the terrible changes which wait on the votaries of love and ambition.

Francesco de Medici, like the generality of Princes, had married from motives of policy; his wife was a Princess of the House of Austria, more virtuous than amiable, and better fitted to inspire respect than love. The young Prince only beheld in this union a golden chain, the weight of which he attempted to alleviate, by giving himself up to his taste for the fine arts, but from which he was too well disposed to dis-embarrass himself.

In the mean while, Bianca, the daughter of Bartolomeo Capello, a noble Venetian, arrived at Florence, already known by her beauty, her weakness, and her misfortunes; she had fled from her own country, and now sought protection from the Prince of Tuscany. A young man of no fortune, but accomplished and beautiful as herself, had carried her off from the bosom of her family: the Capellos denounced him to the Council of Ten, and he was condemned to die. This fair and unfortunate pair found an asylum in the Court of Florence, where the adventures of the beautiful Venetian awakened the curiosity and compassion of Prince Francesco: the latter feeling was nearly allied to love, and the husband of Bianca having been assassinated by his enemies, the passion of the Prince became unbounded; it would indeed have been difficult to break the charm, for Bianca, to her natural attraction, joined artifices which could not fail to ensure her a triumph; in turn she played off all the vivacity of her wit, her attractions, her graces, and even her caprices, to amuse the melancholy humour of her lover: in this manner she became necessary

to him, making him forget his domestic grievances, and neglect his affairs—love had tied the knot; habit confirmed it, and each day drew it still closer.

To enjoy less disturbance Francesco had resolved to retire with his mistress to the solitude of Pratolino. He entrusted to an ingenious artist, of the name of Buontalenti, the duty of embellishing the scene of his retirement. A magnificent palace and superb gardens appeared, changing this savage spot into the most enchanting residence. Here was assembled a brilliant court of which Bianca became the sovereign. The Grand Duke's love knew no bounds; every thing was lavished on the object of his attachment. She was the aim of all pleasures, the idol of all homage. The great nobility of the state, the ministers, the courtiers, were all of them at her feet, and she alone dispensed places and favours, while the Grand Duchess could scarcely obtain those common marks of respect which were due to her rank. The chagrin which she experienced from the constantly increasing triumphs of her rival, and the weakness of her health, were too much for her to resist, and she died in giving birth to a dead child. The Grand Duke shed many sincere tears; he reproached himself as the cause of this calamitous accident, and he fled at last from his palace suffering all the agonies of remorse. He wandered about for some time in the most solitary places of Tuscany, avoiding sedulously the presence of his seducer. He was weak, however, and his resolutions were soon forgotten; retirement, public opinion, nothing could withhold him, and he again delivered himself up to the undisturbed indulgence of his passion.

Bianca, during the life of her husband, had made the Grand Duke swear on a consecrated image that she should be his princess, should they both become free. Weak promise! Yet the madness which had dictated it still continued. The daughter of the Capellos usurped the place of Jane of Austria. The marriage, which was solemnized secretly, was not made public until after the appointed time of mourning had expired. The new sovereign princess was then adopted by the republic of Venice, and declared a true and peculiar daughter of St. Mark; and as she did not appear to be inferior to two other daughters of the saint, one of whom had been married to the king of Hungary, and the other to the king of Cyprus, the republic decreed to her the royal crown. This ceremony, at which a deputation of Venetian senators assisted, was one of the most brilliant which had ever been seen. Balls, carousals, tournaments, *vellegiature*, or rural parties, bull-fights, and encounters of wild beasts followed one another without cessation.

The Grand Duke, fatigued with the affairs of government retired again to Pratolino, where he was reposing in the bosom of pleasure, when his son died, the only fruit of his former marriage, and the heir of the family of Medici. He might perhaps have found consolation beneath this infliction, had he had any expectation of a family by Bianca, but of this he now despaired, and, not having adopted the son which she had borne him before their marriage, he fell into a state of melancholy.

Inclosed in his retreat, far from the palace, which only recalled the memory of his son, and from the city, the inhabitants of which he had alienated from his authority, invisible to his people, and rarely seeing even his minister, he had no other consolation than the company of the Grand Duchess. Solitude, luxury, and the want of occupation, inflamed his passions and placed him completely in the power of this woman, to whom all the calamities which Tuscany at this period suffered were attributed. Hatred, however, was changed into pity, when the calamity was known which terminated at once her existence and that of her husband.

The circumstances of this affair do not appear to have occurred in the common course of things: the causes and the details of it are alike unknown, and they have been differently explained. Those who love the marvellous have collected a thousand fables more or less absurd on the subject; others have alleged poison as the instrument; but the problem still remains to be solved.

Whatever the real facts may have been, it is known that the Cardinal de Medici had always been the enemy of Bianca Capello, and that he never pardoned his brother for forming this degrading alliance. Some pretend to say that the Grand Duchess, who had resolved to avenge herself, seized the opportunity of the Cardinal's visiting her in the absence of her husband. She prepared for her brother-in-law some pastry, which she knew was very agreeable to his palate; in this a subtle poison had been mingled: the Grand Duke, returning from the chace, and hungry from exercise, unluckily found this poisoned meat and ate a large quantity of it. Bianca hearing the intelligence, and desperate at the idea of having poisoned her husband, resolved to share his fate, and the poison in both instances taking effect at the same moment, they both expired in inexpressible tortures, without the Cardinal permitting any one, as it is said, to afford them succour, which circumstance has made him pass as the author of this calamity.

One of the historians of the Medici, Galuzzi, has endeavoured to prove the incorrectness of this account. He confesses,

however, that the Cardinal de Medici, who under the name of Ferdinand succeeded his brother, persecuted Bianca even after her life had expiated her crime, and sought even to extinguish the remembrance of her. In fact, he ordered the body of this unfortunate creature to be conveyed to the common cemetery, where she was confounded with all the ignoble dead; and soon afterwards he ordered the arms of the Capellos to be obliterated from all the public edifices where they had been quartered with those of the Medici, and he substituted in their place the bearings of Jane of Austria.

Don Antonio, whom Francesco had recognised as his natural son, had resolved, if possible, to establish a right to the crown; but the Cardinal Ferdinand gave him to understand that unless he contented himself with his station and quality of prince, he would declare him to be the son of a locksmith, who, as he asserted, was his real father. Don Antonio, who had much good sense, acceded to the determination of the Grand Duke, and was made a Knight of Malta, Grand Prior of Pisa, and Lord of Capestrano. He lived in the royal edifice in the gardens of the Medici, where Lorenzo the Magnificent had established his school of Arts. This prince, in imitation of Francesco, devoted himself to the studies of the occult sciences. He also established a printing-press at that place.

The morals of Francesco had a great influence over those of the age. His weakness towards Bianca was productive of great evils. Every body and every thing in the state had been rendered subservient to the caprices of this woman. She made offices venal, justice arbitrary, and ministers servile, and the prince himself became a passive instrument in her hands which she wielded at will. The court of Florence, the richest and most polished one in Europe, was a model to the princes who sought to imitate the Grand Duke in his taste for magnificence and pleasure. Gallantry became a fashion which spread abroad the most scandalous consequences, divisions in families, and private animosities. But of all its evil effects the most deadly was that relaxation of morals which is even now tolerated, which gained ground and influence insensibly, and which has served succeeding ages as a model and an excuse.

On the other hand, the taste of this prince for the arts, and the encouragement which he lavished on artists, instead of giving genius an impelling motion, seemed only to extinguish or to enervate it. It almost makes one think that the arts are the children of Luxury, who, like Saturn, ends by devouring his offspring.

The reign of Francesco de Medici, though favourable to the fortunes of artists, prevented them from making any

nearer approaches towards perfection. This honorable career became the path of ambition, and the productions of art became the furniture of the auctioneer's sale-room. Taste indeed was becoming more general. Festivals and spectacles became, as it were, essential to the happiness of every rank. The liveliest emulation reigned in every class of society, and on all sides arose the most gorgeous monuments. This species of luxury was in the highest vogue amongst the rich and powerful princes of Italy. Francesco, however, piqued himself on surpassing all the others. He boasted particularly of his architectural talents, and he used to display to his inquisitive guests the palace of Pratolino as the work of his own invention.

But the glory of the Medicean age was about to set for ever. The splendid light which had illuminated Europe began now to fade in the dearth of aliment. The dispersion of the school of Raffaele, and above all, the death of Michael Angelo, had left a void which it was impossible to supply. Nevertheless the arts still flourished in appearance; there was no want of ready and amiable talent; luxury, gallantry, pleasure, still inspired the hand of the artist—the master-age was past

I ETTER XIII.

Description of the Palace and Gardens of Pratolino.

AMONGST the numerous and magnificent palaces of the sovereigns of Tuscany, that of Pratolino is acknowledged to be most worthy of the traveller's attention. The hand of nature had prepared the elements, that of the artist had only to reduce them to shape and symmetry. The forests which covered the ground, needed only the axe in certain parts, or to be formed in others into avenues. The thick tufts of trees, when pierced by winding path-ways, were transformed into retired asylums and inextricable labyrinths. On all sides fountains sparkled up which did not demand the human hand to guide them. Their waters were either collected in vast basins, or flowed through channels open to the air, or forcing their way through canals from which they sprung in jets, they then fell in cascades, carrying along into every part their freshness and the gentle murmur of their motion.

These woods composed of firs, laurels, and other ever-green trees, seemed the asylum of perpetual spring. To provide for the pleasures of the chace and angling, the park was stocked

with wild animals, and the waters were filled with fish of every species. The gardens were under the management of experienced gardeners, who transplanted thither the rarest trees and flowers, and brought to perfection the fruits of all nations. In short this retreat called to mind the delicious abodes which the voluptuous emperors of Rome retired to, in pursuance of the counsels of Epicurus, to lay down the purple and to crown themselves with the roses of pleasure.

The presiding idea of him who constructed the palace, seems to have been to form an abode of mystery. In fact, travellers pass by the route of Bologna, only a short distance from Pratolino, without the least suspicion that the forest which they behold, contains a royal mansion—not a single avenue announces it. A single, narrow, unequal way leads to a square in the centre of the park where the house is situated, in such a manner as not to be seen until you arrive before it. This vast court is surrounded by a railing supported and united by pilasters of the rustic Tuscan order. On the left side, in front of the palace, and beyond the trellis-work, there is a large tract of ground covered with trees, at the extremity of which, the colossal statue of the Apennines rises in majesty.

There is an air of grandeur in the general disposal of the palace and the objects which surround it, but the plan of the building, and its exterior decorations, are not conformable. The architecture has been praised on account of the numerous apartments being lighted without the aid of interior courts: In the building is contained a handsome theatre. Several organs, distributed in different apartments, and played by means of water, produce the effect of a great number of different instruments, and give the hearer a good idea of the style of music of the sixteenth century. We shall give a more detailed account of the grottos, which have frequently served as models for things of this kind.

A person must have resided in Italy, or in some other torrid climate, to be able to appreciate the delight which the shade, the murmurs, and the flowing of waters can procure. There the rich find the means of cheating nature, and provide retreats into which they may retire from the fervors of summer. The aphorism of Rousseau, which at first appears like a paradox, is founded in the strictest truth, that cold is best preserved in hot countries. There the houses are constructed on a plan adapted to the climate. The walls are very thick, the windows few and narrow. Every advantage is taken of a current of air when it can be procured; living waters distribute in each apartment a reviving freshness by their moist evaporations, and as a last combination of all that is cool,

they imitate nature in the formation of artificial grottos, which abound with all the advantages which such places afford. —They cover them with stalactites, shells, and marine productions; and they thither lead numerous springs, which murmur or leap through those subterraneous abodes. But, in spite of all they can do, they only obtain at last, with great cost, a feeble imitation of the marvels which Nature has produced without effort.

The grottos of Pratolino are situated in that part which is exposed to the south. They occupy the level ground beneath the terrace which surrounds the castle, and serves it as a base. You descend by a double staircase, in the form of a horse-shoe, to an esplanade in front of the grottos, which forms a second terrace lower than the first. On the side of the gardens it is cut off precipitately, on account of the declivity of the ground, but the lateral extremities are on a level with the grass plot.

The distribution of the grottos, although they are unequal in size and grandeur, is remarkable for the advantages which have been taken of the situation in which they have been constructed. They are all of them vaulted, and rest on beautiful columns of marble. One certainly cannot too much admire the brilliancy of the interior decoration, which is nearly the same through them all. The walls and the vaulted roofs are ornamented with stalactites, madrepores, marine plants, corals, shells, and mother-of-pearl; and all those objects are mingled with paintings in Mosaic. Everywhere one sees statues of marble or of bronze, which cast streams of water into basins of marble or of gilded lead. These waters, by secret passages, flow beneath the pavement, and escape into the gardens, where they are again applied to a thousand different purposes.

Amongst the statues, many are to be attributed to celebrated artists, and are no less remarkable for their composition than their execution. The most beautiful have been transported to Florence; yet, notwithstanding, there are several left worthy of observation.

The Grotto of the Deluge is the first the stranger arrives at: it is so called from the quantity of water which flows in it, not only from the ceiling, but from the walls, and even from the pavement. When you enter it, you are completely in the power of the fountain players, who can inundate you without the possibility of your avoiding it, for the fountains bar the passage, and even reach you on the esplanade; the pavement of which, constructed like that of the grotto—of small round stones of various colours, and arranged in compartments, so as imitate Mosaic work, is pierced by innumerable holes, through which a multitude of little spouts of water issue.

It may be added, that we may not have again to return to this subject, that every sort of surprise, and all arts of deceit, are used to entrap the curious.—Sometimes the commodious seats which invite them to repose themselves break with their weight, and duck them in an unexpected bath:—sometimes a ladder is placed as if it led to some curious object, but scarcely have you placed your foot on the first step, when a catch goes off, and unmasks a fountain, which rushes direct into your face:—sometimes, when you are least expecting it, a marine monster, or some other strange figure, rises,—rolls its eyes on you, opens its mouth, and covers you with a flood of water.

In a colder climate this sort of amusement would prove somewhat inconvenient. It is, however, foreseen; no one is exposed to it against his will, and you may avoid it by proper precautions.

The Grotto of the Samaritan is one of the most curious, from the numerous mechanical inventions of Buontalenti, which force the water into action. There is a sort of theatre, in which several complicated movements successively take place. The cave represents a hamlet composed of huts intermingled with trees.—The door of a house opens, and a beautiful village girl comes out, carrying a vase, and approaches one of the fountains to draw water.—Her movements are very natural, and her body possesses a kind of suppleness and grace. She arrives at the fountain, fills her vase with water, places it again on her head, and returns towards the cottage; not, however, without frequently turning round her head to gaze at a shepherd seated near, who seems to admire her, and who attempts to prevail on her to stay and listen to his music. On the sides of the theatre, a blacksmith opens his shop, and is seen busily employed with his workmen in the labours of the forge:—a miller, also, carries sacks of grain to a mill, the mechanism of which is most complete.—In the distance is heard the sound of horns and the barking of dogs, and we are entertained with the representation of a hunt: many wild animals run across the bottom of the stage, pursued by a pack of hounds and hunters.—In the foreground, birds, perched in the branches, pour forth their song; and swans and ducks are seen sporting in the waters.

A theatre placed opposite to the former represents the attack and taking of a fortress. There are also several other mechanical inventions, all very ingenious, and astonishing, when we consider the period at which they were executed.

The grotto *della Stuffa*, or of the Bath, is small, but ornamented very carefully with madrepores and corals, from which

an exceedingly fine rain escapes, or rather a tepid mist, which sinks into the basin of the bath. This basin occupies the centre of the grotto: it is of red marble, and is supplied at will with cold or warm water, from two satyrs of bronze. From the grottos you descend into the gardens by two magnificent flights of steps.

In the construction of these grottos it seems as if all the resources of the most inventive art had been exhausted to obviate the attacks of heat; though one would almost think it impossible to preserve the humidity and freshness of this artificial atmosphere. Nevertheless, they have here contrived, under the influence of a fiery sky, to create a new temperature, of the most equal mildness; comparable indeed with that of the gardens of Armida, the delusions of which were probably intended to be here realized; unless, as we have already insinuated, Tasso himself has copied the gardens of Pratolino.

On leaving the grotto which we have just described, you enter a magnificent avenue of fir trees and tufted laurels, which, extending along an insensible declivity for about nine hundred feet, is mingled at its extremity with the masses of wood which cover the neighbouring mountains.

The grotto of Cupid, the fountain of Esculapius, the urns, the tombs, and the statues, which people these woods with recollections, attest the respect of the Medici for the precious monuments of art and antiquity—here rises Mount Parnassus, with the statues of Apollo and the Muses; Pegasus is bounding from the summit of the mountain, whence also a limpid stream starts, the sound of which is mingled with the notes of a musical instrument, which is played by water—there rise fountains, ornamented with groups of statues, representing fabulous personages, or scenes from common life.

That temple of such architectural elegance is consecrated to love and the graces! This rude grotto, covered with moss, forms a shelter from the storm—to such a cave Dido and Æneas retreated. A ray of light piercing the rocky ceiling, enables us to distinguish the verses of Virgil carved on the marble.

In the midst of a retired spot, a stream flows through the scented shrubs, giving increase to the waters of several little lakes, which are completely surrounded with large forest trees; a light skiff conveys you to an islet covered with the thickest foliage, where a seat of turf covered with daisies is the only ornament of the thicket—retired from the gaze of the world, shut out from every interruption, here you can meditate at leisure, invited to contemplation rather than disturbed by the murmur of the leaves, and of the waters. From out

the myrtles and the rose bushes rises a column, on which are engraved some verses consecrating the stillness of this retreat to the divinity of mystery.

Such are the gardens of Pratolino, such is the vast enclosure fenced in by a curtain of impenetrable forests, where Francesco de Medici forgot fame and honour in the lap of pleasure. The seductive Bianca Capello was the queen of these solitudes; frequently armed with the symbols of Diana, and surrounded like her with her nymphs, she traversed the woods to the sounds of horns and warlike music; more frequently, however, in the diviner habit of the queen of love, she wandered through these paths with her lover, consecrating the places which witnessed their delights, with monuments, alas! more durable than their happiness.

Having now given some account of the palace and gardens of Pratolino, I shall proceed to say something of that extraordinary work the Colossus of the Apennines. In front of the castle I have said there lies an open space of ground about 300 feet in length, and 100 in breadth; this piece of ground is bordered on each side by lofty fir trees and beeches, the trunks of which are hidden by tufts of laurels, in which are placed niches for statues; the middle of it is covered with turf, and farther on a piece of water extends itself in the shape of a half-circle, behind which rises the colossal statue of the Apennines.

Rising from an elevated and apparently irregular base, to which you arrive by two flights of steps which follow the semicircular bend of the basin, this statue at first appears to be a pyramidal rock, on which the hand of man has rudely attempted to execute the project which the statuary intended to work on Mount Athos, and which Alexander had the proud wisdom to reject; but on a second view we recognize the genius of a pupil, and worthy rival of the great Michael Angelo.

John of Bologna, inspired by the writings of the ancients, executed in this work, the idea which they formed, and have transmitted to us of their Jupiter Pluvialis, a name much more applicable to this figure than that of the Colossus of the Apennines, which has been attributed to it one knows not why. The style is grand, and the character of the head is perfectly suited to the subject; his bushy temples brave the storm, and seem covered with a hoar frost; his hair descends like icicles upon his large shoulders, and the locks of his beard resemble stalactites. In order to add to the extraordinary effect of this Colossus, a sort of crown is placed on his head formed of small *jets d'eau* which fall upon his shoulders,

and rolling over the whole figure make it sparkle in the rays of the sun.

The position is good, setting and bending forward, the God rests one hand on a rock, whilst the other presses the head of a marine monster, which spouts a large volume of water; although by this position much of his height is lost, his head still overtops the trees, and standing off from the blue heavens almost seems to touch the clouds; it would be difficult to imagine a more picturesque and perfect composition in all its proportions; when you gaze on it you perceive no enormous disparity with the objects around, so well does it harmonize with all that surrounds it, and you only conceive an idea of its real magnitude, by comparing it with the groups of passengers, which, when seen at a certain distance, resemble pigmies: if we suppose this giant standing up, it would not be too much to say, that he would be an hundred feet in height.

In the interior of the body there are several apartments, and in the head there is a beautiful chamber, to which the eye-balls serve as windows; the extremities are constructed of a coarse laying of stones; the trunk is formed of bricks covered with mortar or cement, which has acquired the hardness of marble, but which when fresh must have been easily worked, and capable of taking the requisite impressions.

It is said that many of the pupils of John of Bologna who were employed on this work, when they came to execute figures of ordinary dimensions, found that in their giant labours they had lost their exactness of eye and skill of hand.

The untenanted Pratolino is now a melancholy spectacle; the vast apartments, the long galleries, formerly ornamented with pictures or rich hangings, now only display the nakedness of uncovered walls; the mosaic pavements are covered with dust, and the wind sobs through the broken casements. This beautiful place, now almost forgotten, attracts only the traveller, whose affection for the arts prompts him to search for them in the midst of the ruins, which the hand of time and the negligence of man have accumulated.

In the gardens, the walks, formerly so level and covered with the finest gravel, are now broken into gutters, or choaked up sometimes with briars, and sometimes by the enormous branches of some pine which has been struck with lightning; every thing has broken from out the bounds in which they were anciently confined; the walls are crumbling away; and in the midst of the disjointed statues, parasitic plants spring up, and fasten their clasping fingers, covering them with a sombre verdure. The virgin vine climbing

round the columns, mingles its light garlands with the arabesque ornaments which run along the friezes, and which are themselves only an imitation of this natural and rustic decoration.

A few marble statues are still standing, but they are all mutilated, or if any of them are still perfect, they owe their preservation to the thorny shrubs which surround their base. Mosses and lichens however are destroying what even man appears to have been forced to respect. Every where art slowly yielding to nature has nothing to oppose to her but her own massiness and *vis inertiae*.

LETTER XIV.

Campo-Santo—Description of the Pictures—Convents of the Apennines—The Hermit—Conclusion.

THE distance between Florence and Pisa is traversed with such facility and pleasure, that it is more like taking a walk than a journey. There is no country which abounds with more beautiful prospects, or where cultivation is better understood, or which is inhabited by a race whose exterior announces more ease, sweetness, and urbanity. The fields are like gardens, and the rivers resemble canals bordered with picturesque edifices, connected together with garlands of foliage, flowers, and fruits. There is no exaggeration in this picture. The banks of the Arno are planted with fruit trees, round which the vines cling, and their branches intertwining with one another, form garlands of the most picturesque beauty.

I enjoyed with great zest my visit to the celebrated *Campo-Santo*, where the artist can form an exact idea of the revival of painting, since he finds there specimens of the earliest modern painters, not dispersed and confounded with other works, which must necessarily throw them into the shade, but united and following one another in regular progression. By this means he can judge of the *affiliation* of picturesque ideas, and of their successive developement, till he arrives at the works of the great artists of the sixteenth century, who carried painting to the highest pitch of perfection.

The *Campo-Santo* is a most magnificent building; the inside is coated with black marble, and the outside is covered with

lead: the interior of the building is most rich in architecture, sculpture, and painting. It was intended to be used as a place of sepulture for the principal inhabitants of Pisa, and to perpetuate, by inscriptions and other funeral monuments, the memory of those persons who had distinguished themselves in science or the arts.

The shape of the edifice at first view appears to be a right angle, but it is in fact slightly rhomboidal, that is to say, the corners are not exact right angles. The pavement of the cloister is formed into different compartments of various coloured marbles, and these compartments display monumental stones, on which are engraved the names and the arms of the ancient families of Pisa, to the number of more than six hundred. Under the arcade there are placed some ancient Sarcophagi, supported on brackets; they amount in number to about six hundred, and they all of them have covers or lids; most of them are of Parian marble; they are ornamented with mythological or similar subjects, and, from the inscriptions which yet remain on them, they are of Etruscan or else of Grecian or Roman origin. Notwithstanding this, most of the Sarcophagi contain the ashes of noble Pisans.

Before the erection of the Campo-Santo these tombs were ranged around the walls of the cathedral. Being afterwards, about the year 1297, placed outside of the cloister, where they were exposed to total destruction, they were collected under the arcades by Ferdinand de Medici, who gave a proof of his love for the arts, by causing them to be deposited in the place which they now occupy. Nevertheless, whether it was owing to the ignorance of those who were entrusted to convey them, or whether the dilapidated state, in which some of the sculptures were, made them look upon them as unworthy of their attention, certainly a great quantity, and those too of the most valuable kind, were neglected. They are all of the best age of sculpture, and have served as models to the early Pisan artists, whom we may call the restorers of sculpture.

Independently of these Sarcophagi, there are other antique monuments dispersed here and there on the walls, as well as a variety of modern tombs erected at different periods. We will finish what we have to say of these curiosities before we describe the singular paintings which cover the walls of this immense edifice.

Near a military column, on the ancient Via Emilia, there is an antique bas-relief, which has been long supposed to have been wrought in commemoration of a cage of iron, in which an enormous serpent was enclosed in 1109 by the skill of a man called Nino Orlandi, and carried in triumph through the

streets of Pisa. It is said the marble was sculptured and placed on this spot in memory of this strange achievement, which has been mentioned by many historians. I rather think that there is very little credit due either to the tradition or to the inscription, which was only made in 1777; for one view of the monument plainly shews that the bas-relief bears no traces of a cage or a serpent, while the marble indicates an age still more remote than the fact in question. This marble is in fact only a fragment of an antique sarcophagus.

Amongst the ancient tombs there is one bearing the following inscription :—

D. M. T. ÆLIUS. AUG. LIB. LUCIFER. FIBUS. (vixit) SIBI. POSUIT.

In fact, amongst the ancients there are many examples of people who, not having any great confidence in their heirs, have raised their own tombs in their life-time, in order to be sure that their names would reach posterity. The Campo-Santo presents a modern instance of this singular precaution. It is the tomb of Filippo Decio, a lawyer of Milan, and a professor in the university of Pisa. We shall only quote the last words of the inscription, which are curious :—

—hoc sepulcrum sibi fabricari curavit, ne posteris suis crederet.

Amongst other modern tombs that of Matteo Corte, a philosopher and physician of Pavia, is curious : it was built in 1544 by order of the Grand Duke Cosmo. The statue reposing on the cenotaph is from nature ; the drapery is fine ; the head rests upon the right hand, the fingers of which are lost in the curls of his long beard ; his left hand holds a closed book. The skilful sculptor seems almost to have given a new and eternal life to his model.

It is well known that Tuscany had the honour of mainly contributing to the revival of the arts in modern times. The Pisans distinguished themselves by the effectual encouragement which at this period they afforded, and the Campo-Santo became the theatre in which, successively, the most celebrated pictures of the fourteenth and fifteenth century were displayed. Here you see passing in review, as it were, Giotto, Simon de Sienna, Buffalmacco, Piero Laurati, the Brothers Orcagna, Spinello d'Arezzo, Taddeo Bartoli, and lastly, Benozzo Gozzoli, who surpassed them all, and who, in concert with his cotemporary Masaccio, gave existence to that new style, which, superseding that of Giotto, spread itself abroad throughout Europe, and more especially in Flanders, and served as a model for the great masters of the following age.

It is very curious to see, in the pictures of Campo-Santo, painting rising through various stages to perfection. As we trace it, we see it casting off its early rude clothing, assuming a form of simplicity, and then of elegance, then attaining beauty and natural graces, till it at last reaches that sublime and ideal beauty, beyond which all is exaggeration—the rock on which art founders when the boundaries of reason are once passed.

The first paintings, which you see on the left, are descriptive of the life of St. Ranieri, the protector of Pisa. There are six in number, and in two lines; the three higher ones are attributed to Simon Memmi di Sienna, and those below to Antonio called Veneziano, from his having painted many pictures at Venice: he was however born at Florence, where he learned the art of painting under Angelo Gaddi. Simon Memmi was the pupil of Giotto, according to Vasari, but according to the conjectures in the *Lettere Senesi*, he appears rather to have been a pupil of Francesco Jacopo di Turrita. He commenced about the year 1300, and painted till 1344. You remark in his pictures more grace and less hardness than in those of his contemporaries. He was particularly celebrated for his skill in portrait-painting; and Pandolfo Malatesta sent for him to Avignon to take the portrait of Petrarch. The poet begged him to trace for him the features of his beloved Laura, and he recompensed him with two sonnets in his praise, which will form a more lasting monument than any of his paintings.

Dante had already immortalized Giotto in those well known verses—

*Cedette Cimabue nella pittura
'Tener lo campo, ed ora Giotto il grido
Siche la fama di colui oscura.*

Giovanni Villani, the historian, calls him the most celebrated master of his day, and Angelo Politiano commences the sepulchral inscription which was raised by the command of Lorenzo de Medici, with these words:—

Illa ego sum per quem pictura extincta revixit.

Giotto has also contributed to the embellishment of the Campo-Santo. The paintings which represent the history of Job added so greatly to his reputation that Benedict XI. sent for him to Rome, and entrusted him with the execution of several pictures, of which only some very slight remains are now to be found.

On the same side are seen some paintings of Spinello Aretino, which are not very excellent; and as you return on the western side are some of Ghirlandajo, and a few of more mo-

dern date, executed in the places of those which have been destroyed.

We now arrive at the northern part of the cloister, where in the first compartments we see the history of the creation, painted by Buonamico Buffalmacco, a pupil of Andrea Tafi. The first of these pictures occupies the whole height of the cloister, and presents a gigantic figure of the eternal Father, embracing and sustaining the whole celestial system, such as it was conceived to be at this period. Then follow the principal facts in Genesis to the Flood. The pictures of this artist are remarkable for their simplicity, and even grace, and for the justice of movement and expression which they display, though they have a dryness of contour and a stiffness of form, which betray the infancy of art. In representing Noah's Ark he has given the exact forms of various mechanical instruments. The costume of his figures is extremely simple and picturesque, with the exception of the shoes, which are long and pointed beyond measure. His perspective is very bad. The paintings which follow are the work of an artist who was a man of genius, Benozzo Gozzoli, much admired in the fifteenth century, and by the greatest painters of the following age, to whom his works served as models; but who was despised as soon as he was surpassed. All eyes and all hopes were turned to that elevated station where sat Michael Angelo and Raffaele. Nothing else was studied but their works, and no account was taken of those who had pointed out the way. In the pictures of this artist those seeds of talent are discernible which grew to brilliant maturity in the works of Raffaele. Divinity is represented in a becoming manner, while the simple grace and angelic beauty of his virgins and heavenly ministers, the noble and severe character of his patriarchs, and in one word the whole variety of his physiognomies are all exceedingly appropriate and true to nature. In design he is easy, though not without force. The proportions of his figures are elegant, their postures are noble and graceful, and their movements are just and expressive. His draperies are large, and adjusted with taste. His colouring often possesses vigour and brightness, and his tints are skilfully managed. Gozzoli may be considered the precursor of Raffaele. The pictures of this artist at Campo-Santo are twenty-three in number, occupying in two rows a space of three hundred and twenty-four feet, with the exception of five pictures by other artists. It is scarcely possible to believe, although tradition and historical evidence agree upon the fact, that these pictures commenced in 1484, were completed in the space of two years, a most terrible enterprize, fit, as Vasari says, to frighten a whole legion



CRYPTO-PORTICUS

of painters, when one takes into account the time absolutely necessary for subsisting the bodily powers only, still more above the capacity of one man, whatever might be his active facility. We can only account for the fact, by supposing that Benozzo was assisted by his pupils.

Many of these pictures are almost entirely destroyed. Some of them have been retouched, and the rapid approaches of the destruction which threatens those in the best state of preservation are visible. They are daily falling in portions from the walls. An ingenious engraver, who has been employed in preserving these specimens of art to after times, has had the chagrin of frequently seeing fragments of figures crumbling before his eyes, which he was just about to copy. It has been remarked with surprise, that under the stucco, which is pretty thick, and on the wall which is exposed by the falling of the mortar, the painters appear to have traced the outline of their composition in a red tint, and that this sketch, very wonderfully, has a perfect correspondence with the contours of the painting executed on the stucco, although the plaister must have completely concealed the first labour!

The pictures of Rondinosi, a Pisan artist, painted about 1666, follow those of Gozzoli. As we gaze on them we involuntarily repeat the verse of Dante:—

Non favellar di lor ma guarda e passa.

The chapel at the bottom of the Campo-Santo, which is surmounted by a cupola, was erected by the Archbishop Carlo-Antonio del Pozzo, and was consecrated in 1593.

Over the altar is seen a picture by Aurelio Lomi, painted in 1595, which represents St. Jerome with a pair of spectacles on his nose. This anacronism is common with several painters, ignorant that spectacles were not invented till the twelfth century.

Andrea Orcagna, or Orcagna, was a sculptor, a painter, and a poet, and a great admirer of Dante. His picture of the Last Judgment, though filled with a prodigious number of figures, is yet very simple in the distribution of the various groups, and very clear in the exposition of the subject. Scarcely was this picture finished, when Orcagna was recalled to Florence to execute some work of sculpture. He entrusted to his brother Bernardo the continuation of the subject, perhaps after his own sketches:—the subject was Hell, *alla Dantesca*, or in the manner of Dante.

The prince of Italian poetry made such an impression on the spirit of his cotemporaries by his poem, that the painters knew not how to represent Paradise or Hell, except in the shape which the great poet had given them. Giotto painted,

about 1306, these subjects in the church dell' *Arena* at Padua ; and it is said that Dante, then in that city, used to watch him at work and suggest ideas to him. The same imitations appear to run through all the paintings of this period, both Italian and German. The picture in the Campo-Santo is evidently painted after the Hell of Dante. The painter however has exaggerated the ideas of the poet, and there is no extravagance which he has not permitted himself to use in expressing the torments which the infernal ministers inflict on the damned — *Tutti son pien di spirti maladetti, e di serpenti di diversa mena*. But I have no room for further description.

The travellers who generally visit Italy, and whose principal aim is the examination of the monuments of antiquity, or of those objects of art which adorn the principal cities of this country, have neither leisure nor desire to wander out of the well-beaten track in order to visit places which are not well known, or which they fear would not repay their trouble. Of this number are the convents dispersed amongst the Apennines, which are scarcely known even to the pilgrims, naturalists, and landscape-painters. To the latter the rugged situation of the convent of Vallombrosa presents the finest contrasts with the pleasant scites of the rest of Tuscany.

The mountains of the Apennines, though less lofty than the Alps, are yet covered with snow the greatest part of the year ; and the forests which shade these summits are the asylum of perpetual freshness. One cannot therefore traverse them with pleasure unless during the summer. It was at the end of that season, and in the hope of finding some new food for study, that I undertook this little journey with a skilful French artist. We were furnished with letters of recommendation to the superior of the convent of Vallombrosa, and with the necessary permission to prolong our stay after the usual time allotted to ordinary travellers or pilgrims. We were also particularly acquainted with one of the monks, a zealous friend of the arts and artists.

On leaving Florence we followed the banks of the Arno, pursuing the course of the stream for several leagues. This road, which winds through the fruitful Val d'Arno, is sheltered with poplars and aspin trees, around whose trunks the vines cling, throwing their arms from one tree to another, and tying them together with garlands loaded with fruit. The casinos and farm-houses, built on the side of the mountain, display specimens of elegant architecture, and embellish the country. The Florentines resort to these pleasant retreats to enjoy all the delights of the finest part of the season, to inhale the freshness of the dells revived by a

thousand springs, and to breathe the scented air which pours from the orange and lemon-trees. This part of the country is well peopled, and we met troops of peasants who were bending their steps towards the churches and oratories, which are scattered in great numbers throughout this territory.

The festival days which one sees here almost transport one to Fairy Land. The sumptuary laws of Leopold have only been acted upon in the towns; and to behold the elegance of the villagers one would really think that luxury had fled into the country. Every young girl on her marriage brings as her dowry three complete habits of silk of various colours. Their little petticoats of rose-coloured or azure silk display a beautiful foot and an ankle bound with a knot of ribbands; the sleeves of their corsets are tied up with many little bows of roses, and their hair, separated into tresses, flows under a yellow or black straw bonnet, bordered with ribbands, and ornamented with a bouquet of flowers.

In proportion as we approached nearer to the mountains the casinos and the farm-houses became more thinly scattered. We left the beasts that carried our luggage at a little village which lay at the foot of the rocks, which seemed in a manner to form the base of the chain of Apennines, and which horses could not ascend without great difficulty. By this means we gained a greater power of leisurely observing the picturesque features of these mountains. A steep path-way which followed the windings of the ground led us to the first summit, where we found a forest of chesnut-trees.

It was not until we had surmounted many of the crests of the mountains that we discovered the immense forest of firs, by which the convent is environed, and which forms a dark green curtain in which the summits of this part of the Apennines are hidden. Up to this moment we have experienced, in its full power, the ardour of an Italian sun. Our guide advised us to stop when we reached the chain of woods, whose frigid and dangerous influence we now began to feel. In fact, when you enter these venerable and almost interminable forests, a sudden cold pierces you, and you almost imagine yourself transported to the solitary and humid vallies of Switzerland. The firs seem all equally old, and planted in a regular quincunx shape. The multitude of trunks shuts out all light from around you; the foliage growing thicker as it ascends forms above your head a vaulted roof, impenetrable to the rays of the sun. There are no traces of vegetation on the ground, which is covered with a collection of withered leaves and branches, so deep that the successive accumulation forms a bed

which does not retain even the print of the passenger's foot.

Indeed all things perish under the shadow of the fir trees, which may be classed with those parasitic plants which absorb the juices of the earth, to the destruction of all neighbouring vegetables. This quality, however, causes neither expense to the cultivator of the land, nor injury to the proprietor; since it is the means of destroying many noxious plants, for the sake of that nourishment which supported them. Attached to the soil of its birth, this tree flourishes in the place where its predecessor perished; unlike most trees, which, having absorbed the richness of the earth, leave nothing to their successors but an impoverished soil, incapable of affording them nourishment.

When the monastery first breaks upon the sight, it forms an imposing contrast to the wild and savage forms which surround it, and presents, in the length of its edifices, almost the appearance of a city. A square tower, rising above the other buildings, and furnished with a clock, the sounds of which alone break the solemn stillness of the air, was the only thing which bore signs of the monastery being inhabited; for as yet we had not encountered a single mortal since our entrance into the forest. We were only disturbed by the noise of the wind, which beat against the branches; and I do not believe we saw, amid the depths of these shades, any other living creatures than the troops of squirrels which lived on the fruits of the fir trees. On arriving before the monastery, the grass plots, the immense courts, were all deserted and solitary; and it was not until we had rung for a considerable time at an iron grating, that we were attended to, and at last introduced into the hall which is set apart for the reception of strangers.

The monks were at church; but the Father P——, who waited on us, received us with great attention, and led us to some very pleasant cells, where nothing that could be useful or agreeable to the tired and rejoicing traveller was forgotten.

He wakened us on the following morning, and reminded us that it was proper we should return thanks to Heaven for the happy termination of our journey.—These good monks, of whom very few have ever been absent from their convent for years, consider a walk of eighteen miles a very long journey; and, although they seem totally to have renounced the world, they yet eagerly questioned us respecting what was passing there.

Father P—— did the honours of the convent in a most pleasing manner; he was our *Cicerone*, and our guide in all our picturesque excursions. I cannot describe in detail the various edifices which compose this immense building. The

walls which surround the monastery are sufficiently lofty to protect it from any sudden surprise; but the monks have nothing to dread from the inhabitants of the country, to whom they have proved themselves the kindest benefactors.

We have been shown all their treasures of rich relics and other ancient works; and, amongst other pictures of the fourteenth century, we have discovered two fine heads of *Massaccio*. The cabinet of natural history contains a collection of petrifications of different kinds, amongst which are some fossil bones and teeth of the elephant, found in *Val-d'Arno* and the *Val-di-Nievole*.

In the neighbourhood of the convent there is a hermitage called *Paradisino*, situated, like the nest of an eagle, on the summit of an isolated rock. The objects by which it is surrounded, and, above all, the mountains which environ it, are of so gigantic a character, that the building itself seems only like a small ruin detached from an immense mass. A headlong torrent rushes down the steep sides of the rock, threatening it with destruction.—To reach *Paradisino* you pass over a bridge thrown across the torrent, and at the extremity of which you find a chapel. A large avenue of firs, planted on the steep declivity, shade a paved road, which is passable even by carriages; soon afterwards, however, you arrive at a pathway constructed with much labour and art, which follows the sinuosities of the land, and winds in a spiral shape round the rock. The path is sometimes only separated from the precipice, which yawns beneath it by a barrier formed of the interlaced branches of young trees; and, notwithstanding this safeguard, the bellowing of the cascade, and the rapidity and shock of its waters, from which a thin humid vapour rises, astound the ears of the passenger, and fill his heart with a sentiment very like terror.

When you arrive on the terrace of *Paradisino*, you imagine yourself transported to another world, and your charmed eye stretches over the wide prospect.—The opening of the valley serves as a frame for the most picturesque beauties of all kinds. The foreground is filled with hanging rocks, through which dash fierce torrents; some fallen trees offer a temporary obstruction, but the waters soon loose themselves in the deep obscurity of the forests, which stretch to the borders of the valley where the towers of the abbey burst upon the view.

On the other side the aspect of the country is changed.—It is less wild, and, although mountainous throughout, there are more signs of cultivation.—It is traversed by streams bordered with rural edifices and intermingled with wood. Further on, stretches a vast plain, and a rich tract of country, watered by a majestic river, on the banks of which rise the temples, the

palaces, and the towers of Florence; and the landscape is closed with the mountains of Lucca and the sea of Tuscany.

Evening is the time for enjoying this sublime prospect. At the moment when the sun approaches the horizon, the sea seems all on fire; an inflamed vapour marks out the different ranges of mountains; while the deep vallies are already in dimness, adding by their sombre verdure to the effect of the picture.

As soon as we arrived at the gate of Paradisino, we rung the bell; and the hermit, opening the gate of that part of the building which he inhabited, admitted us.—He lighted a fire by which we might dry ourselves, and offered us some of his humble provisions, which hunger, excited by violent exercise, rendered extremely palatable to us.

This man, though now very old, appeared still endowed with prodigious force and energy.—His white bristly hair, his immense beard, his aquiline nose, his fiery eye, sparkling under a thick eye-brow; in short, his whole physiognomy, gave him more the appearance of a satyr than an anchorite.

It was not without trouble that we could prevail on him to suffer his portrait to be taken; at length, however, he consented, and seated in his usual position, with his body a little bent, and his hands crossed on his beads, his countenance assumed that expression of calmness and reflexion which becomes a repentant sinner. The conversation soon afterwards falling on the wars which desolated the north of Italy, the face of the hermit was touched with a character of fierceness, and his features were changed to those of an animated warrior; by degrees his eyes began to sparkle, and almost to strike fire, and we soon recognized under the hermit's cowl, the outlaw at whose name Italy had formerly trembled. "Why," cried he, fiercely, "why have I renounced the world, whilst my country is menaced with invasion? At the voice of Fornacciaio many a brave fellow would rush forward to shake off the yoke." He accompanied these words with some very strong imprecations, then all at once casting himself on his knees, he besought pardon of God for this burst of earthly passion, and lay for a long time prostrate on the ground.

We endeavoured to restore him to calmness, and telling him how his words had excited our curiosity, he consented out of pure humility to relate to us the history of his crimes and of his repentance.

The name of Francesco Fornacciaio is well known throughout all Italy, and more especially in Lombardy, where it is still the terror of the children—the latter country was the theatre of the many bold and open robberies of this man, who was the Captain of a disciplined troop of banditti: he took

possession of a castle, which he converted into his retreat there, after overrunning the country with his band, he returned to divide the fruits of successful violence.

The situation of the castle, fortified by nature, protected them for a long time from the terrors of justice, and it was at last found necessary to besiege it with cannon and regular troops, to dislodge the robbers, of whom a great number were surprised. Fornacciaio escaped almost alone, but a price was immediately set on his head; he wandered about a long time oppressed with fear and remorse, until at last he voluntarily surrendered himself into the hands of justice, and experiencing the clemency of the Pontiff, in consideration of his repentance he was absolved from his crimes: from this moment he took the resolution of devoting himself to the life of a hermit, and entreated permission to bury himself in the solitudes of the Apennines.

For many years he lived an austere penitent in a damp grotto; at length he was with difficulty prevailed upon to transfer his habitation to the hermitage of Vallombrosa, his perseverance in this course being esteemed a proof of his harmlessness.

One of the most singular circumstances in the life of this man was related to us by the Prior of the convent; Fornacciaio had passed it over in silence and humility.—Being in the neighbourhood of Sinigaglia, the Governor of the Castle, who wished to gratify his private revenge, cast his eyes on this man, as a person whose intrepidity and hardy enterprize rendered him well adapted for his purpose. He sent for him to hear his proposal, on the execution of which he promised him a pardon, and an oblivion of all his crimes, and moreover a safe conduct. Fornacciaio, without hesitation, accepted the safe conduct and waited on his employer; at his approach the gates opened, but they shut on him as he entered; he betrayed no fear, however, but was presented to the Governor, who took him aside, and made him acquainted with the murderous designs, which were to be the price of the pardon. Fornacciaio answered with indignation, “Do you take me for a vile assassin? Know that I have never killed any one, but in fair combat face to face, and I would not though it should save my head, commit in cold blood so cowardly and guilty a deed.” The Governor then threatened to arrest him, but the robber reminding him of his promise of safe conduct, and drawing two pistols from underneath his mantle, swore that if he called for assistance he would take his life, and then sell his own as dearly as possible. The Governor, trembling gave him permission to retire, but Fornacciaio obliged him to unfasten

the doors himself, and to accompany him out of the castle gates.*

I cannot quit this country without giving some account of an excursion, which we made to the most elevated summit of this part of the Apennines.

We remarked, what a celebrated Tuscan naturalist had already observed in other parts of Italy, that about half way up the mountains the woods of chesnut and fir trees disappear, and nothing is found on the summit but immense beech trees, which with firs are the primitive and indigenous trees of the mountains of Tuscany; one perceives as the ground rises a gradual diminution in the size of the trees: on the sides of the mountains of great magnitude as they approach the summit they become rough and tufted, and bear fruit in great abundance.

From the summit, (which is covered with a very fine herbage, or rather with a thick moss, and extremely slippery,) one of the most elevated of the Apennines, we took a survey of all Tuscany; it was spread like a vast map beneath our eyes, where we could distinguish all the ramifications of the mountains which separated the provinces into vallies; the streams spread over the land like threads of silver; the towns and villages seemed like accumulations of grains of sand, and the city of Florence, notwithstanding all its colossal monuments, seemed only like a single point in this immense plain; in the west the Mediterranean distinctly bordered the horizon; on the opposite side the Adriatic flowed.

I shall not attempt to describe the various scites, which furnished us with numerous subjects for our pictures during the remainder of our stay at Vallombrosa. Every day we made fresh discoveries of this kind, while the varied scenes which this wild country presented, and the peaceable and quiet life which we there led amid solitudes which invited us to study, prevented us from feeling any lassitude.

I have, I doubt not, forgotten a number of objects which well merited description, and this account will convey but a feeble idea of Vallombrosa; it may, however, serve to excite in the minds of artists a desire of visiting this ancient monastery, and they will not repent of their pilgrimage.

THE END.

* Some time after our visit, the hermit was found dead at the return of spring. If we may believe public report, this man, although reclaimed from many of his ancient errors, still nourished a vice which the rigour of the cold to which he was sometimes exposed in winter rendered somewhat excusable. The unlimited use of strong liquors is said to have produced a spontaneous combustion, which consumed his body without burning his cloaths. The common people, always fond of the marvellous, attributed this death to the divine vengeance.

America (I.C.)

VOYAGE

TO

BUENOS AYRES,

PERFORMED

IN THE YEARS 1817 AND 1818,

BY ORDER OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT,

By H. M. BRACKENRIDGE, Esq.

SECRETARY TO THE MISSION.



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1820.

ADVERTISEMENT

THE Public Interest excited by the political state and social prospects of South America, rendering every account of those countries in a peculiar degree interesting, the Editor of this Journal has availed himself of the late mission from the United States to the Provinces of LA PLATA, and here introduces to his reader the narrative part of the published details of Mr. Brackenridge.

That gentleman has presented to the world two luminous volumes on the subject of South America, in which many valuable disquisitions, historical and political, have been mixed with his personal adventures and local observations,—but, in the pages which follow, the former have been rejected, and only the latter preserved.

The selection has been made with reference to the objects and character of this Journal, for Mr. Brackenridge is on all subjects worthy of attention; and we can recommend his entire work, which has been handsomely reprinted in London, to the attention of every enlightened political enquirer.

The present Number completes the **THIRD VOLUME** of this series, and we feel it our duty to acknowledge the liberal support with which the monthly numbers and half-yearly volumes have been honoured; and to add, that our persevering exertions shall be continued, to maintain the interest and character of the work.

Altho' it has been found necessary to raise the price of the Numbers to 3s. 6d., to enable us to do justice to the valuable and splendid works which we are called upon to present to the public, yet the volumes of six Numbers will be sold at a guinea, in elegant half-binding.

August 1820.

INTRODUCTION.

PERHAPS no sovereigns ever possessed an empire of such vast extent and importance as that of the kings of Spain in America. The South American continent alone, when considered with relation to its capacities and future destinies, is probably *equal to all the rest of the habitable globe*. Its geographical surface is less, indeed, than that of Africa, but when we consider how small a part of that continent is capable of sustaining human life, how bad its climate, and how deficient in rivers, the veins and arteries of the earth, it sinks in the scale far below the new world. Of Europe, much is given up to excessive cold; and of Asia, immense portions are barren and uninhabitable.

The position of South America, as relates to the United States, to Europe, Africa, and Asia, holds out the most singular advantages for commerce. When the commerce of the east comes to receive that direction which seems to be pointed out by nature, through the Carribean sea and the gulf of Mexico, America will then be the acknowledged centre of the earth.

Spanish America is distributed into four viceroyalties; New Spain, New Grenada, Peru, and Rio de la Plata; and into the captain-generalships of Yukatan, Guatemala, Venezuela, Chili, and Cuba. The islands belonging to, or claimed by Spain, are Cuba, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and St. Andrews. In the Pacific, she possesses the Archipelago of Chiloe, and the island of Juan Fernandez, with some others on the coast of Chili. With the exception of Peru, (sometimes called Lima from its capital), *all Spanish America has been the theatre of revolutionary struggles, or is now actually in possession of the patriots*. The viceroyalty of Grenada, a territory more extensive than our old thirteen states, was for several years the scene of a bloody contest for independence. The incidents of this contest in the provinces of Carthagena, Santa Martha, Choco, Popayan, and Quito, are familiar to most readers. The blaze has subsided, but the fire is not yet extinguished, nor will be, until there cease to be any combustible materials. The incidents of the war in Venezuela, are also tolerably well-

known ; but, excepting in the island of Margarita, the contest still rages. On the plains of Calabozo and Caraccas, the bloody and exterminating war, it is feared, will not soon be brought to a close. It is only in the viceroyalty of La Plata, that the progress of independence has been firm and sure. It is true, this mighty cause has been desperately contested in the rugged mountains of the provinces on the heads of the Paraguay and Amazon ; the theatre on which La Plata has been struggling for liberty, with various success, for the last eight years. Chili, in close alliance with this republic, may bid defiance to Spain ; without this, if we may judge from the past, the question is doubtful. The only viceroyalty of South America which has remained quiet from the beginning of the contest, is Peru ; the most feeble, and with the exception of its mineral wealth, the least important of them all.

In the physical configuration of America, there are many interesting peculiarities. The great traveller Humboldt has exhibited the principal of these, in the works already published by him ; in those which he is still preparing for the press, the magnificent outline will be filled up. The most striking features of the new world, constituting the principal difference between it and the other quarters of the globe, are its *mountains and rivers*. The chain of the Andes is undoubtedly the longest in the world, traversing both North and South America, and in some points, (unless we except the mountains of Thibet), the most elevated. Beyond the isthmus these mountains separate, and traverse the continent in three distinct chains or ridges. The first is the Cordilleras, which runs along the Pacific, and is, in fact, a continuation of the rocky mountains of North America. The second is the chain which branches from the Cordillera in the province of Quito, passes through New Grenada towards the Atlantic, and pursuing a course nearly parallel, is interrupted by the Oronoko, re-appears in Guyana, and approaches the Amazon, when it is in like manner broken by the immense valley of this river. It afterwards shews itself in Brazil, traversing it in the whole extent, again subsiding in the highlands of Maldonado, near La Plata. The third chain, called the Eastern Cordillera of Peru, runs towards the Tropics, whence it takes an inclined direction, and terminates in the south-east, in the plains of the Grand Chaco. There are, besides, a number of interior chains, particularly those which separate the vallies of the great rivers of Brazil. From the eastern ridges, there is a gradual slope to the interior, while on the coast their ascent is abrupt and steep. Their elevation is considerably less than the Cordillera or Andes, and they are more irregular and broken. The vast tract of country which

stretches along the heads of the Amazon and La Plata, upwards of three thousand miles in length, and probably more than three hundred in breadth, is one of the most rugged and mountainous on the globe; it is a continued succession of deep vallies, of various dimensions, enclosed by mountains whose summits, in general, are covered with perpetual snows. In the northern part, there are plains of such elevation as to afford all the advantages of the most temperate and delightful climates; to the south, the vallies are in general lower, and although extremely fertile, are more hot.

The coast of the Atlantic differs, in several very important particulars, from that of the Pacific. Being in general bold and rocky, and having the estuaries of the great rivers, it affords a number of the finest harbours in the world. The coast of Brazil especially, a length of three thousand miles, is highly favoured in this particular. La Plata forms an exception, and it is probable that there are no very good harbours south of that river. The whole extent of this coast is highly fertile, and capable of sustaining the most crowded population. The coast of the Pacific, on the opposite side of the continent, is, with some interruptions, sterile and dreary; and as it never rains over a great proportion of it, there are considerable tracts as barren as the deserts of Arabia. These almost entirely interrupt the land-communication between Lima and Chili, and even form considerable obstacles to the intercourse between the different districts of the vice-royalty. It is somewhat surprising, that the African camel has never been introduced for the purpose of travelling over these sandy plains, although in use in Mexico. The communication between different places on the Pacific, is therefore carried on by water; but there is great difference between the voyage north, and that to the south; the latter having to encounter adverse wind and current. Although the coast of the Pacific is not so well furnished with commodious harbours as that of Brazil and Terra Firma, there are a number which possess considerable advantages. It is remarkable, that the same difficulties exist in the internal communication between different places on the opposite sides of the continent, but for different reasons; on the Atlantic, the extraordinary mass of vegetation, which covers the ground, opposes the most serious obstacle to the opening of roads; obstacles that in this country we can scarcely conceive; the thickest cane-breaks in the southern parts of the United States are trifling impediments compared to them; besides, the facilities of navigation on that delightful coast, where dangers by sea are almost unknown, take away all inducements to any extraordinary labor in making highways. Between the two great

cities of St. Salvador and Rio Janeiro, there is no land-communication, and much of the intermediate space is occupied by ferocious and unsubdued Indians.

To make amends for the difficulties of internal intercourse by land, there is no part of the world which possesses such a number of fine navigable rivers as South America. An elegant writer has observed, "that of all the portions of the globe, America is that which is best watered;" there are at least fifty rivers, as large as the Rhine or Danube, whose names are scarcely known, even to those who may be considered as well-informed respecting South America. These, at some future day, will afford the means of carrying on an internal trade, compared to which that of China, so much boasted, will appear insignificant. Those mighty rivers the Magdalena, Oronoko, the Amazon, the Plata, and their hundred arms, stretching in every direction over the continent, will afford facilities of intercourse between the remotest regions.

The points at which the two oceans may be connected, have given rise to frequent speculation; I shall probably, in the course of this work, make some observations on the subject; at present, I will only remark, that from every thing I have been able to learn, the most eligible is that from Guasacualco Tehuantepec. Should this isthmus become the connecting point, it will be a subject of great interest to the United States. New Orleans or Havanna will then probably be the great mart of the East India trade. From the Balize a steam-boat would run down in a few days to Guasacualco; and, at farthest, two days would suffice for the transportation of merchandize to the Pacific. By this means, a direct intercourse would be established, between Europe and the United States, with the countries on the Western ocean. The introduction of steam-boats on this coast, as well as on that of Brazil, and in the Carribean sea, will no doubt follow in the course of improvement, and will effect the most singular changes in human affairs. Great difficulties oppose the passage across the Isthmus of Darien or Panama; a proof of which is, that Spain, instead of sending troops to Lima in this direction, prefers the circuitous voyage round Cape Horn. It is true, however, that a very considerable trade has always been kept up between Porto Bello and Panama, notwithstanding the ruggedness of the passage. But the important trade of Spain with the East Indies has been carried on from Acapulco, the only good port of New Spain; while the products of Lima and Guayaquil have been transported across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. In the hands of an enterprising nation, this wonderful country would be found to possess facilities of communication approximating remote

parts, which at present can scarcely be imagined ; at the same time, that there exists the most extraordinary advantages for defence, when it should require the interruption of that intercourse. At present, the inhabitants north of the Orinoko, on account of the uninhabitable wilderness of Amazonia, have no direct communication with the provinces on the Plata ; they are almost as completely separated as if they were on opposite sides of the ocean. The eastern ridges of the Andes oppose a barrier scarcely less formidable.

Humboldt has remarked, that in no part of the world is the population so unequally distributed as in Spanish America. This principally arises from the circumstance of the Spaniards occupying the same seats, with the half-civilized Aborigines whom they subdued. In Mexico, in the kingdom of the Incas in Peru, and of the Zaca of St. Fee de Bogota, the population was very considerable, and in a state of civilization not much below that of the East Indies. In these countries the Indians still constitute the great mass of population ; the lower class are an indolent harmless peasantry, and, in the comforts of civilized life, probably not below the boors of Russia, or even the peasantry of Poland or Hungary. By a long and systematic course of oppression, they have become spiritless and submissive, although on a few occasions, when roused by chiefs of their own origin, whom they venerate, they have manifested acts of great desperation ; as in the instance of the insurrection of Tupac Amaru, which broke out in the year 1783, in the upper provinces of La Plata.

There have even appeared among the Indians, men distinguished for their literary attainments ; Garcillasco and Torquemada, two of the best historians of the new world, were of the Aboriginal race ; one a descendant of the Incas, the other a citizen of the republic Tlascala, who availed himself of the Roman alphabet, forty years after the conquest, to write a history of the important events which had taken place. The preceptor of the celebrated astronomer Velasques, was a Mexican Indian. In the universities of Lima and Mexico, there are professorships of the native languages, into which several works have been translated. Tupac Amaru was a well educated and accomplished gentleman ; he was driven to desperation, in consequence of his unavailing efforts to obtain some alleviation in the treatment of the common people, the descendants of those who had been the subjects of his ancestors. The lower class of the Spaniards think themselves superior to the Indian peasantry ; but there is little or no distinction between the higher classes of mixed blood, and the American Spaniards. In fact, in all parts of South America, with the exception of

Caraccas, Chili, and the Provincias Internas, the American Spaniard contains more or less mixture with the native races.

The American Spaniards are next in point of numbers, but they are much more important, in consequence of their possessing greater privileges, better education, and more general wealth. Although they are the great landholders of the country, their influence is less than it might be, on account of their careful exclusion from participation in the government; it being the policy of Spain, to keep them in a state of idleness and vice, as the surest means of retaining her sway in these distant countries; they have, therefore, been deprived of nearly all those incentives which tend to elevate the character of a people.

Perhaps, the most remarkable and peculiar class of population in Spanish America, are the herdsmen, or shepherds, who are met with chiefly in New Spain, in Venezuela, and on the La Plata. There is probably a considerable resemblance between the shepherds of these different districts, separated by such vast distances, but where the habits of life are much alike. These men, who have made a retrograde step from civilization, are every where represented as possessing powerful and athletic frames, and bold independent minds, but extremely rude and uninformed. If there be any difference in the herdsmen inhabiting the countries just mentioned, I am inclined to think that those of La Plata are more savage and ferocious; which may arise from their leading a more solitary life, and having fewer of the comforts of civilization.

The proportion of negroes in Spanish America was by no means great, excepting in Caraccas and the islands. In Peru, there was a much greater number than in Mexico; but from the privileges they enjoyed, it is evident that their condition was not severe. In Mexico there was no necessity for the introduction of slaves, in consequence of the great number of Indian labourers, and the cheapness of labour; these people, who were in a low state even under their own kings, were studiously kept in the lowest degradation by their new masters. While the kings of Spain were desirous of elevating them to the rank of subjects; for it seems that they were sunk too low in the scale of beings, even in the eyes of the European sovereign.

A
VOYAGE
TO
BUENOS AYRES.

CHAPTER I.

*Voyage from Norfolk to Rio Janeiro—Description of Rio—
Coronation—General Description of Brazil.*

THE civil war, which continues to rage between Spain and the different provinces of South America, had long attracted the attention of the people of the United States. Whatever our wishes might be, it became us to maintain a perfect neutrality between the contending parties. The ability manifested by the South Americans to maintain the contest, the important successes obtained by them, the declining state of the Spanish resources, and the probable termination of the contest, in the independence of South America, rendered it necessary that preparations should be made for the establishment of peace and amity with the new states, in case their struggle should be ultimately crowned with success. This, and other motives, induced the president to send a friendly mission to the different governments of South America, to give them assurances of our determination to maintain a perfect neutrality in the contest, considering them as engaged in a civil war with the king of Spain, and therefore on a footing of equality as to neutral rights. With a view also of ascertaining the kind of relations it might be proper hereafter to establish with the South American states, or for the purpose of regulating our present intercourse, it was desirable to obtain the best information as to their character and resources. The objects of the mission are thus stated by the president, in his message to Congress: "To obtain correct information on every subject, in which the United States are interested; to inspire just sentiments in all persons in authority, on either side, of our friendly disposition,

so far as it may comport with an impartial neutrality ; and to secure proper respect to our commerce in every port, and from every flag, it has been thought proper to send a ship of war with three distinguished citizens, along the southern coast, with instructions to touch at such ports as they may find most expedient for these purposes. With the existing authorities, with those in the possession of, and exercising the sovereignty, must the communication be held ; from them alone can redress for past injuries, committed by persons acting under them, be obtained ; by them alone can the commission of the like, in future, be prevented."

The mission was composed of the following gentlemen, Cæsar A. Rodney, John Graham, and Theodorick Bland, commissioners, and H. M. Brackenridge, secretary. William T. Reed, and Thomas Rodney, (son of the commissioner,) accompanied the mission. The commissioners arrived at Norfolk, in the steam-boat, on the 28th of November, 1817, where the frigate Congress, commanded by Commodore Arthur Sinclair, who had been selected for this purpose, was ready to receive them on-board. Owing to some delay in transmitting the orders for sailing, the mission did not embark until the 3d of December. In the mean time, we were treated with every mark of attention and civility by the people of Norfolk, who do not yield to the rest of Virginia in that elegant hospitality for which the state is justly celebrated. The difference in the climate between this place and Baltimore is very sensible. We had just escaped the skirts of winter ; the warmth of the sun, the softness of the air, and the appearance of vegetation, seemed to carry us back to the middle of autumn—that season, which may be styled the *glory of the American skies*.

On the 4th, the Congress weighed anchor and put to sea. Commodore Sinclair had taken pains to render our accommodations as comfortable as possible for a long and tedious voyage. It is very certain, that the voyage could not be made under more agreeable circumstances ; in a noble frigate, manned by an excellent crew, and commanded by officers of experience and skill. There were several lieutenants, and a number of midshipmen on-board, beyond the usual complement ; the voyage being considered an interesting one, it was a desirable object among the naval gentlemen to engage in it. To me, the little world to which I found myself transferred, continually presented a thousand objects to instruct and amuse. The order and cleanliness which prevailed in every part of the vessel, excited my admiration ; every thing seemed to move like clock-work, and although there were four hundred souls on-board, we appeared to be no way crowded or encumbered.

Every pains were taken by the commander, to preserve the health of his crew; in having to cross both tropics and the equinoctial line, no precautions could be thought superfluous. There was but one circumstance calculated in any way to lessen the satisfaction felt by every one at the auspicious commencement of the voyage; the term of enlistment of the greater part of the crew, would probably expire before the voyage could be completed; the consequence to be feared would be, at the least, a discontent, and a want of inclination to the performance of their duty. The commodore, aware of difficulties which had arisen under similar circumstances, mustered all hands on the evening previous to our sailing; gave them a short address; in which he told them, that the cruise they were about to make, would be in a mild and delightful climate, where they would escape the northern winter; that their return might possibly be delayed a few months longer than their term of service, but that this would be more than compensated by the agreeableness of the cruise; that they would be no losers even if they were disposed to enter into the merchant-service, as seamen's wages were at this time extremely low; he concluded by promising them every reasonable indulgence at the places at which he should touch. The address was received with three cheers, and each one seemed to repair to his duty with alacrity.

We steered from the capes on an east-half-south course with a leading wind, the weather cold and unpleasant. The entrance into the gulf-stream is easily ascertained by the difference of temperature between the air and water. On soundings about fifty-five miles east of Cape Henry, the air was forty degrees of Farenheit, while the water was fifty-nine degrees. The air soon afterwards rose to forty-three, and the water suddenly to sixty-eight. The air then continued to vary from forty to forty-five, and the water from seventy-two to seventy-five until we had run upon the same course, the wind at north-west, eighty-seven miles; when the water fell to seventy-one, and continued between that and sixty-eight, until the air rose to the same temperature. "Thus," says commodore Sinclare, "I computed the distance of the gulf-stream, east from Cape Henry, to be about one hundred and twenty miles, and the body of it in the same direction about ninety miles across, but in steering east there is no doubt that the influence of the stream is felt for several hundred miles; as from Cape Hatteras, where the gulf alters its north-east to an easterly direction, to the latitude of Cape Henry, it inclines as much off as east-north-east, and expands its width as it loses its strength." During winter there are continual vapors, arising from the

VOYAGES and TRAVELS, No. 6. Vol. III. C

troubled waters of the gulf-stream; the atmosphere appears dark and heavy, and the sea looks wild and frightful. The effect of this immense river of warm water flowing directly in front of our continent, must necessarily be very great on the American climate. May not this be one of the causes of those sudden changes in the temperature of which we hear so many complaints?

Nothing material occurred until the 17th, when, about latitude twenty-nine degrees thirty minutes, a severe gale set in, which lasted forty-eight hours. Storms have been described by so many writers, and so much better than I can describe this one, that I think it unnecessary to say any thing further than that the descriptions are much more agreeable than the reality. The spectacle was indeed sublime, but it is probable I should have enjoyed it more, if there had been less of the terrific. The ship was stripped of her sails, excepting her main-top sail, which was close-reefed, and her storm stay-sail; her top-gallant masts and her principal yards were lowered, her jibboom rigged in, and a variety of other precautions were taken, such as housing the guns and carrying the shot below. The ship was then laid to, and rode out the storm with ease and safety. During this unpleasant time I did not venture on deck, for such was the violence of the wind and the motion of the ship, that it was almost impossible to stand up: even the sailors required the help of ropes stretched along on each side of the ship. The rapidity and order with which every thing was conducted during this time was admirable; there was no noise or bustle among them. Excepting now and then the shrill whistle of the boatswain, nothing was heard but the rushing of the furious element through the shrouds, and the tumbling and roaring of the sea around us. The appearance of the sun and the gradual subsiding of the tempest was a reason of joy to me; but the hardy mariners, accustomed to all weathers, scarcely considered it a circumstance of sufficient importance to produce any alteration in their feelings.

The wind continued baffling, with occasional squalls, and a great deal of rain; and as it continued to hang to the east and north-east, we were delayed in getting our easting until about the 27th. In the latitude of twenty-four degrees north, and longitude thirty-three degrees thirty minutes west, we took a fresh trade from the east. We now fell into the track of vessels bound from Europe to the West Indies. Several of these vessels were spoken by us; one of them had been sixty-three days from Bremen, and was bound to Havanna. The extraordinary length of this passage is to be attributed to the excessive caution of Dutch navigators, who lay-to on the slightest

occasion, and always carry but little sail. The Americans are probably the boldest navigators in the world, and yet are universally admitted to be the most fortunate. A timid precaution in avoiding every visible danger, very often exposes us to still greater dangers which we do not foresee.

On the 2d of January we found ourselves, by the chronometer, within sixty miles of the island of Brava, one of the Cape de Verds. An indication, still more certain, was the great number of birds flying about us, principally the species called the man-of-war bird, which is rarely seen at greater distance than a degree from land. For an account of these islands I must refer the reader to Macartney's Embassy to China. To many persons it is not known why vessels bound to parts of South America beyond the equator, should thus be compelled to stretch over to the coast of Africa, although the subject is very familiar to navigators. On casting the eye upon the map, it will be seen that Cape St. Roque, the most eastern point of South America, projects into the Atlantic as far east as thirty-three or thirty-four degrees west longitude, and thus forms in fact the entrance of a vast gulf, of which that of Mexico is properly nothing more than the bottom, or recess. A powerful north-west current constantly sets into this recess, with which, as well as with the south-east trade-winds, vessels must contend in attempting to double the cape too near the American continent. Vessels happening to be driven too far to the westward, must try to regain the point where they lost the variable winds, so as to enable them to make their easting. Dreadful shipwrecks have been known in consequence of crossing the line too far to the west, and being thus driven on the coast. Here is a great drawback on the intercourse between the United States and the West Indies, with those parts of South America which lie to the windward, especially beyond Cape St. Roque. Navigators do not agree, however, as to the exact point at which the equator should be crossed; for a too near approach to the African coast is equally to be avoided. Instead of the trade-winds, which constantly refresh the shores of the American continent, the opposite coast of Africa is the region of calms, more dreadful than tempests or hurricane. From ten degrees north to the line, and between thirteen and twenty-three degrees west longitude, there is a region of endless calm, but not such as we fancy to ourselves from the meaning of the word; it is a succession of thunder-storms, heavy rains and whirlwinds, with dreadful intermission of close and suffocating heat. To find a middle course is the aim of navigators. Much has been said and written as to the best mode of avoiding this scylla and charybdis, but it is pretty generally agreed, that it

should be crossed between the twenty-seventh and twenty-third degrees of longitude. Commodore Sinclare resolved to take the mean between these two extremes.

We did not gain the regular north-east trade-winds until after passing the islands before mentioned, and we had a great run until we reached the seventh degree of north latitude, when they gradually left us. From the 31st of December until the 5th of January, we made upwards of nine hundred miles; after this a most distressing calm set in, which continued until the 17th of the month. In the mean time, we were drifted by an easterly current nearly two hundred miles; that is, from about twenty-three to nineteen degrees west. This was one of the most disagreeable periods of my life. It appeared as if we had been condemned to perish in this dismal region: a black sea around us, and above us a gloomy sky; dark shapeless clouds continually gathering, as if to contend with the sun, whose fierce vertical rays, occasionally bursting forth, seemed almost to burn.

The arch of the horizon was diminished in a most surprising manner, as if presaging a dreadful storm. The decks were kept wet and continually covered with awning. An expression of despondency was seen in the countenances of all, while the vessel was rolling about on the heavy sullen waves. We were continually watching every quarter of the compass, and endeavouring to catch once more a glimpse of hope from every breath of air, scarcely sufficient to cause the sails to flap against the masts. I called to recollection the celebrated description of a calm at sea, by Marmontel.

We were at length favoured with occasional light winds, which drifted rather than wafted us towards the equator. Commodore Sinclare observes, "Had I been aware of circumstances which occurred, and which were beyond human wisdom to foresee, I am under a belief that I could have shortened my passage fifteen or twenty days. I was in the first instance straining every nerve to gain easting before leaving the variables, which had been found so difficult to effect in the trade-winds. I was driven in longitude forty-three degrees west, as far south as latitude twenty-nine degrees north, when fearing to enter the trades with so little easting, I tacked and stood north, with the wind heavy from east-north-east, and after getting as far north again as latitude thirty-four, I got a heavy gale of wind from north-east, which blew so strong for about forty-eight hours, I could not venture to avail myself of it in steering to the south-east, but was forced to lay-to; whereas, had I been aware of the south-west winds between the trades, which, with a strong easterly current, between latitudes four

degrees and thirty minutes, and one degree thirty minutes north—longitudes twenty-three and nineteen degrees west, which set from two and a half knots the hour to three-quarters of a knot, and from east by north to east-south-east, until it drifted us as much as two hundred miles to the eastward, (by our chronometer) I might have ventured to have entered the trades in longitude forty-three degrees—and saved all the beating I afterwards had, to gain what I thought a prudent longitude to venture out of the variables. I was under the impression that I ought to lose the north-east trade at least as high as twenty-two or twenty-three degrees west, as, from all writers on this subject, you will find that from latitude five degrees north, you get the wind from about south, which gradually, as you approach the line, draws to south-south-east, and after crossing it to south-east, which would force you down to about twenty-seven degrees before you could gain the line, from which point even it is not uncommon for dull-sailing ships to fall in with the Brazil coast too far to the north.”

When nearly under the line we were once more blessed with clear skies, and a fine breeze drawing gradually round to the south-south-east, while pleasure and cheerfulness again lighted up the countenances of every one. The temperature of the air was delightfully refreshing, and when contrasted with the dismal regions we had escaped, it is impossible to describe our satisfaction at the change. We crossed the line in longitude twenty degrees twenty minutes, the breeze continuing to freshen every hour. According to immemorial custom, the usual ceremonies were performed on this important occasion, and were productive of much innocent mirth and gaiety; but an account of particulars would probably afford no entertainment to the reader, as they varied but little from those which have been so repeatedly detailed by voyagers. We had thus far enjoyed excellent health, even the unpleasant calm we had experienced occasioned no sickness among the crew, owing in a great measure to the cleanliness on-board American ships, and the precautions so carefully taken.

Being now fairly in the trades, our course was hardly interrupted for a moment; we had a steady breeze filling all our sails, and a smooth sea. Nothing could be more agreeable than the temperature of the air; the sails required little or no attention, but there was no want of employment in this little busy world. I could not have imagined such a variety of occupations as the seamen were continually engaged in. The officers, not on duty, spent their time in reading and study, while the midshipmen, fifteen or twenty in number, were kept closely to their books. There was no lounging, no idleness,

a thick covering of shrubs and vines, and their summits crowned with palm-trees. They are uninhabited, although some of them are several miles in circumference. The largest vessel may sail with perfect safety between them, as the water is, with scarcely an exception, bold and deep.

Early next morning, the pilot having come on-board, more for the sake of complying with every necessary precaution than because his services were necessary, we passed into the spacious harbour of Rio. The entrance is about a mile wide, and probably the safest and easiest in the world. We passed, on the right, fort Santa Cruz, built upon a shelf of the rock, with several tier of guns, and most formidable in its appearance. Strong works are also erected on the steep rock behind it, from which it is separated by a singular cleft, crossed by a draw-bridge. On the left, under the sugar-loaf, there is another fort, but comparatively of not much consequence; as the best channel lies pretty close to Santa Cruz, vessels generally pass directly under its guns. We passed another small fort just within the harbour. The place is said to be very strongly fortified; it certainly possesses extraordinary natural facilities for this purpose. It was forced about the beginning of the last century by the celebrated French mariner, Dugai Trouin, who took possession of the city, and laid it under contribution; but its fortifications were in consequence greatly improved.

As we entered the harbour, a most magnificent scene opened upon us. The noble basin, scarcely surpassed by any in the world, resembling a large lake rather than a harbour, expanded majestically, bordered by high woody mountains, interspersed with rocky peaks and precipices; their ridges or spurs sloping down to the water's edge, in some places terminating abruptly, in others leaving narrow vallies and a thousand beautiful coves or recesses, with sandy beaches. The ridges or broken grounds, below the mountains, are covered with convents, churches, and beautiful gardens, while the little indents or sandy bays are occupied by elegant country-seats; a great many of them constructed by Portuguese noblemen, since the establishment of the court at this place, or by English merchants, who have grown rich since the opening of trade. A range of much higher mountains is seen to the north-east, probably at least forty or fifty miles distant. The city of Rio Janeiro, or St. Sebastian, is built in one of the coves just mentioned, under the mountain, the houses much crowded together; and independently of the buildings perched on heights, or raised on the neighbouring vallies, it would not possess a very imposing appearance: but the quantity of shipping gave proofs of a busy and active commerce.

The ship was scarcely moored in front of the city, when an officer, dressed in rich uniform, came on-board; and had no sooner set his foot on deck, than he became as familiar as if he had been acquainted with us for twenty years. He spoke very good English, and strutted about, repeating the expression, "d——d fine ship, sir—very fine ship, indeed." He went below with very little ceremony, and required no pressing to refresh himself with a glass of wine. This lively fellow, after cracking his jokes, took the liberty of putting a few queries to the commodore, such as the name of the ship, the length of her voyage, her destination, and her object in touching at this port. Suitable answers having been given to these, he took his departure, expressing great admiration of what he had seen. We learned from him that the Ontario, Captain Biddle, had sailed from this place about a month before our arrival. A few days afterwards, I saw this important personage sitting very soberly in a room in front of the palace, where he is employed, I understand, as a kind of messenger, or in some office to which we have nothing analogous in our country. According to previous arrangement, salutes were fired, first twenty-one guns for the king, which were returned by one of the forts, and afterwards fifteen guns for the admiral, which he returned from his ship, a seventy-four, lying between us and the shore, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. The Portuguese appear to be extremely fond of expending their powder; hardly an hour of the day passed without the sound of cannon in some direction or other.

I felt impatient to set my foot once more on the fixed and stedfast earth, as well as some curiosity to behold this great city, now the capital of the Portuguese empire.* In the afternoon a boat put off for the shore, and some of us took advantage of this opportunity. Our ship lay about half a mile off, and we had to pass the vessels of war, of which the Portuguese have a number of various sizes, but not in the best order, and badly manned. The merchant-vessels lie higher up towards the fortified island, *das Cobras*, on the other side of which is the inner harbour, at present filled with shipping. We discovered several American flags, and from the feelings which they excited in us, I could almost be tempted to say, that *we are the most national people in existence*. The circumstance of our being a solitary republic, and therefore a continual tacit censure on monarchy, perhaps induces us to believe, that kings can have no cordial feeling towards us, and for this reason we cling more closely together. It would be useless to conceal

* Rio Janeiro became the capital of Brazil in the year 1763, Bahia, or San Salvador, being then stripped of that honour.

the truth; every American who goes abroad, has a contempt for royalty and its attendants, and he is only restrained by prudence or good manners from expressing it.

The harbour of New York alone, can bear any comparison to this place, in indications of commercial prosperity. A noble spectacle is exhibited by the number of vessels, a great proportion English, lying at the wharfs, or anchored in the stream. Great numbers of small boats were continually moving about, rigged in a very awkward, clumsy manner, or rowed with a slow and solemn stroke, as if to the tune of *the dead march* in Saul. Among the watermen, a number were Indians; they wore very broad straw-hats, like the Malays, but their physiognomy bore a strong resemblance to the Aborigines of our country. On approaching the queen's stairs, the usual landing-place, we passed a yatch superbly gilt, rigged like a sloop of war, and armed with brass swivels. This childish miniature is kept for the use of the queen, or rather for the sake of pageantry, for I could not learn that it is ever used. Another object excited our disgust; some distance to the left of the stairs, the quay terminates in a prodigious dung-heap, the accumulation of ages from the stables of the city. Possibly, from the extreme fertility of the soil, manure is not required, but one would think that a regard to the police of the city, would require a different disposition to be made of this offensive mass.

A motley collection of people, attracted by curiosity, were lounging about the quay, their looks directed towards the American frigate, as the principal object of their curiosity. I shall not attempt to describe their dress or looks; nothing could be more unlike our countrymen. The English or French fashions do not appear to predominate. Among these people I felt, myself, indeed, a stranger; their countenances made a very unfavourable impression on me, though by no means disposed to judge hastily, for I have been too often taught, by experience, the danger of condemning people by wholesale, merely on account of their looks. The complexions of the middle and lower classes, are generally dark, their features coarse, and their persons in general inclining to corpulency. A number of them were distinguished by ribbons and baubles attached to their button-holes, many wore enormous ill-contrived cocked-hats, and all appeared desirous to distinguish their persons, by the wearing of some badge or uniform. There was no smile of welcome to us in their countenances, but rather repulsive half-scowling glances. A number of them were priests, dressed in loose gowns, and wearing hats as broad as parasols. In front of the palace there is a large open square, at the lower end of which is the king's chapel; on the right, there is an immense unfinished pile, intended as a

monastery, but, on the arrival of the king, a stop was put to any further work on it, as he seemed to think that monks and nuns formed already a sufficient proportion of his subjects. In front of the palace there was a body of infantry constantly on duty, but their arms, with the exception of those who stood sentry, generally stacked; but ever and anon the drum beats, and they fall in. Towards the lower end of the palace, a similar duty is performed by a troop of cavalry, but composed of young men of distinction, as I presumed, from the richness of their uniform and general appearance; they were almost the only good-looking men I saw at Rio, and several of them were uncommonly handsome. Below the landing there is a fountain of fresh water, conveyed hither for the aqueduct, which is constantly surrounded by a crowd of noisy negroes waiting for their turn. I saw about twenty of these miserable wretches chained together by the neck, and each one carrying a bucket of water on his head: they relieved the bodily pain or suffering, by a kind of harsh noise, not unlike that made by a flock of wild geese. I saw others hitched to carts, or carrying burthens, and all screaming in the same style, producing a general effect, of which I can convey no idea.

A part of the square is taken up with some temporary works, preparatory to the coronation or *acclamação*, which we understood was to take place in a few days; the ceremony, it is said, has been thus long delayed, principally on account of the expense. Rows of columns formed of boards, covered with canvass, painted to resemble marble, an obelisk, triumphal arches of the same, and a Grecian temple, supported on pillars of the like durable materials, were the most conspicuous among the preparations for the important event. These fine things were already going to decay, although it is probably not more than a few weeks since they were set up: I saw a part of a splendid entablature literally in rags.

Two American gentlemen who had been at this place some time, in the most friendly manner, offered to become our guides. They first conducted us to a kind of boarding-house, where, together with some other foreigners, they had procured lodgings: for there is no respectable inn or coffee-house in the city. I can scarcely imagine how they contrive to dispense with what in our cities appear so necessary. After reposing ourselves here for a short time, we proceeded to reconnoitre the place. Our walk was extremely unpleasant, through narrow and dirty streets, without side-walks. The houses in general have a mean appearance, with projecting galleries on the second story, which approach so near, that two persons might almost shake hands across the street; probably the ancient

Moorish taste. On account of the great number of old-fashioned chaises, principally drawn by mules, which dashed along without paying much attention to any one, we were constantly exposed to the danger of being run over. Great numbers rode also on stud-horses of a small size, whose tails swept the ground, but a still greater number of both sexes were carried about in a kind of sedan-chair, of a curious construction, and generally ornamented with gilding. The curtains were sometimes drawn aside for the purpose of peeping out. The men who were thus carried along, were generally priests and nobles, as I judged by their costume and decorations; for it is not the practice in this country, to lay aside any insignia of distinction, to be used only on days of ceremony or parade. Nothing surprised me more, than the number of persons I saw in the street with decorations of one kind or other; I could not but think, that in becoming so common, and being so frequently exhibited, they must cease to impart dignity or importance to the wearers. Contrasted with the habits and opinions of our country, where man is by nature a noble and dignified being, this idle and silly display produced in my mind the very reverse of respect.

The town seemed to be crowded with inhabitants of every colour and hue, but the proportion of those, who with us would be called white, was by far the least considerable. The Portuguese are generally of a very dark complexion, but the number of negroes and of the mixed race was such, as to give a different cast in the general appearance of the population, from that of any town I have ever seen. We were frequently met by pairs of lazy lounging soldiers, who, it seems, are constantly walking in the streets, with their bayonets, for the purpose of preventing disturbance; their insolent deportment to the lower classes of people, gave the most certain indications of a despotic government. Where the common soldier thinks himself above the mechanic or artizan, and the officer occupies a rank distinct from, and above the people, civil liberty is scarcely more than a name. In the new part of the city the houses are better constructed, but the best have but an indifferent appearance when compared to those in our cities; they seem also to be constructed on a plan calculated to insure a jealous seclusion from every human eye. We visited the public gardens so particularly described in Macartney's Embassy, but whether it was owing to the season, this being the period of frequent rains, or whether attributable to neglect, we found them in a very different state from that which we had been led to expect. We saw but few people in them, and these not of the most prepossessing appearance. In the shrubs and trees of

the garden, I saw but little to attract my attention, except the coffee-plant which grows here in great perfection, and which was at this time loaded with berries. As to much of what I had seen thus far, I found that my residence in New Orleans had made me acquainted with many objects which a citizen of our middle or northern states, who has never been abroad, would contemplate with wonder. On our return towards the quay, we stepped into the king's chapel, where we were told mass had just been said for the Princess Charlotte of England; the news of whose death had reached Rio some time before our arrival. There was a great profusion of ornaments and gilding through the chapel, and behind the altar a picture of the royal family, no way remarkable for design or execution. The priest who had been officiating, a man of gigantic stature, and exhibiting strong indications of good feeding, brushed hastily past us towards the door, with long strides, in order to take a look at our frigate, which was then firing a salute; he was careful, however, although in great haste, and his mind occupied with the idea of powder and smoke, to bow his knee before a crucifix which he had to pass.

I shall not stop to describe the dinner, which was partly American, and partly in the style of the country. The fish of Rio are excellent, the poultry is good, and the beef very indifferent. The vegetables are uncommonly fine, the potatoes are imported from Great Britain. The desert was composed of a great variety of fruits and sweetmeats; the fruits were melons, bananas, mangoes, oranges, and a number of others peculiar to the climate: to the natives, all no doubt exquisite, but by a stranger, even some of those that are most esteemed, are not relished at first. In the immediate vicinity of this place, our northern fruits do not succeed so well; but in the high mountains, to the south-west, I am informed they do. Among the guests at table were two young men, one a Portuguese, and the other a Frenchman by birth; they were both addressed *Signor Condé*, or count, and wore small slips of ribbon in their button-holes. What rank of nobility they held I did not know, they were plain and modest in their demeanor, and but for the designation before-mentioned, I should have taken one of them, who had been touching the piano, for a music-master, and the other for a teacher of the French language. The Frenchman was the more communicative of the two; and in a conversation with him, he gave me to understand that he was in some kind of public employment. I put a number of questions to him respecting the country, but found that he knew very little of the subjects on which I was desirous of being informed. He contented himself with declamation on the magnificence of the

Brazilian empire, and spoke with some warmth of the endeavours of the British government to persuade the royal family to return to Lisbon. He declared, that they would never be able to prevail on the king to exchange his present high and independent situation, in order to place himself once more under the wing of English protection. The English had been greatly disappointed and chagrined by this resolution, but had not yet abandoned the hope of prevailing on him to change it. There may be a more powerful reason than the mere pride of royalty, for not taking this step; it is the uncertainty of his being able to retain this immense country by any other mode than a permanent transfer of his residence. It would be utterly impossible to reduce the Brazils once more to the colonial state, after having once enjoyed an exemption from the colonial restrictions. It is as difficult as it is disagreeable, to contract one's self after having filled a considerable space. One might as well expect to see a youth, who had escaped the restraint of his tutor, return to his pupilage without a struggle. The Portuguese royal family never will, nor ever can, quit the Brazils, unless driven away by the inhabitants. The numerous restraints that have been taken off since they ceased to be a colony, and their rapid expansion, each day increases the difficulty of putting them back to the colonial state.

After dinner we strolled into the garden, shaded with a great many beautiful trees, and adorned with all the rich luxuriance of tropical vegetation. The country-seats along the road on each side, reminded me a good deal of the vicinity of New Orleans. The day was extremely fine, though rather hot, but not more so than a warm day in June or July in the northern parts of the United States. In front of the house, at the distance of a few hundred yards, the mountain rose in bold and rude masses, in some places presenting nothing but a naked precipice of granite; in others, covered with a great variety of beautiful shrubs and trees. A naked peak, called the Parrot Head, intercepted the clouds above us. Its height is 2500 feet; there is a path which leads to the top, but so winding, that the ascent is at least five or six miles.

The whole district of Rio Janeiro is exceedingly mountainous, and its vallies are in general deep and narrow. The mountains are not as lofty as those of Switzerland, but resemble them more than our Alleghanies. Though not covered with snow, they sometimes let loose upon the vallies, what is even more dreadful than the Avalanche; huge masses of earth loosening from the rock, by the moisture insinuated between them in the rainy seasons, slip down, and overwhelm every thing below. It is not long since an instance of this kind oc-

curred, when more than fifty families were buried alive. In the afternoon, the sun having disappeared behind the mountain, its broad shade was now spread over us, and we seated ourselves on the terrace, in order to enjoy the cool air. It was not long before we discovered a cavalcade coming along the road. Mr. Sumpter informed us, it was some of the royal family taking an airing, and that they very frequently passed this way. A couple of Indian-looking dragoons gallop up, their swords rattling by their sides. They were followed at a very considerable distance by several indifferent old-fashioned carriages, carrying the great people. On approaching the house they stopped a few moments, and spoke in a familiar, friendly manner, to Miss Sumpter. The queen and princesses were plain in their dress, and in their manners affable and polite. But for the guards and retinue, I should have taken them to be of the respectable class of citizens. I have seen much more parade in the great people of our own country. I should have felt, I must confess, less respect for royalty, if I had seen it on this occasion arrayed in the pomp and magnificence I had figured to my imagination. Although I had read a great deal of kings, and queens, and princesses, I had no idea that I should feel so little of that awe, supposed to be produced by the irradiations of majesty. Paine observes, "that kings, among themselves, are good republicans;" and being of a country where every citizen is a sovereign, I merely looked upon these people as my equals. The princess Leopoldina was distinguished from the rest, by the fairness of her complexion; I saw nothing remarkable in her appearance, and there are thousands of my countrywomen I would choose in preference for a wife. It is said her situation is extremely unpleasant, in this barbarous land, a land removed so far from the commonweath of courts, and seemingly fitted only for vulgar republicanism. A number of scandalous stories are related respecting the bickerings, and quarrellings, and parties, in the palace; for the house is said to be divided against itself. The cavalcade proceeded along the beach; on passing the barge's crew, composed of twenty-four of our best-looking men, and such as could hardly be picked out of the whole city, these manifested their politeness by touching their hats, and received in return a most gracious inclination of the head from mighty queens and peerless princesses. Royalty stopped some minutes to contemplate the manly erect figures and open countenances of freemen, glowing with the youth and health of our northern climate; and was no doubt struck with the contrast between these modern Greeks, and its own vile, degraded slaves, of the same calling or occupation. Our proud, spirited fellows,

did not, however, choose to imitate the Portuguese, by falling on their knees, until majesty passed by; a species of idolatry which experienced a salutary check in the person of Mr. Sumpter, some time ago. The incident has been related in our newspapers: I shall here give it as I had it from the minister himself. The guards who precede her majesty were in the habit, without respect to persons, of compelling them to dismount and stand with the hat off, until the whole retinue had passed; the insult had been borne without resistance by all the foreign agents here, except the American, whose republican pride could not be brought to stoop to this degradation. He, was, however, desirous to avoid, if possible, bringing the matter to issue. It was at last thrown upon him by necessity; being unable to avoid the cavalcade, he stopped his horse, and saluted the queen; but this was not satisfactory to her majesty, who is represented to be a proud and haughty woman. She ordered her guards to compel him to dismount; but on making the attempt, by brandishing their swords, the American minister stood on the defensive with his stick; on which they retreated, and he went on, leaving her majesty highly offended. The Portuguese minister remonstrated, urging the example of other foreign agents who had submitted; but Mr. Sumpter declared, that if others tamely put up with such insults, it was no reason why he should. He now went armed, and a second attempt being made similar to the first, he was very near shooting the guard. The subject was brought before the king by complaints on both sides; the king inclined in favour of the American minister, and apologized for the insult he had received, at the same time giving assurances that it should not be repeated. The queen, determined not to be out-done, being met again, some time afterwards, she stopped her carriage, and ordered her guards, ten or twelve in number, to go forward and compel the proud republican to pay the just homage to royalty. Mr. Sumpter, who continued to go armed, drew his pistols, dashed through them, approached the queen's carriage, and in a determined manner reminded her of the assurances lately given by the king, asserting his determination never to submit. He went immediately to the king, stated what had passed, declared that he considered his life unsafe, as the queen seemed determined, and he was himself equally so. The king appeared much hurt, and insisted on making an apology with his own hand, which was actually done. He ordered the guards to be imprisoned, and offered to have them punished; but Mr. Sumpter, whose ideas of justice were somewhat different, requested this might not be. The other foreign ministers offered to join Mr. Sumpter

in a remonstrance, but the object was already gained, as the new order extended to all.

Mr. Sumpter entertained a high opinion of the liberality and good intentions of the king; but thought him much at the mercy of his ministers. He is fond of seeing strangers, and there is no great difficulty in being presented. It is usual for commanders of ships-of-war, touching at this place, to go through this ceremony. Commodore Sinclare, according to custom, was presented by our minister at the country palace a few miles from town. He describes him as rather below the middle size, enormously fat, of very dark complexion, large black eyes, with a good-natured face. He was in a military dress, spoke in French to Mr. Sumpter, and asked the commodore a great many questions respecting his profession and country. He professed a great respect for the government of the United States, and declared himself extremely desirous of cultivating its friendship; this, he said, he valued highly, because he knew when we professed a friendship it might be safely relied on. In withdrawing, it is the custom to imitate the movement of a certain animal, not yet the most graceful of the creation, as it is considered indecorous to turn one's back upon the king; the audience-room being very long, the commodore found it inconvenient, and not a little difficult, to *back out* with safety and grace. The commissioners did not think proper to claim the honour of a presentation; having no communication to hold, they could only be regarded here in the light of private citizens.

The day after our visit to Mr. Sumpter, a little excursion was agreed upon by Mr. Reed and myself, with Dr. Baldwin, the surgeon of the Congress, and whose reputation, as a naturalist, is well known. We were desirous of ascending to the top of the Parrot's Head, which we were informed might be accomplished in a day. On our arrival at Mr. Sumpter's, he politely furnished us with a guide, and we proceeded some distance through a valley, which gradually narrowed as we went up a rapid mountain-stream, brawling among loose rocks and stones. A number of negro washerwomen were plying their tasks on its borders. On each side of us we saw bare masses of granite of great height, the water oozing from underneath the vegetation on their summits, and in some places the drippings, collected into a tolerable stream, rushed down several hundred feet. In the season of drought the streams are said to fail, which may possibly be owing to their not being so well supplied with perennial fountains, but in the manner I have described.

At this season, clouds are continually setting on the tops of the mountains, and descending in vapour. The droughts of summer are among the most serious complaints in a great part of Brazil, especially to the west of the first range of mountains. We were greatly surprised to see so much good soil, and such marks of industry and cultivation, where we expected to find every thing waste and barren. In every little winding of the torrent, or shelf of rock, the ground was cultivated, and a neat cottage of brick, covered with burnt tiles, peered amid the thick verdure of tropical fruit-trees. The chief culture near the city is grass, which is cut daily, and carried to town for the supply of the immense number of domestic animals, kept for the pleasure or use of the inhabitants. They cultivate, besides, Indian-corn, coffee, bananas, mangoes, oranges, and the king of fruits, the pine-apple.*

To describe the richness, variety, and beauty of nature, as she appears in these countries, is impossible. Nothing so much strikes the stranger with wonder, as the luxuriant garb with which the earth is clothed in tropical climates; he sees plants and trees entirely new to him, or the few that he has known rising here to a gigantic size; shrubs have become trees, and humble herbs enlarged to shrubs. He sees here, in their native splendour, those productions of the vegetable kingdom, which he was accustomed to admire in hot-houses. Among the most conspicuous are the palms, of many different kinds, the opuntia, and others so often described by travellers in these regions; pyramids of the most beautiful flowers, besides a number of aromatic plants, shed a delightful fragrance; and, as if nature was not satisfied with the exuberance of the earth, a numerous race of parasites attach themselves to the boughs and trunks of trees, receiving their nourishment from the air. The whole forms a solid perennial impenetrable mass, bound together with innumerable vines or creeping plants.

Nature seems no less prolific in animated creatures—birds of the most brilliant plumage, and the most melodious song—thousands of insects of the most beautiful colours fill the thickets. Innumerable species of lizards are moving in every direction; and it is said that no country is more bountifully replenished with snakes and venomous reptiles; though we are informed that the inhabitants experience less uneasiness from them than we should imagine.

* A Portuguese poet has the following conceit:—

He o regio Anazar, fructa tao boa,
Que a mesma Natureza namorada
Quiz como a Rey cingilla de Coroa.

Dr. Baldwin, who lost no time in examining the plants with the eye and skill of the botanist, expressed himself highly gratified. For my part, although at first, as it were, overpowered with admiration and astonishment, I must declare, that, on reflection, I preferred the wild forests of my own country, although stripped of their leaves during a portion of the year. The vegetation is not so strong and so vigorous, but it is more delicate and pleasing to the eye than this unshapen exuberance. When I recollected how often I have wandered along a meandering stream in the shady groves of oak, hickory, poplar, or sycamore of my native country, under whose boughs soft grass and flowery herbs spring up as a carpet to the feet, I could not but give them the preference to the forests of the tropic. It is difficult to conceive how the Indians of this country can make their way with any facility through this continuous hedge. It is not, however, for me to judge of a vast country from the little I have seen; but if all be like this, and I am informed it is so, give me my native groves in preference to all the glories of the south.

After proceeding about two miles in this manner, we began to ascend the mountain by a very steep and winding path. We found this exceedingly fatiguing, which was probably, in some measure, owing to our having been so long shut up and deprived of the usual exercise of our limbs. It was fortunate that the day was cloudy, otherwise we should have been unable to withstand the heat. On each side of the path, to our surprise, we observed a number of small patches of cultivation. When about two-thirds of the way up, we came to a place where the water rushes down the rock, in a small clear stream; it was to us a most delicious treat, after having suffered much from thirst. In these climates, where an eternal summer reigns, there can be no object so delightful to the eye as the cool stream gushing from the fountain. We threw ourselves upon the rock, which was shaded by enormous trees; drank freely of the water, and with reluctance thought of quitting the spot. Here commences the aqueduct which supplies the city, and chiefly from this fountain. It is a work which does much credit to the viceroy, by whom it was constructed, in the year 1740, as would appear from the inscription. It is received in a kind of funnel, built of brick, about five feet high, and about three in width; it passes along the apex of the ridge, which gradually declines to the plain of Rio Janeiro, where, instead of being received into pipes, it is carried into the city by an aqueduct composed of a double row of arches, intended probably for ornament, at it cannot be supposed, that, like the ancients, the constructors were igno-

rant of the principles of hydraulics. This work is, at present, in a bad state of repair, but we observed that workmen had been, for some time, engaged in enlarging and improving it. The prospect from this place is one of the most magnificent I ever beheld. The scenery around the bay is like that on the borders of some extensive lake; on the eastern side, instead of the immense mountains which enclose it on every other, the country is beautifully sloping, and, with the aid of a spy-glass, we could discover plantations of coffee, or cotton, on a much larger scale than any we had seen in the course of our walk. Towards the north-east, at a great distance, we could discern the Organ-mountains, so called from a number of singular peaks, apparently at the termination of the ridge from their unequal elevation, and resembling huge basaltic columns. The bay, or rather lake, was studded with a great variety of beautiful islands, one of them, perhaps the largest, several leagues in circumference. A number of small villages could be distinguished at intervals, and the water-prospect was enlivened by a great number of vessels of different kinds.

The fatigue and labour we had encountered, and the time we had consumed in scrambling up the mountain thus far, discouraged us from attempting to accomplish our first design. It seemed to us, in fact, that we had scarcely gained more than the foot of the mountain we had intended to scale. We approached near enough, however, to form a tolerable idea of the Parrot's Head; we could distinctly see it to be a huge flat rock, laid horizontally as a kind of cap-stone, on the top of a bare mass of granite; and from some rude resemblance, which I could not discover, it had received its name. Below it, on the same ridge, stands the sugar-loaf, whose summit appeared to be on a level with us, but could hardly have been so, as its height is estimated at 900 feet from the water's edge, though not half that height on the side where it joins the ridge. Behind us the mountain rose to a great height, and was covered with trees of a prodigious size. Having determined to return to the city, we followed the path along the side of the aqueduct, and with a much more gradual descent than that by which we had ascended. On our way we remarked a considerable space where the granitic rock, from which the soil had slipped off, was apparently in a state of decomposition; the point of a cane was thrust in, without experiencing any greater resistance than from stiff clay; this was also the case with the broad veins of spar with which the mass was penetrated. As we approach the city, the path gradually widened, and within a mile we found a spacious sloping walk, planted on each side with beautiful trees, of which we found the advantage at this

time, as the sun was beginning to send forth his rays unobstructed by friendly clouds. We were accosted repeatedly by negroes, who offered to sell us some of the beautiful insects of the country, upon which they had been taught to place a value, probably by the recent visit of the European philosophers, or by persons employed to make collections for European cabinets. We remarked a number of the lower ridges or mounds carefully cultivated in grass; but the declivity was such as to require them to be crossed in every direction in a reticulated manner, with narrow paths. We observed, in one instance, a deep vale but of small extent; enclosed on three sides by steep hills, and on the only side where it was open, occupied by a neat dwelling, a garden, and some adjoining buildings. This vale, which could not have contained more than a few acres, was all in grass, and being shaded nearly the whole day by the mountains on each side, and the trees growing on them, had the appearance of being a cool and delightful retreat. I have been thus particular in my account of this little ramble, because it has enabled me to describe many of the features which are probably common, if not to the whole, at least to a very great proportion of Brazil. It is at least a specimen of the mountainous country.

During our short stay at Rio, we neglected no opportunity of making ourselves acquainted with the manners and customs of the place, and in collecting every information, curious or useful. Scarcely any city in America has been so often spoken of by voyagers, as it has been the great stopping-place of those bound on voyages of discovery to the South Seas, as also of vessels bound to the East Indies. We preferred remaining on ship-board for various reasons; one was, that we should thus escape the annoyance of insects and vermin we should have to encounter at the wretched inns of the city. Another reason was, that on the water we enjoyed a cooler air than we could in a town, which was hemmed in by mountains. We were in fact much more comfortably situated than we could possibly be in the city, and as the boats were continually plying to the shore, we could at any time gratify our wish to go there. In the shade, the thermometer seldom rose above eighty-four degrees of fahrenheit, but the temperature was rendered more supportable by the land and sea-breezes. The most disagreeable part of the day was from eight until ten or eleven, until the sea-breeze gradually freshened. In the afternoon, during at least three days in the week, the clouds gathered, and after some thunder and lightning, they descended in rain; the nights were extremely pleasant and cool. During one or two days we had a tolerably stiff breeze, so as to render it somewhat unpleasant to pass from the boats to shore;

no wind, however, can ever blow so as to endanger the safety of the vessels at anchor.*

This country is extremely healthy, except in the vicinity of particular situations. From the little attention of the police at Rio, and the stagnant waters in its immediate vicinity, it is only surprising that it has never been visited, at least very seriously, by the fevers which are so dreadful a calamity to other cities situated in similar climates. No people in the world enjoy better health than the inhabitants of the country. The residents of the city appear to be, especially in the lower classes, extremely lively, active, and cheerful; but, from the facilities of gaining a livelihood, and the frequent recurrence of holidays, the greater part of their time is spent in amusements. Few beggars are to be seen, and all, except the wretched brutalized slaves, are decently clad. The streets swarm with children: and, in the country, according to Langsdorff, they are even more prolific than in the United States; fifteen, and even twenty of a family, being not unusual. Young children enjoy excellent health, and are, in general, weaned young, and nourished with the banana, which is extremely wholesome, and well adapted for the purpose. The upper classes are said to lead a very inactive and indolent life, consulting only the gratification of their pleasures; in consequence of which, their old age is overtaken by chronic diseases, among them the *elephantiasis*, or swelling of the legs, to such a degree as to bear a resemblance to those of the elephant. I saw one case of this malady, at which I was greatly shocked. The inhabitants in general are temperate in their living; but, if we may credit the accounts we hear, very depraved, as well as ignorant. This is not to be wondered at, considering the nature of their composition; all the mechanics are either negroes or mulattoes; and, indeed, almost every business which requires attention, and assiduity, is pursued by coloured people, a great proportion of whom are free. The people, in general, are sunk in the lowest state of political degradation; they know nothing of the measures of government; affairs of state are never the subject of their conversation, unless indeed with a very small number among the higher classes, who observe the greatest secrecy and caution. The prejudice, with respect to complexion, did not appear to me as strong as in the United States. This may be owing to the great number of persons of colour, who own large

* The Portuguese seventy-four parted her cable, which only proved to us that she was miserably found.

fortunes, and possess wealth and consequence. I remarked several mulatto priests, and in one instance a negro.

Among the better classes of the people, Lisbon is the model upon which their manners are formed; and it is probable, that this has not changed since the arrival of the royal family. The Portuguese are said to be the only people in Europe, who preserve that Moorish jealousy, which has been banished even from Spain. The female part of their families are shut up in the strictest manner, and never venture abroad, unless it be to church; and then, their faces wrapt up in a black mantle, which passes over the head. Men seldom introduce their most intimate friends to their wives or daughters; and, except at the theatre, they are rarely seen in public. Sometimes, indeed, they venture to sit in the evening at their windows; and, from their actions, strangers unacquainted with the customs of the country, would be apt to form unfavourable inferences. The throwing flowers at persons passing along, is known to be an innocent display of gaiety, to which custom attaches nothing improper. It is also very probable, that this frivolity is not very common among the better class of people, and that strangers, from observing these things in a few instances, of persons of a different cast, have been led to form a mistaken idea of the rest. The accounts given by Frezier and others, who consider the Brazilian women as totally devoid of that delicacy which characterizes the sex in other countries, and as continually engaged in the most shameful intrigues, cannot but be exaggerated. At the same time, it is natural to suppose, that when thus immured from society, and deprived of daily and free intercourse with the world, those very effects would be produced, against which this cruel jealousy is intended to guard. There is but one day in the year, on which they are permitted to walk freely abroad in the streets; a kind of saturnalia, as insulting to them as their imprisonment. Marriages of inclination are rarely made, they are usually bargains between the husband and the parents. There is a species of cruelty practised by the rich in the cities, that is really shocking to the mind of an American. It is not uncommon for men to compel their daughters to take the veil, merely with a view to preserve greater wealth in the family, as, without this unfeeling practice, they would be under the obligation of settling a part of their estates as a marriage-portion, or for their support.

In consequence of this state of manners, society is on a wretched footing at Rio Janeiro. Social intercourse is almost exclusively confined to foreigners. The people of the country, especially the small planters, are represented to be remarkably kind and hospitable. Several of our officers, who made excu-

sions around the shores of the bay, spoke very highly of the civility and frankness with which they were treated by the peasantry, who live very much as in the United States, scattered over the country. In a little excursion with Mr. Rodney, who was extremely anxious to see the *chirimoya*, the most exquisite fruit of South America, we landed near the cottage of a peasant in search of it, and were treated by him in the most friendly and hospitable manner. We did not succeed, the fruit being either known under a different name, or peculiar to Peru, where Ulloa speaks of it. While on this excursion, we met several German naturalists, who informed us that they were preparing to set off in a canoe, or perogue, which they showed us, to coast it along to Rio Grande.

There is but little skill displayed here in the mechanic arts. Although they have the finest wood in the world for cabinet-work, their furniture is very badly constructed, and the defect is supplied by a profusion of gilding. They excel, however, in making ornaments of gold, such as chains, crosses, &c.; but precious stones are not well set by them, and, in general, they display but little taste. As to the fine arts, they are extremely low. The king's library, of sixty thousand volumes, has been thrown open for the use of the public; but within this capital of a great empire, it will be long before there will be any thing that will deserve the name of literature. The rich native inhabitants have generally other tastes; there is nothing to call forth public discussions from the press; there is yet, in fact, no public. The art of printing, itself, which was restricted in the colonial state, is not yet sufficiently spread to satisfy the demand, small as it is. There is more printing in any one of our smallest cities than in all Brazil. A botanical garden has been established in the neighbourhood of the city, and is said to be respectable. There are but few of the usual accompaniments of European monarchy. The king has imported a company of opera-performers from Italy, at an expense that would build a frigate. Several of our officers attended the theatre, and spoke highly of their performance. There is something truly ridiculous in such importations, to a country which stands so much in need of an increase of population. A royal amusement, for which Lisbon is particularly celebrated, the bull-fights, has not been successfully introduced here. Repeated attempts were lately made in a circus erected near the country-palace, but they utterly failed, as the bulls were found good for nothing, in all probability to the great joy of the bull-fighters.

The cattle of this province are small; and the market is supplied from Rio Grande or St. Catherine's; but, after being driven several hundred miles in this hot climate, over the worst roads

in the world, they are miserably poor by the time they reach this place. The crops of coffee, or cotton, from the interior, are brought on the backs of mules, the former generally put up in raw hides. I could not learn whether the cotton-gin has been introduced, but I am inclined to think it has not. While we were here, a cargo of wheat arrived from Chili. The market for this article, or flour, is extremely uncertain, from the smallness of the quantity requisite to supply it. The great body of the people use the mandioca, not merely as a substitute, but even in preference. This root is of great importance throughout all South America, and is cultivated with care. It yields two crops a-year, and is prepared by boiling and expressing the juice, which is poisonous; the sediment which remains, after pouring off the water, is the tapioca of the shops. There is no doubt but that the use of flour will increase, and, of course, the demand from the United States, which can always supply it on better terms, and of a better quality, than La Plata or Chili, or the southern provinces of Brazil. Grapes are raised at Rio, but not for the purpose of making wine. It is only in poor lands, and very populous countries, that the vine can be cultivated extensively; the culture of cotton, tobacco, sugar, and indigo, are so much more profitable, that it is not likely that wine will be made for use or exportation. To the south, the vine flourishes much better than in this province.

The inhabitants are represented as being much devoted to the ceremonies of their religion. The Inquisition was never established here, very fortunately for the Jews, who are numerous, and whose outward conformity has never been strictly scrutinized. The kings of Portugal obtained from the pope, nearly the same grant of ecclesiastical supremacy over their American possessions, as the King of Spain over theirs. There is a primate at St. Salvador, to whom all the churches of Brazil acknowledge obedience. The chief business of the colonists of a general interest, consists in the public ceremonies of their religion, such as processions in the streets, and masses. Devotion has become rather a matter of amusement than a serious duty. At every hour of the day, rockets are let off, a singular accompaniment to religious exercises.* The clergy are said to be licentious, and even the nuns have been spoken of, as not possessing the sanctity enjoined by their vows. An occurrence

* "The religious system, which held its empire with such happy effects so long, has now some resemblance to a machine, of which the spring, by its own internal working, has slackened at length, and wearing out."—*Macartney's Embassy*.

took place some time ago, which scandalized the faithful, perhaps, much more than acts of a more reproachful kind. Two British officers, one a lieutenant, and the other a surgeon, of a ship-of-war, prevailed on two of the nuns to elope with them: the ladies fell upon the expedient of letting themselves down from the second story window of the convent, by means of their bed-clothes. The enamorada of the lieutenant came safely to his arms, but the other had the misfortune to fall, and was so severely hurt, that her lover, though a physician, could afford her no relief, and was obliged to leave her behind. The lieutenant carried his nun on-board the ship, and was married by the chaplain.

An interesting description of the province of Rio Janeiro, is given by the author of the *Corographia*. The name was given to the bay in 1532, by the intrepid navigator de Sousa, in consequence of his mistaking it for a river, and the name was extended to the province.* It was not settled until about the year 1567, and after a French colony of Protestants, sent by Admiral Coligny, had been dispossessed by the governor of Bahia, or St. Salvador. Rio Janeiro did not become the capital of the province until 1663, when the colony had acquired some importance, and the value of this noble harbour was becoming better known. The province extends along the coast about sixty leagues, and is about twenty-five in width. It is divided into two parts by the Organ mountains. On the other side of these is the river Paraiba, which flows between them and the chain of Mantiquera, in a valley not more than sixty miles across in its widest part. This river takes its rise in the district of St. Paul, and is navigable five or six hundred miles from its mouth. About eight leagues below the town of Lorenzo, where it has already acquired considerable volume, the whole of its waters are compressed into a channel of five fathoms wide, between two natural walls, upwards of seventy feet high, and several hundred long. From the narrowness of its valley, it receives few rivers of any magnitude, although it discharges a great body of water into the ocean. Its banks are highly cultivated; some of the most valuable sugar-plantations of Brazil are situated on them. With the exception of the district of Goytacazes, the province is extremely mountainous. In the district just mentioned, there are some lowlands, marshes, and swamps. In the mountain-districts, it is natural to expect a number of

* A number of small rivers discharge themselves into the bay from the sides of the Organ mountains which border on the western side, but none of them navigable more than two or three miles.

cascades and water-falls ; no country can be more picturesque and romantic. The fall of Tejouco, in the vicinity of the capital, is particularly described, as being worthy the attention of those who admire such objects.

The coronation, for which so much preparation had been made, was at last announced for the 6th of February. The morning was ushered in by salutes from all the forts, as well as from the ships-of-war at anchor in the harbour. As a mark of respect to the government of the country, whose hospitality we enjoyed, the commodore joined the other commanders of foreign vessels in firing a salute. All the ships were dressed in the colours of the different nations of the world, and exhibited one of the most splendid appearances I ever witnessed ; but whether to be attributed to accident or design, we know not ; on examining the different flags, it was discovered that ours was not among them. The commodore, on making this discovery, resolved to go no further in the demonstrations of respect for the occasion. The ceremony took place about noon, in the Grecan temple we had seen in the public square. With the nature of the ceremony I am unacquainted, as none of us were near enough to see and hear. It was followed by the shouts of the assembled multitude, and tremendous discharges of artillery, which I thought would never cease. The regular troops, four or five thousand, together with the disciplined militia about the same number, had been drawn out, and, at the close of the ceremony, fired volleys of musketry. At sun-down, the firing of cannon was renewed, first from the different forts in succession, and then from the ships-of-war ; and as the sound was repeated by the echoes of the mountains, a tremendous roaring continued even for some time after the firing had ceased. It was no sooner dark than the illuminations, whose splendour eclipsed the starry vault above us, were displayed along the whole front of the city, and also from the different forts from the detached buildings on the heights, and around the harbour. All the vessels, except the Congress, which seemed to mourn the event, were also illuminated in the most curious and tasteful manner. Nothing could have a finer effect than the glittering of so many lights, and their brilliant reflection upon the water. The ingenuity displayed in the arrangement of the illuminations, was very great. By the aid of small glass lamps of various colours, a great variety of curious and beautiful figures were formed, representing triumphal arches, temples, and a number of other objects. Columns and pyramids were erected, for the purpose of enabling them to display curious festoons and other figures. Large sums were said to have been expended by individuals, who vied with each other in the taste and splendour of their illuminations ; and,

in particular, the owner of a country-seat, fronting the harbour, is said to have expended twenty thousand dollars ; a number of large arches were raised on high columns, so contrived as to represent a crown, its base more than a hundred feet, and beautifully proportioned, displaying near the top the arms of Portugal. The person who was thus distinguished in the display of his loyalty, we were informed, had in view a title of nobility, being only a rich plebeian.

The two succeeding days passed in the same way, until eyes and ears could no longer bear this dazzling and astounding manifestation. It was natural for us to draw a comparison between the simple and unaffected ceremony of installing the chief magistrate, chosen by a free people to guide their affairs, and all this noise and glitter, calculated to intoxicate, astound, and stupify, the human intellect. I could not but reflect how small the number, among this wretched rabble, that reasoned, justly and wisely, on the scene before them ! It was not the joyous emotions of the soul, but stupifying amazement. How different is the enthusiasm of the free, from the noisy acclamation of a people, who, without these artifices, would continue in unchangeable dulness ! The real enthusiasm of a freeman stands in no need of these aids.

The day after the coronation I went on-shore, in company with some gentlemen of the ship. The city, as may be supposed, was let loose ; all was noise, uproar, and confusion. Seeing people going in and coming out of a long temporary building on one side of the chapel, we approached, and were informed we might enter. It was splendidly fitted up, probably for the performance of some ceremony, as the regalia were displayed on a table covered with rich purple ; the arms of Portugal were also seen, and the whole was fitted up in a style of extraordinary magnificence. At the door there were four or five priests, who had fallen fast asleep, having, as I supposed, set up all the preceding night, and it was now in the afternoon.*

The palace is a long row of buildings, no way remarkable in point of architecture, but sufficient to lodge comfortably twenty or thirty families. I saw a number of ladies seated on their balconies, dressed in very splendid attire, and their heads adorned with a profusion of feathers ; at first, we took them all for princesses, but afterwards supposed that some might be maids of honour. In front of the palace, there stood at least a

* It was humorously said, that numbers of the common people gazed on the illumination with such blank amazement, as to *fall asleep with their eyes and mouths open.*

dozen coaches, beside other carriages, waiting for some thirty or forty of the royal family, who were going to the country-palace, whither the king had already gone. The coaches were splendid things, very heavy, with much gilding about them, and apparently not less than a hundred years old; from which I conjectured, that these vehicles were only used on great occasions. The dresses of the coachmen, the postillions, of whom there was one on every other mule, the footmen, and out-riders, were the most outre imaginable; their appearance carried me back a couple of centuries at least, *and led me to reflect how much importance, in monarchies, is attached to antiquities.* Kings are very slow in adopting the improvements of the age in which they live; they are almost as hard to civilize as our North American Indians. I saw a great many of the nobility running to and fro, and, from the richness of their decorations, I judged of very high orders, such as gentlemen of the bed-chamber, grooms of the stole, and royal rat-killers. I wish I could speak with some respect of these things, but for my soul I cannot; and I think it my duty to give to my countrymen a true copy of the impressions left by them on my mind. Such is the first coronation of a king in America—will it be the last?

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Rio—Provinces of St. Paul, St. Catherine, and Rio Grande—Island of Flores—Arrival at Monte Video.

HAVING no further business at this port, and the ship being supplied with every thing necessary for the prosecution of the voyage to La Plata, the commodore announced his intention to put to sea. It had previously been intended to proceed to St. Catherine's, for the purpose of procuring a tender to ascend the Plata. The great draft of water of the Congress, (upwards of twenty-two feet,) rendered it impossible to carry her up to Buenos Ayres. Besides, the season of *pamperos*, or south-west winds, was approaching, and from the known dangers and difficulties of the navigation, the commodore felt a reluctance to run a greater risk than was absolutely unavoidable. Partly, however, in compliance with the wishes of the commissioners, and partly in consequence of an understanding with Captain Hicky of the *Blossom*, who was also bound for the river, he changed his original intention, and resolved to go directly to Monte Video, and there procure the necessary vessel. The *Blossom* drawing much less water, and her commander having

some acquaintance with the river, it was thought that being in company with him would be an advantage of some importance.

From the 9th of February, the day of our departure, until the 15th, nothing material occurred in our voyage; we had generally a fair wind, but were considerably detained by the slow sailing of the Blossom. The Congress was obliged to be stripped of most of her canvass, so as to keep company with the British ship, which was probably one of the dullest sailors in their navy. We now experienced, in latitude thirty-three degrees thirty-five minutes, a head-wind, which continued from the same point until the 19th. We had also to contend with a current, which, along this coast, always sets with the wind. During these four days we made about 100 miles by beating, and in latitude 33 deg. 39 min. south, stood into nine fathoms water, hard sand, the water very thick and yellow. We could at this time just discern from deck, the low broken sand-hills along this part of the coast. The commodore observed, that he would not think it advisable to stand in nearer than twelve or thirteen fathoms soundings, as every cast of the lead varies several fathoms; he ventured to act differently, only from the circumstance of there being another vessel sounding a-head.

We made Cape St. Mary's on the 19th, and were abreast of the Island of Lobos at twelve o'clock of that night. The next morning, at eleven o'clock, we were compelled to come to anchor in nineteen fathoms below this island, having been drifted at least twenty miles during a calm which ensued, and which, on account of the great draught of the Congress, operated more powerfully on her than on the Blossom; this vessel was now out of sight. Having run down 12 or 1300 miles of the Brazilian coast, I shall avail myself of the opportunity to give the reader a few sketches of the provinces along which we passed.

Next to the province of Rio Janeiro, on the coast, comes that of St. Paul, which stretches along it about 400 miles, and is about 500 in depth. It is bounded to the west by the great river Parana, which separates it from the Spanish province of Paraguay. On the south it is bounded by the Iguazu, and a line drawn from this river to the small river St. Francisco, and down to its mouth. It is one of the most fertile and delightful provinces of South America. The great range of mountains which here runs close along the coast, on the western side, is a vast inclined plain, down which some of the largest branches of the Parana flow into that immense river. The western slope is so gentle as scarcely to be perceptible, and although not level it can hardly be considered hilly or mountainous. On the eastern side, the ascent is very steep; the road from Santos to St. Paul ascends a mountain 6,000 feet high, and is perhaps the

most considerable work of this description in Brazil. From this point, however, in following the mountains to the southward, they gradually retire from the coast, leaving a broken country between them and the sea, through which the Paraíba of the south takes its course. Between these mountains and the coast, an extraordinary number of cataracts and cascades are formed, by the waters which are precipitated down the eastern side. The navigation of the rivers, on the western side, is also impeded by a great number of falls and rapids; but the intervals between the portages are navigated by large perogues, such as are used on our western waters, made out of the single trunks of trees, of which there is an abundance on their banks, of a prodigious size. The river Tiete, which rises near the city of St. Paul, is generally used as the channel of communication to the mines of Matto Grosso. After descending to the Parana, they continue down its stream to the mouth of the Parde, which enters from the west, and up this river to the foot of a chain of mountains, which they cross to the river Taquari, which flows into the river Paraguay, above the Spanish possessions. The inhabitants of St. Paul took advantage of this route at an early period, for the purpose of committing depredations on the numerous Indian tribes settled on that river.

The climate is probably the most pleasant in Brazil. Though nearer the equator than the provinces of La Plata, the disadvantage is more than counterbalanced by its height; the commencement of the slope is 6,000 feet above the sea, and 2,000 feet above the inferior limit for the cultivation of European grain. The thermometer descends as low as forty, though it rarely rises above eighty. In the evenings, it is sometimes so cold as to render necessary a change of clothes, and to make use of *brazeros*.* In the vicinity of the capital, the tropical fruits are not in as great perfection as they are on the sea-coast, but in lieu of these, all the European fruits, apples, grapes, peaches, are uncommonly fine. This delightful country may be considered as still in a state of wilderness, and inhabited by a number of savage tribes towards the Parana, who are continually at war with the Portuguese, and retain the same ferocity as when the country was first settled. They must finally disappear before the march of civilization.

The principal port is Santos, said to be safe and commodious, but being merely the entrepôt to St. Paul, as Laguaira is to Caraccas, the town is inconsiderable. The inhabitants of St.

* A kind of pan filled with embers, used by Spaniards and Portuguese, instead of fire-places and chimnies.

Paul are spoken of as the most hospitable and polished in Brazil, which may seem somewhat extraordinary, considering their origin and their character half a century ago. The history of those people occupies one of the most conspicuous pages in American annals; their character has been variously represented, and generally little to their advantage. Charlevoix, and all the Jesuits, represent them in the most unfavourable light, and they have been spoken of by most writers as barbarians, possessing enough of civilization to render them formidable, as well as mischievous. They have been also represented as forming a kind of military republic, like that of early Rome, composed of outcasts and adventurers from all countries, under a nominal subjection to the Portuguese, in virtue of which, they paid a small tribute of gold and diamonds. A Portuguese writer has undertaken to vindicate their character from these imputations. Mawe, who is among the few Englishmen who have visited their capital, speaks of them in the highest terms, and seems indignant at the calumnies which have been circulated respecting them. He places them above all the people he saw in Brazil, for their highly-polished manners, and manly frankness of character, traits by which they are every where distinguished; but he does not reflect, that a century, or even half a century, might produce a very material change in their character. The accounts given of these people, as well as of their enemies the Jesuits, by Southy, is certainly the most fair and satisfactory.

The next province to St. Paul is that of Rio Grande. It is about 500 miles in length, and 300 in depth, according to the treaty of 1778, which excludes the Banda Oriental, but which is claimed in Portuguese books of geography. The Uruguay has its sources in the province to the west of St. Catherine's, and flows several hundred miles through it before entering the Banda Oriental. It is an inclined plain, like the province of St. Paul, but more level; it has a considerable ridge of mountains, which separates the waters of the Rio Negro, the main branch of the Uruguay, from the streams which fall into the lake dos Patos. The climate is mild, but during winter a good deal exposed to the south-west winds. The greater part of the country to the southward, bordering on the Banda Oriental, consists of extensive grassy plains, and is almost exclusively devoted to pasturage. Agriculture is comparatively but little attended to, although the soil is extremely well adapted to grain of every kind.

The island of St. Catherine, in the northern part of this district, is a place of considerable note. The harbour is one of the best along the coast. The town contains about ten thousand inhabitants, and is beautifully situated. The surrounding

country is very fine, and in a better state of cultivation and improvement than is usual in Brazil. From the abundant supply of wood, water, and stores of every kind, it is a very common stopping place. Few places offer greater advantages for ship-building. The country and climate are so delightful, that many persons come here from other provinces, in order to regain their health; and gentlemen of fortune sometimes choose it as an agreeable residence. Formerly there was a very important whale-fishery here; but of late years the whales have very much diminished in numbers along this coast. Commodore Porter, who touched at this place in his cruise, speaks of it in the following manner:—"The houses are generally neatly built, and the country at the back of the town in a state of considerable improvement. But nothing can exceed the beauty of the great bay to the north, formed by the island of St. Catherine's and the continent; there is every variety to give beauty to the scene; handsome villages and houses built around; shores which gradually ascend in mountains, covered to their summits with trees which remain in constant verdure; a climate always temperate and healthy; small islands scattered here and there, equally covered with verdure; the soil extremely productive; all combine to render it in appearance the most delightful country in the world."

We had at length reached the yawning estuary of La Plata, whose width, estimated from the Cape St. Mary's to Cape St. Antonio on the southern side, is one hundred and fifty miles. It would perhaps be more proper to give this great opening the name of bay or gulf. Its waters, though not fresh, are much discoloured, but not much affected by the tides above Buenos Ayres. Except the isle of Lobos, which can hardly be considered in its channel, there are no islands but that of Goriti, which forms the harbour of Maldonado, and the isle of Flores about fifty miles above. There are, however, a considerable number of islands above Buenos Ayres, where the river properly begins; at the mouth of the Uruguay there is the island of Martin Garcia, and at the entrance of the Parana there are a great many islands of various sizes. Rio La Plata here loses its name; it is in fact, properly speaking, but a bay or gulf, into which the Uruguay and Parana discharge themselves. It was originally called the *river of Solis*, from the name of its first discoverer; but was changed by Cabot, who defeated a party of Indians on its borders, and among whom he found some silver ornaments, from which he was induced to believe, that there were mines of this metal in the vicinity. The entrance of this river was formerly considered extremely dangerous and difficult, but since it has been frequented by the English, it has become

much better known, and the dangers have in consequence diminished as far as an acquaintance with the situation and nautical skill can diminish them. But there are still serious dangers to be encountered, and which are beyond the power of man to obviate. The principal, perhaps, is the south-west wind, which blows during the winter months, May, June, July, and August, with dreadful violence, while the harbours on its shores afford but a very imperfect security. On the north side, the shore is rocky and dangerous; on the south it is flat, and the water extremely shoal; the channel is therefore on the north side, between what is called the English bank and the island of Flores, about ten miles in width; the largest vessels may pass with little danger unless the wind be very violent. Between Monte Video and Buenos Ayres the navigation is still more difficult on account of what is called Ortiz banks, which render the channel narrow and intricate. These banks consist of hard sand, and it is almost as dangerous for vessels to strike upon them as to strike upon a rock; but the channel is generally of soft mud, in which a vessel may sink several inches without experiencing any injury.

The afternoon of the 20th the anchor was weighed, and the Congress proceeded up the river, but came to anchor about ten o'clock at night, being apprehensive of approaching too near the island of Flores on the one hand, and the English bank on the other. We made sail at day-light, but the wind slackening, and a strong current setting downwards, we again anchored within a few miles of Flores. On the main-land from Maldonado to this place, we were continually in sight of a range of high hills, in places rising to considerable peaks, but not deserving the name of mountains. With our spy-glasses we could discover a vast number of seals moving about on the island, or lying upon the naked rocks, by which it is surrounded. As it was now a perfect calm, and the weather delightful, a number of us resolved to make an attack upon the island, and possess ourselves of a few of the skins of its inhabitants, not as warlike trophies, but for the purpose of making caps, saddle housings, or stuffing them for museums. Our approach to shore was attended with some difficulty, on account of the surf, which never ceases to dash upon the rocks. The roaring of the sea was emulated by the noise of the seals, of which we now discovered astonishing numbers. The hoarse roaring of the males, and the bleating of the females and younger seals, bore resemblance to the mingled concert of domestic cattle, cows, calves, and the accompaniment of bleating sheep. Besides thousands upon the shore, there were still greater numbers in the water, some as far out as thirty or forty yards. They were in continual motion, their

heads appearing and disappearing, while they incessantly kept up a dreadful noise. As soon as we landed, the seals exerted themselves as fast as they could to get into the water; and considering that they have nothing but a pair of fins a little below the breast, and a long unwieldy body and tail to drag after them, they made very considerable speed. Some of our sailors got between them and the water with clubs, which they had provided, and knocked down a number, a slight blow on the end of the nose being sufficient for this purpose. In those places where water was standing in the hollows of the rock, there were great numbers of young seals huddled together, resembling young whelps, though much larger. The sailors, who had been laying about them with indiscriminate fury, assailed these poor creatures, who seemed in a most piteous manner to implore for mercy. Seeing the harmless and inoffensive nature of this race, we were seized with compassion, hastened to put a stop to the carnage, and resolved to select only a few of those that we thought suited to our purposes. The smell was so offensive, that we were compelled in a short time to return to our boats.

These are of the species called the *ursine* seal. The males are called lions, from the resemblance of the head and mane to that animal, as well as from their hoarse noise. They are often seen with several of their favourite females around them, basking on the rock, but as soon as discovered, they roll themselves into the water. Some of their habits are singular. Each lion, like a grand sultan, has forty or fifty females. They live in distinct families of several hundred. Each family occupies a particular part of the island, upon which none of the others are suffered to encroach; bloody battles sometimes ensue between different families, which frequently involve the whole tribe. A combat sometimes takes place between two males; the one who is vanquished, is abandoned by all his wives, who join the conqueror. The female is delicately formed, with a long tapering neck, and beautiful silvery skin, which glisten on coming out of the water. The old ones, although very uneasy for the safety of their young, will not venture out of the water to their assistance. I observed, in the fissures of the rock, thousands of a small fish about a foot in length, swimming among the young seals, probably attracted by them, and fed upon. The skins of this kind are not of much value; but those of the fur kind on the island of Lobos, fifty miles below, are much esteemed. The island is about a mile and a half long; the sea, when much agitated, dashes over it. We supposed there might be about twenty families on the island, of two hundred each. A lion, killed by the commodore, measured ten feet six inches from the

nose to the end of the tail, was six feet four inches in girth, and probably weighed at least one thousand pounds.

The calm continued until the afternoon of the next day, when a breeze springing up, the anchor was weighed, and we proceeded up the river. It was not long before we discovered the hill above the town, which gives its name to the place. We next discovered the town at a distance, and the cathedral, the most conspicuous object in it. The frigate came to anchor in four fathoms water, soft mud, the fort on the top of the mount, bearing, by compass, north-west; the cathedral north-east by north, Point Brava, east by north, distant from land a league or upwards.

We could discern a number of vessels lying in the harbour, but chiefly of a small size, excepting a Portuguese frigate, an Indiaman, (which had lately been released by the government of Buenos Ayres) and some light vessels of war. We observed the patriot flag on one or two small sloops. The trade of this place being almost annihilated, induced us to believe, that the greater part of the vessels we saw belonged to the Portuguese invading force—the business of war having in this town completely taken place of the peaceful pursuits of commerce.

Looking at the town from a distance, it seems to stand upon a projecting point, or promontory; and a point running out from the base of the hill before-mentioned, forms with the first a spacious basin, but too shoal to be considered a good harbour; and moreover, not affording complete protection, from all the winds that sweep across this vast country of plains. The town is compactly built, exhibits no mean appearance, and might contain fifteen or twenty thousand inhabitants in the days of its prosperity. I was not a little disappointed in finding such a place in the midst of a vast region almost uninhabited, or at least not more populous than the immense track which lies west of St. Louis, on the Mississippi. The adjacent country looks naked and desolate; a few horses and horned cattle, feeding on the extensive grassy plains, which stretch out in every direction, are the only objects to be seen. The surface of the country appeared, however, to be pleasingly varied, but, with the exception of the mount before-mentioned, no where rising into hills. We could discern, with our glasses, the vestiges of a number of fine seats and gardens beyond the town, as well as along the bank below it. The hedges of prickly pear, or cactus, are plainly visible. In fact, the whole country around appears to have been laid waste by the ravages of war. The shore, or rather bank (for one is apt to forget that this is a river) is not high or steep, but rock-bound, and the landing bad almost every where.

The next morning the commodore ordered a boat to be manned, and a lieutenant to proceed to the city, and in compliance with the usual etiquette, to wait on the chief person in command, to state the object of our visit, and to request permission to obtain such supplies as the ship might require. Seeing Mr. Bland about to take advantage of this opportunity, I determined to accompany him. We had to pass round a long rocky point, which makes out from the tongue of land on which the town is built. The harbour is capacious, but very shoal around it; as the bottom is extremely soft, vessels are often eight or ten inches in the mud. On arriving at the stairs, or quay, constructed with the dingy granite, of which all the rocks we have seen on this river were composed, we found among the crowd attracted by curiosity, several Englishmen, and a person of the name of White, who informed us he was an American, and made a tender of his services. Lieutenant Clack inquired for the American consul, but was informed that he resided at Buenos Ayres; at the same time suggested the propriety of first waiting on General Lecor, the commanding officer, with whom he professed to be intimately acquainted. He offered his services to conduct us; the lieutenant thanked him, observing that this was his business on-shore, and that he would accept his offer.

We accordingly proceeded to the quarters of the Portuguese general, who occupies one of the largest and best houses in the city. We entered a spacious court or varanda, with galleries all around it, through a guard of black troops, with sleek and greasy looks, and dressed in showy uniform. In these countries the blacks are preferred as guards and centinels, about the persons of officers of distinction. After going through several apartments, passing centinels and officers on duty, exhibiting to us all the pomp and parade of the establishment of a great military chief, we entered an apartment where we were politely invited to sit down. We had scarcely time to recover from the reflections produced by this, to us, unusual scene, when the general himself made his appearance, with which we were much struck. He is a remarkably fine figure, tall and erect, with a native unaffected dignity of manners. His age is above fifty-five, his complexion much too fair for a Portuguese; indeed, we afterwards learned that he is of Flemish descent. The character of this officer does not contradict the favourable impression which his appearance is calculated to make. His reputation is that of a brave and honourable soldier, and a polite and humane man. From all accounts, however, he is not exclusively indebted for these good qualities for his elevation from a low rank in life. Mr. Bland introduced himself through

White, who acted as interpreter, and after some conversation, in which he stated the motives of the visit, he accepted a general invitation to dine the next day, the general at the same time in the most obliging manner tendering his services. Arrangements having been made on the subject of the salute, we took our leave. Mr. White next conducted us to an inn in the great square or plaza, fronting the cabildo.

There is something extremely painful in the contemplation of scenes of recent and rapid decay. The sufferers in the havoc and desolation are brought near to us, and we cannot but sympathise in their misfortunes. Ancient ruins are associated with beings, who, in the course of nature and time, would long since have passed away at any rate, but we unavoidably share in the miseries of our cotemporaries, where we are surrounded by their sad memorials. At every step I found something to awaken these reflections. Traces of the most rapid decline of this lately flourishing and populous town, every where presented themselves. The houses, for the greater part, were tumbling down or unoccupied, whole streets were uninhabited excepting as barracks for the soldiery. In the more frequented streets, few were seen but soldiers, or perhaps a solitary female dressed in black, stealing along to some chapel to count her beads. There seemed to be little or no business doing any where, not even at the pulperias or shops. The town, in fact, looked as if it had experienced the visitation of the plague. During the latter part of our walk, it being the commencement of the siesta, (about one o'clock) the silence in the city was in some measure to be attributed to this circumstance. We observed a number of the lower classes of people, lying across the footways flat on their backs, in the shady side of the houses, with their poncho or rug spread under them; we were obliged to pass round, being unwilling to step over them, from the same kind of apprehension we should feel from a fierce mastiff or bull-dog. Happening to peep into a meat-shop, I observed a kind of Indian lying on his poncho, on the earthen floor, in the midst of myriads of flies, who covered his bare legs, face, and hands, without causing him the slightest uneasiness. These people of whom I have been speaking, appeared to have a considerable mixture of Indian race, judging from their complexion and their lank black hair, which is almost as coarse as the mane of a horse.

The town still retains every proof of having once been flourishing. The streets are laid off at right angles, and are much more spacious than those of Rio, as well as less filthy, although little or no attention is paid to them; the buildings are also, in general, erected in much better taste. The streets are

paved, but the footways narrow and indifferent. Monte Video may be considered, comparatively, a new town; for within the last century, Spain has laid the foundation of much fewer colonies or cities, than during the former period of her dominion in America. At the same time, such cities as have been built, are much more elegant and convenient. The rapid growth of this place is to be ascribed to the circumstance of its possessing a much better harbour than Buenos Ayres, if the latter place can be said to have any harbour at all. The harbour of Monte Video is, in fact, the only one on the river which deserves the name. This city came to be the emporium of what is called the Banda Oriental, a vast track of country, lying between the river Uruguay on the west, the Portuguese dominions on the north, the ocean on the east, and the river La Plata on the south, and containing about the same number of square miles as the states of Mississippi and Alabama. Its position on the Plata is not unlike that of the countries just mentioned, between the Tennessee, the Mississippi, and the gulf of Mexico. The principal exports of this city and province consisted of hides, salted meat, tallow, &c. to a very considerable amount.

In July, 1806, when Buenos Ayres was taken by General Beresford and Sir Home Popham, Monte Video was merely blockaded, these officers having determined to proceed at once against the capital, under a mistaken idea, that, if once in possession of it, the rest of the country would willingly throw off the Spanish yoke, and acknowledge obedience to the government of Great Britain. But, in the month of May, of the year following, General Achmuty, who commanded the van-guard of the second British expedition against this country, after some resistance, took possession of Monte Video. During this time, it experienced a momentary flush of prosperity, from the increased demand for its produce, and the immense quantities of British goods thrown in, and which the owners were compelled to sacrifice. This was soon after succeeded by a series of reverses, with little or no intermission until the present time. The British, under Whitlock, having been defeated at Buenos Ayres, the troops of that city laid siege to Monte Video, and compelled the captors to evacuate it. In the troubles which afterwards ensued, these two cities were soon found engaged in opposite interests. The people of Buenos Ayres having deposed the Spanish viceroy Sobremonte, on account of his incapacity, elected Liniers in his stead; but at Monte Video, the European Spaniards, who were more numerous in proportion, combining with the Spanish naval officers, prevailed over the native Americans, who, although the majority, were by no means so well directed. A junta was formed, attached to the Spanish interests,

determined to follow the varying temporary governments of Spain, and therefore, in opposition to that which had been set up by Buenos Ayres. The year after, the British had been expelled from this country, Cisneros was sent out as viceroy from Spain, Liniers was superseded, and peace between the two cities for a short time restored. But when this viceroy was deposed by the people of Buenos Ayres, in 1810, the Spanish interest was once more successful in Monte Video, after an unavailing effort of the Creoles to follow the example of the capital. Open hostilities now ensued. The government of Buenos Ayres having excited the people of the Banda Oriental to revolt, laid siege to this city, but which they were compelled to abandon and again resume, accordingly as they were successful or otherwise, in the struggle with the Spaniards in the upper provinces, until the close of the year 1814, when Buenos Ayres finally succeeded in capturing the city. During all this time, the intercourse between it and the country was almost entirely suspended, and its trade of course declined. The effects of a protracted siege, on its prosperity, may be easily imagined. The matter was still worse, when Buenos Ayres came to get possession of the city, as Artigas, with his followers, had previously deserted the cause, and was in arms against his countrymen. A few months afterwards, the inhabitants of Monte Video having established a government, set up a press, opened colleges and schools, the town was evacuated by the troops of Buenos Ayres, who had employment enough in the upper provinces. The place soon after fell under the sway of this barbarian, who continued from that time in open hostility to Buenos Ayres, contrary to the wishes of the intelligent and respectable part of the community, which he is enabled to disregard, in consequence of his having at his command the singular kind of force composed of the wild herdsmen, who are so much attached to him as their leader. The Portuguese, taking advantage of the defection of Artigas, took possession of Monte Video, under the pretext that their own safety required it. They allege, that Artigas had committed hostilities on the adjoining provinces of Brazil, and that the state of anarchy which he had occasioned, held out a dangerous example to the herdsmen of their provinces, whose habits and propensities are similar to those of the herdsmen of the Banda Oriental. The marching of their divisions, amounting in the whole to ten thousand men, has proved destructive to the settlements or villages of the country; and the occupation of this city by General Lecor, with the principal division, consisting of five thousand men, which has since been reinforced, may be considered as giving it the finishing blow. Within eight years, the population has been reduced at least

two-thirds, many of the principal inhabitants have removed, property to an immense amount in the delightful suburbs, which contained a greater population than the town, has been destroyed, and the value of what remains reduced to a mere trifle. It is, in fact, nothing but a garrison, with a few starved inhabitants, who are vexed and harassed by the military. I am told, that notwithstanding this misery, there is a theatre here, and that the evenings are spent in balls and dances, perhaps for want of other employments; the outward actions are not always the certain index of the heart. When we consider the stagnation of business, the depreciation of property, and the deficiency of supplies, we may easily conjecture what must be the condition of the people. There is little doubt, that had this place remained attached to the government of Buenos Ayres, the Portuguese would not have molested it; but the revolt of Artigas and his disorganizing system, furnished too fair an opportunity for making themselves masters of a territory they had coveted for more than a century and an half.

On our return to the hotel, we found Mr. Graham, who had come on shore, and it was agreed to remain all night. General Carrera proposed to us a ride early the next morning, and politely offered to procure us horses; the proposal was gladly acceded to. Accordingly, the next morning, we sallied forth at one of the gates, to take a view of the country outside of the walls, and within the Portuguese lines, which extend around about three miles. It would not be considered safe to go beyond them, lest we should fall in with the *Gauchos*, the name by which the people of Artigas are designated, and who might take a fancy to our clothes. The general observed, that with respect to himself, he would have nothing to fear, as he was known to them; but he was not certain that he could afford protection to those who were with him. I do not suppose they are quite as ferocious as they are generally represented to be; but I presume they are very little better than the Missouri Indians. We soon found ourselves in the midst of ruins, whose aspect was much more melancholy than those of the city itself. Nearly the whole extent which I have mentioned, was once covered with delightful dwellings, and contiguous gardens, in the highest cultivation; it is now a scene of desolation. The ground scarcely exhibits traces of the spots where they stood, or of the gardens, excepting here and there fragments of the hedges of the prickly pear, with which they had formerly been enclosed. The fruit-trees, and those planted for ornament, had been cut down for fuel, or perhaps through wantonness. Over the surface of this extensive and fertile plain, which a few

years ago contained as great a population as the city itself, there are, at present, not more than a dozen families, upon whom soldiers are billeted, and a few uninhabited dilapidated buildings. This is the result of the unhappy sieges which have reduced the population of this city and suburbs, from upward of thirty thousand to little more than seven. From this, some idea may be formed of the havoc which has been made. We found, however, in riding along the basin above the town, a fine garden, which had escaped the common wreck. We alighted, and were hospitably received by the owner, who led us through his grounds, and showed us his fruit-trees and vegetables. It is from this spot that Lecor's table is supplied. The fruits, peaches, grapes, figs, oranges, apples, &c. are exceedingly fine. In this enchanting climate, (with the exception of a few of the tropical fruits,) all the fruits that are most esteemed ripen in the open air, in great perfection. In fact, I believe that the climate is surpassed by none in the world, not even by that of Italy or the south of France. It experiences neither the sultry heat of summer, nor the chilling blast of winter. The air so pure, that putrefaction can scarcely be said to take place; we observed the remains of several dead animals, which seemed to have dried up, instead of going to decay. Flesh wounds are said to heal with difficulty, from the same cause.

After leaving this place we continued our ride in a different direction; the air cool and refreshing. The ground gradually rises on retiring from the town. I was reminded of the magnificent scite of our capital, the city of Washington. But nothing occasioned so much surprise as the amazing fertility of the soil. It is a light, rich, black mould, superior even to our best river bottoms; and this is its general character over the whole country. Cotton, the sugar-cane, Indian corn, and grain of every kind, would be equally congenial to this soil and climate, where pasturage has hitherto been almost the exclusive employment, and which renders it impossible for a country to be populous. This province alone is capable of containing a population as great as France, and yet the number of its inhabitants, at no time, exceeded sixty or seventy thousand. We remarked, as we rode along, growing about on the plains or commons, great quantities of a species of thistle, which is cut down, dried, and made into faggots, for fuel, in consequence of the scarcity of wood. Dried animals, horses, sheep, &c. are made use of for the same purpose, particularly in burning bricks. It is this which has given rise to the story of their throwing animals alive into the flames, for the purpose of keeping up their fires. Many of the extravagant stories related by travellers have had no better origin. I remarked several very

beautiful shade trees, scattered here and there over the plain. I was unable to account for these having escaped the general ravage, but was informed that this tree, which is called the *umbu*, is so very soft and porous, and contains so much sap, or more properly water, that it will not burn even after having been long cut. A gentleman told me that on first coming to this country, he was surprised one day at seeing a woman trying to split up the skull of an ox for fuel, while a log of wood was lying alongside of her, which she did not seem to think of applying to this purpose; but this log was of the incombustible *umbu*. Amongst the curious things that attracted my attention, was the remains of an enclosure formed entirely of dry ox-heads, piled on each other; from which we may form some idea of the vast number of cattle slaughtered in this neighbourhood, when the commerce of the city was flourishing.

On arriving at the high ground near the lines, the prospect was truly delightful; the city and harbour, the shipping, the frigate *Congress*, with her glorious flag, distinguishable at a greater distance than that of any other nation, the mount, the expanse of this vast river, at this place at least seventy miles wide, spread out below me; from this point the ground sloping to the interior, presented an enchanting landscape; the surface of the country waving like the *Attakapas* or *Opalousas*, with here and there some rising grounds, and some blue hills at a great distance. Along a beautiful winding stream, which flowed through a valley before us, there were more trees and shrubbery than I had expected to have seen; but this terrestrial paradise, was silent and waste—man had not fixed here his “cheerful abode.”

Wild animals, such as are common to this country, the deer, the wolf, the ostrich, and even the tiger, abound every where in these plains. The tiger of this country is a powerful and ferocious animal, little inferior in strength to that of Africa. It is not many years since three of them swam across the basin and entered the town of *Monte Video*, to the great terror of its inhabitants, several of whom were killed, or mangled, before the monsters were destroyed.

We were told that the interior of the country, for hundreds of miles, possessed the same beauty of surface, and fertility of soil; and, although generally well supplied with fine streams, a small proportion of it can be said to be hilly or mountainous; and that, in general, there is an abundance of wood along the water-courses. On examining the map of *Azara*, it will appear to be abundantly supplied with fine rivers; it is bounded in its whole extent eight or nine hundred miles on the east by the river *Uruguay*, which may bear a comparison even with

the Rhine or Danube of Europe. This river has also a number of important navigable tributaries, the principal of which are the Ubicuiy, and the Rio Negro, together with several other rivers which discharge themselves either into the Atlantic or La Plata.

As we approached the town, we met a number of country people, chiefly women and boys, with a few men, who appeared as if returning from market. I was a little surprised at this, as I understood that all intercourse had been prohibited by Artigas; but General Carrera informed us, that this does not extend beyond the prohibition of the supply of horned cattle, and that some of those we saw, were in all likelihood of the besieging force, but that such was the situation of things, it was winked at. The hatred to the Portuguese pervades every class of natives, the commoner of the plains, as well as the tenant of the humble cottage, and appears to increase in the rising generation. The present inhabitants can never be good Portuguese subjects.

About noon we had a visit from General Lecor and suite. His officers generally spoke good English, probably from having served with them against the French. This was intended as a visit of ceremony. At three o'clock, we proceeded to his quarters, according to invitation. Commodore Sinclair had at first declined, but afterwards, on a pressing invitation being sent by the general, he was induced to come. Mr. Rodney declined coming on-shore at all; under all circumstances, not considering it proper for him to do so, until his return from Buenos Ayres. We found a great number of persons assembled, all of them Portuguese officers of the land and naval service, excepting a gentleman in a citizen's dress, who, we were informed, was an agent from Buenos Ayres, on some special business; he was a keen, intelligent looking man, and his plain suit of black formed a singular contrast with the splendid uniforms, and crosses, and medals of the Portuguese officers. The entertainment was the most sumptuous. It was, indeed, a banquet, composed of every thing in the way of fish, flesh, and fowl, that can well be imagined, and was succeeded by all the variety of fruits which this market and that of Buenos Ayres could afford. Our ears were at the same time regaled with the sweetest music from the general's band. Several of these officers, particularly the general's aids, were remarkably handsome men; I happened to be seated near one of them, and had a good deal of conversation with him. He expressed a high admiration of our political institutions, and national character, part of which I of course considered only complimentary. He spoke of the patriots at Buenos Ayres, as a factious set, incapa-

ble of establishing any sober government; their leaders all corrupt, and desirous only of acquiring some little self-importance; the people ignorant, and at the mercy of ambitious demagogues: he contrasted their character with the virtues and intelligence of the people of the United States. He spoke of Artigas, as an atrocious savage, and stated a recent instance of cruel treatment to his prisoners; that his people were, like all other savages, entirely insensible to the feelings of humanity. He spoke in a manner not very complimentary to the English, and held out the idea, that some useless attempts had lately been made on their part, to induce the king of Portugal to return to Lisbon.

The Buenos Ayrean agent, in the course of the entertainment, sought a conversation with me, and pronounced a hasty, but fervid, eulogy on his government, and then on the character of his countrymen. His eagerness to communicate his thoughts, seemed to arise from apprehensions that unfavourable impressions would be made on our minds. He spoke of General Carrera, at the same time requesting to be forgiven for the liberty he was taking, and observed that he had perceived him very intimate with us, and had understood he was highly esteemed in the United States, but he hoped we would not permit our minds to be swayed by his statements, as he entertained a deadly enmity to the government of Buenos Ayres, and even to the people of that place; that he was actuated by disappointed ambition, and, for the sake of revenge, would go any length. "If he be the real patriot," said he, "why does he live under the protection of this government? Can he not go to the United States, or any where else? No, he is waiting his opportunity until the liberties of Chili shall be won from Spain, through the aid of our arms, in order to kindle up the same civil broils and factions, by which that country has been once lost already. In the meantime, he loses no opportunity of harassing us, as far as lies in his power. We attribute to him much of the abuse that has appeared against our leading men in your newspapers, and which has occasioned deep regret to the people of Buenos Ayres. The idea has been held out, that the Chilians were conquered by their brethren of Buenos Ayres, an idea the most absurd that can be imagined; but it is necessary that he should hold out this pretence; for if his country accepts our assistance, what right has he to object? "No," said he, "his anger has no other foundation than disappointed ambition. But," said he, "you will judge for yourselves. Does his country require his services? Can any one deny the fact, that she has done better without him than with him? Let him, at least, remain quiet as a pri-

vate citizen, until the liberties of his country are settled on a solid basis, and not be continually engaged as he is, in trying to bring us into disrepute with our friends abroad." My business was that of a listener—I could only answer, that I thought his observations worthy of being attended to.

During our short stay at Monte Video, I became acquainted with several English gentlemen, from whom I collected a good deal of information respecting the state of the country. With a young Irish merchant, who possessed all that generosity of heart, and genuine hospitality which characterizes his countrymen, I was highly pleased. I could not divest my mind of the idea that he was a countryman of my own, although he informed me that he had never been in the United States. I was not aware of our entertaining this feeling towards the Irish when abroad, but it no doubt arises from the circumstance of our considering them as a distinct people from the English, and oppressed by them, as well as from a consciousness that the hearts of Irishmen have generally been with us in our times of trial. Their accounts were, in most respects, very much at variance with some that I had heard from General Carrera, and his friend White; and knowing that so much depends upon the situations, motives, and interests of men, I thought well to give them due weight and consideration, as they were not so obviously disqualified from giving unbiassed testimony, as the two persons just mentioned. It would certainly be improper, on these occasions, to adopt those rules of evidence established by the experience of judicial tribunals, but they are not entirely to be despised. Having, from earliest infancy, in a life replete with incident, been often cast among strangers, the habit of circumspection has grown upon me. To distrust, or doubt, is one thing, to decide, after mature and cautious examination, is another.

CHAPTER III.

Passage from Monte Video to Buenos Ayres—Description of Buenos Ayres—Interview with the Supreme Director.

CONSIDERABLE difficulties were experienced in procuring a vessel at Monte Video, to carry the mission to its place of destination. Several small vessels were examined, and found unsuited to the purpose; the idea of chartering one at this place was therefore given up, and it was perceived too late, that an error had been committed, in not stopping for this purpose at St. Catherine's. Some trade is carried on with Buenos Ayres,

but of very little moment; two or three small sloops suffice for the purpose. Both American and English ships, coming to this river, at present, are exposed to serious inconvenience from the desertion of their crews to join the privateers, which is as injurious to commerce, as it is demoralizing to the seamen. We were fortunate in meeting a young man who was going up in a small brig to Buenos Ayres, and who cheerfully consented to take us as passengers, otherwise, it is probable, we should have been detained here for some time.

On the evening of the 26th of February, we got all our baggage on-board, and embarked. Our *Argo* would have caused uneasiness even to Charon and his ghosts; she was certainly much better suited for crossing the river Styx than the river La Plata. She was an hermaphrodite brig, called the *Malacabada*, or unfinished; the hand of time, however, had nearly completed what had been left undone by the ship-builder. The deck had not been swabbed for a year. There had been putrid grain in the hold, which had bred insects and vermin, and sent forth a most disagreeable effluvia; the cabin, which was very small, contained several women, who were going to Buenos Ayres. The sails and rigging corresponded with the rest; by way of ballast, she had several puncheons of water in her hold, which kept a constant dashing and splashing, to our great annoyance. Thus crowded together on deck, with scarcely room to turn round in this crazy vessel, no one would have suspected that the *Malacabada* carried a mission from the great republic of the north, to the rising republic of the south.

There were several passengers on-board, besides ourselves, inhabitants of Buenos Ayres. As we expected not to remain out more than one night, we made up our minds to be reconciled to our miserable accommodations. We wrapped ourselves in our great coats, for the evening was extremely cool, and slept as well as we could. Next morning we came in sight of the southern shore, at the distance of some miles; it appeared to be a mere line along the surface of the water, and some solitary trees at a distance, looked as if they grew in this element. Towards the middle of the day, we suffered considerably from the heat, being without any shelter.

During the evening I had an opportunity, for the first time, of seeing and tasting the herb of Paraguay, or *matte*, as prepared by these people. It is called *matte*, from the name of the vessel; usually a small gourd, by the poorer sort, or silver, and even wood (nearly of the same shape) cased with copper for the rich. About a handful of the bruised leaves of the *yerba*, intermingled with small twigs, for it is not prepared

with the cleanliness and care of the East India tea, is put into three half-gills of warm water; the matte, itself, holding about a pint. As it is used, the water is occasionally renewed, and in taking it, they use a tube a few inches in length, with a perforated bulb at the end, as a strainer. Sugar is sometimes added to it. The taste is an agreeable bitter, and bears some resemblance to the Chinese tea. It does not form a part of a social meal, nor is any thing eaten with it; it is taken just as inclination prompts, at all times of the day, though more generally in the morning and evening, or after having undergone some bodily fatigue. The decoction possesses, according to them, exhilarating and restorative qualities. As there were not mattes enough for each, I saw them, without repugnance, using the same after each other; but I afterwards observed, that this was not the case in the more refined portions of society. The quantities of this herb consumed in the viceroyalty of La Plata, and exported to Chili and Peru, was, at one time, very great; but the interruption of their trade, occasioned by the revolution, and the restrictive system adopted by the government of Paraguay, has occasioned it to diminish. Its use is said to have been borrowed from the Indians, with whom it had been known time immemorial. It is a large shrub, which grows wild throughout Paraguay, and on the east side of the Parana. Azara gives a description of the manner in which it is prepared for exportation. It is stated never to have been cultivated, and has not been accurately described by botanists.

About day-break we found ourselves in the outer roads, about six miles from shore, where vessels of a larger size are obliged to moor, as the water is too shoal for them to approach nearer. A light fog rising soon after, prevented us from having a clear view of the city until after we had cast anchor among the smaller vessels, about half-a-mile from land. Phœbus, at last, lifted the curtain, and our impatient eyes beheld *the celebrated seat of liberty and independence of the south*. How different the thoughts which rushed across my mind from those which suggested themselves on my approach to Rio Janeiro! There is no king here,—no hereditary nobility,—*the power of the state is acknowledged to be in the people, and in no other*. If this be their guiding star, it must, in the end, bring them safely through, provided this be their motto. I care not for the present defects in the state of society, or the errors of government; the cause is a glorious one, and heaven will smile upon it. The public functionaries have been made, and can be unmade by them: of how many countries of the world can this be said? I own myself one of those who prefer the

whirlwinds of democracy, to the stagnant pool of despotism. Never shall I again behold a scene more sublime; a people not only struggling against oppressive power, but against the errors and prejudices of centuries, and for the happiness of myriads yet unborn; a people who have followed our example, who admire our institutions, and who *may* settle down in rational and free government; for I view even *the possibility of such a consummation as something great*. Yes, they are destined to break the chains of slavery, ignorance, and superstition in the south, as we have in the north.

I shall endeavour to give the reader a rude sketch of the city, as it appeared to us, a task much easier than to convey the moral impressions left on the mind. It stretches along a high bank about two miles; its domes and steeples, and heavy masses of building, give it an imposing, but somewhat gloomy aspect. Immense piles of dingy, brown-coloured brick, with little variety, heavy and dull, shewed that it did not take its rise under the patronage of liberty. Compared to Philadelphia, or New York, it is a vast mass of bricks, piled up without taste, elegance, or variety. The houses, in some places, appear to ascend in stages; one story rising from the bottom of the bank, the second story leaving part of it as a terrace, and, in like manner, where the building rose to three stories, a second terrace was left, besides the roof of the house, which is invariably flat. The whole has the appearance of a vast fortification. The streets, at regular intervals, open at right angles with the river, and their ascent is steep. Between the bank and the water's edge there is a space of considerable width, rarely covered by the tides; a number of people were seen here presenting some appearance of the bustle of trade, while the border of the river, for more than a mile, was occupied by washerwomen, and the green sward, covered with clothes, spread out in the sun. Between the sward and the bank, the earth is bare, but some poplar trees are planted with seats underneath, and this appears to be a kind of mall, or promenade. There projects out into the water, a long narrow pier, or wharf, composed of a mass of stone and earth, and which is said to have cost the king of Spain half a million of dollars, the stone used in its construction having been brought from the island of Martin Garcia, at the mouth of the Uruguay; excepting at high tides, it by no means answers the purpose for which it was intended. To the left of this, looking towards the city, at the distance of a few hundred yards, stands the fort, or castle, its walls extending down to the water's edge, and mounted with cannon. But, as it is not likely that an enemy would attempt a landing in front of the city, and as no shipping can

approach within gun-shot, it can be of little importance in a military point of view ; it is, in fact, without a garrison, and the buildings within have been occupied for public offices, and the residence of the viceroys under the old regime, and of the directors since the revolution ; while the canon are used only in firing salutes. Centinels, however, are seen pacing the walls, and the blue and white flag waving over their heads. About a mile below this, the high bank suddenly tends inward, leaving a vast level plain, which seems to be partly in cultivation, and partly in pasture grounds, inclosed in the manner of the country, and through which a stream as large as the Christiana, at Wilmington, enters the river, affording a good harbour for the smaller craft, as also at its mouth, where there is a kind of circular basin. In looking up the river to our right, the city terminates in detached seats and gardens.

Our boat having been prepared, I embarked with Lieutenant Clack, Mr. Breeze, the purser, Dr. Baldwin, and the owner of the *Malacabada*. It was necessary to make some arrangements at the custom-house with respect to our baggage, to prevent unpleasant detention : Mr. Rodney and Commodore Sinclair declined going on-shore. As it was low-water, it was so shallow, that our boat, though small, could not approach, we were therefore compelled to get into a cart, according to custom, and to be thus ferried to shore, at least a hundred yards. These carts would appear in our country of a most awkward and clumsy structure. They are drawn by two horses ; the wheels are of an enormous size, and the quantity of wood employed in the structure of the vehicle, one might suppose, would be a load of itself. I am told that, within a few years past, an English carriage, or waggon-maker, has established himself in the city, and has already made a fortune by constructing carts and waggons on a more modern plan ; that his price, at first, for a common two-horse waggon, was 500 dollars, but since they have become in more general use, it has fallen one half ; but it will be a considerable time before the present clumsy, and inconvenient machines, will be superseded. It will happen here, as in every thing else, that the progress of improvement will be slow.

On our landing we found very few persons on the wharf, attracted, as might have been expected, by curiosity. The fact is, we had taken them by surprise ; and, as I afterwards learned, it was a source of some chagrin, that they had not had an opportunity of making some display on the occasion. It was natural to expect, that personages to whom the people attached so much importance, should make their appearance with something more of parade. But I hope this disappointment was

more than compensated, by giving them a practical example of the simplicity and humility of true republicanism, which places little or no importance in that outward show or ceremony, which is more properly a cloak for emptiness and conceit, than any part of native worth and dignity.

Our friend was taken by the hand by a young officer, in a neat uniform, and his manner gave me a very favourable idea of the relation in this place between the citizen and the soldier. These two young men were probably educated together, and were playmates in the same town; they had only embraced different occupations, one entering the counting-house, and the other the army, but without placing themselves in different ranks or orders of society. There was something of militia in the manner of the officer, which I cannot describe, which strongly associated itself with recollections of my own country, and very different from what I had witnessed in Brazil, where the military constitute an order as distinct as if of a different race of men. There was no difficulty in making the arrangements before-mentioned. While the boat returned to the vessel, I went in company with the gentleman before-mentioned, in quest of lodgings. There are several tolerable public-houses, chiefly kept by foreigners. We succeeded in obtaining comfortable quarters, at about the same price as in the cities of the United States.

I had no sooner been comfortably settled in my lodgings, than I felt impatient to take a stroll through the town. The streets are straight and regular, like those of Monte Video; a few of them are paved, but hollow in the middle. The houses are pretty generally two stories high, with flat roofs, and, for the most part, plastered on the outside; which, without doubt, at first, improved their appearance, but, by time and neglect, they have become somewhat shabby. There are no elegant rows of buildings as in Philadelphia, or New York, but many are spacious, and all take up much more ground than with us. The reason of this is, that they have large open courts, or verandas, both in front and rear, which are called *patios*. These *patios* are not like our yards, enclosed by a wall or railing; their dwellings, for the most part, properly compose three connected buildings, forming as many sides of a square; the wall of the adjoining house making up the fourth. In the centre of the front building there is a gate-way, and the rooms on either hand, as we enter, are, in general, occupied as places of business, or merchants' counting rooms; the rear building is usually the dining-room, while that on the left, or the right, (as it may happen,) is the sitting-room, or parlour. The

patio is usually paved with brick, and sometimes with marble, and is a cool and delightful place.

Grape-vines are planted round the walls, and, at this season, are loaded with their fruit. The houses have as little wood as possible about them; both the first and second floor having brick pavements; fire-engines are, therefore, unknown, together with that uneasiness from this angry element, when once master, so much felt in our cities. There are no chimnies, but those of kitchens. At all the windows there is a light iron grating, which projects about one foot; probably a remnant of Spanish jealousy. The compactness of the town, the flatness of the roofs, the incombustibility of the houses, the open court-yards, which resemble the area of forts, and the iron gratings, compose a complete fortification, and I do not know a worse situation in which an enemy could be, than in one of those streets. It is not surprising that a city so well fortified, should have so effectually resisted the army of twelve thousand men, under General Whitlock. The only mode by which it could be assailed, would be by first obtaining a complete command of the country around it, and of the river in front. This would require a greater effort than Spain can make, even if she were to abandon all her other colonies, and unite, for the special purpose, all the forces she is able to spare out of her Spanish dominions.

But little attention is paid to the cleanliness of the streets; in one of the front streets, where there was no pavement, I observed several deep mud holes; into these, dead cats and dogs are sometimes thrown, from too much indelence to carry them out of the way. The side-walks are very narrow, and in bad repair; this is better than at Rio Janeiro, where there are none at all. I observed, however, as I went along, a number of convicts, as I took them to be, engaged in mending the bad places already mentioned. In these particulars I was very much reminded of New Orleans; in fact, in many other points, I observed a striking resemblance between the two cities. I can say but little for the police, when compared to our towns; but this place manifests a still greater superiority over Rio Janeiro; and many important improvements, that have been introduced, within a few years past, were pointed out to me. It would be well, however, to bestow some trouble in cleaning those streets that are paved, and in paving the rest; as well as in freeing the fronts of their houses from the quantity of dust collected, wherever it can find a resting-place.

But it is time to speak of the inhabitants of the city, and of the people who frequent it. And here, whether illusion or

reality, I had not walked far before I felt myself in a land of freedom. There was an independence, an ingenuousness in the carriage, and an expression in the countenances of those I met, which reminded me of my own country; an air of freedom breathed about them, which I shall not attempt to describe. I felt the force of that beautiful thought of Moore, in his *Lalla Rookh* :—

“————— who with heart and eyes
 Could walk where liberty has been, nor see
 The shining foot-prints of her deity;
 Nor feel those god-like breathings in the air,
 Which mutely told her spirit had been there!”

I saw nothing but the plainness and simplicity of republicanism; in the streets, there were none but plain citizens, and citizen soldiers; some of the latter, perhaps, shewing a little of the coxcomb, and others exhibiting rather a *militia appearance*, not the less agreeable to me on that account. In fact, I could almost have fancied myself in one of our own towns, judging by the dress and appearance of the people whom I met. Nothing can be more different than the population of this place, from that of Rio. I saw no one bearing the insignia of nobility, except an old crazy man, followed by a train of roguish boys. There were no palanquins, or rattling equipages; in these matters, there was much less luxury and splendour than with us. The females, instead of being immured by jealousy, are permitted to walk abroad and breathe the common air. The supreme director has no grooms, gentlemen of the bed-chamber, nor any of the train which appertains to royalty; nor has his wife any maids of honour; his household is more plain than that of most of the private gentlemen of fortune in our own country; it is true, when he rides out to his country-seat, thirty miles off, he is accompanied by half-a-dozen horsemen, perhaps a necessary precaution, considering the times, and which may be dispensed with on the return of peace; or, perhaps, a remnant of anti-republican barbarity, which will be purged away by the sun of a more enlightened age; indeed, I am informed, that the present director lives in a style of much greater simplicity than any of his predecessors.

If I were to stop here, however, I should not give a faithful picture of the appearance to a stranger, of the population of Buenos Ayres; the mixture of negroes and mulattoes, is by no means remarkable, not as great, perhaps, as in Baltimore, and the proportion of the military, such as we might have seen in one of our towns, during the last war, with the exception of the black troops, which, in this city, constitute a principal part

of the regular force. But there are other figures which enter into the picture, and give a different cast to the whole from any thing I have seen. The modern European and North American civilization, and I will add South American, which differs but little from the others, was set off by a strange mixture of antiquity and aboriginal rudeness. Buenos Ayres may very justly be compared to the bust of a very beautiful female, placed upon a pedestal of rude unshapen stone. Great numbers of gauchos, and other country people, are seen in the streets, and always on horseback; and, as there prevails a universal passion for riding, the number of horses is very great. The European mode of caparisoning is occasionally seen, but most usually, the bridle and saddle would be regarded as curiosities by us. The stirrups of the gouchos are so small, as to admit little more than the big toe of the rider, who makes a very grotesque figure with his long flowing poncho. This is a kind of striped cotton, or woollen rug, of the manufacture of the country, fine or coarse, according to the purse of the wearer, with nothing but a slit in the middle, through which the head is thrust and hangs down perfectly loose, resembling somewhat a waggoner's frock. In rain, it answers the purposes of a big coat, and in hot weather, is placed on the saddle. It is also used for sleeping on, as the Indians use their blanket. It is possible, after all, that this singularity of dress may not make any great difference in the man. There is nothing remarkable in the complexion or features, excepting where there happens to be a little dash of the Indian. There is more of indolence, and *vacancy*, (if I may use the word,) in the expression in their countenances, and an uncouth wildness of their appearance; but it must be remembered, that we also of the north are reproached by Europeans for our carelessness of time, and our lazy habits. These *gauchos*, I generally observed, clustered about the *pulperias*, or grog-shops, of which there are great numbers in the city and suburbs, they frequently drink and carouse on horseback, while the horses of those that are dismounted, continue to stand still without being fastened, as they are all taught to do, and champing the bit. These carousing groups would afford excellent subjects for Flemish painters. The horses, though not of a large size, are all finely formed; I do not recollect a single instance in which I did not remark good limbs, and well-formed head and neck. The *gauchos* are often bare-footed and bare-legged; or, instead of boots, make use of the skin of the hind legs of the horse; the joint answering the purpose of a heel, and furnishing a very cheap kind of suwarrow.

Besides the clumsy carts, of which I have before spoken,

and the class of people that I have just described, my attention was attracted by the appearance of the great ox waggons, used in the trade with the interior. They are of an enormous size, and are the most clumsy contrivances imaginable. Five or six of these in a line, are sometimes seen groaning along the street, the wheels making a noise like the gates on their hinges of Milton's Pandemonium. The waggoners use no tar to prevent them from making this harsh noise, as they say it is music to the oxen, which are, in general, uncommonly large, and the finest that I ever saw. Their yokes, in proportion, are as ponderous as the waggon, and in drawing, nothing is used but the raw hide strongly twisted. In fact, this is the only kind of gears, or traces, used for all descriptions of carriages. To each of these enormous waggons there are, generally, at least three drivers. One sits in the waggon, with a long rod or goad in his hand, and above his head, suspended in slings, there is a bamboo or cane, at least thirty feet in length, as supple as a fishing-rod, so that it can, occasionally, be used to quicken the pace of the foremost pair of oxen, which are fastened to the first by a long trace of twisted hide. The interval between the different pairs of oxen, is rendered necessary by the difficulty of crossing small rivers, whose bottoms are bad, and which are subject to sudden rises. Another driver takes his seat on the yoke, between the heads of the second pair of oxen, being also armed with a goad, with its point turned backwards; there was something extremely ludicrous to me, in the appearance of this last; his bare, brawny legs dangling in the air, and nothing but a folded sheep skin to sit upon; yet content, or rather inanity, was pictured in his countenance. Besides these two, there is a third on horseback, armed in the same manner. If such an exhibition were to pass through one of our streets, with its slow and solemn movement and musical groanings, I doubt not, but it would attract as much attention as half-a-dozen elephants.

As this is the fruit season, a number of people were crying peaches up and down the street, but on horseback, with large panniers, made of the raw hides of oxen, on each side. Milk, in large tin cannisters, was cried about in the same way, and as they passed in a tolerable trot, I expected every moment to hear the cry changed to that of butter. As I moved along towards the great square, a part of which is the principal market-place, (immediately in front of the castle, or government-house,) there appeared to be a great throng of people. I met some priests and friars, but by no means as many as I expected, and nothing like the number I met at Rio Janeiro. There are, perhaps, fewer monasteries and convents in Buenos Ayres

than in any Spanish town in the world. But, as things are very much judged of by comparison, it is highly probable, that if I had not touched at the place before-mentioned, and had come directly here from one of our cities, I should have considered the number of regular and secular clergy very considerable. It must be constantly kept in view, that, in order to judge of these people fairly, we are to compare them with Spanish or Portuguese, and look at what they have been, not to the state of things in the United States. The dress of the seculars when in their canonicals, is like that of the episcopal clergy, except that they wear a broad quaker-hat. The monks and friars are easily distinguished by their habit of coarse cloth or flannel, girt round the waist, and with a cowl or hood behind. In speaking of the Catholic clergy, we, who know little about them, are very much in the habit of confounding these two classes. They are very different, both in character and appearance. The seculars are necessarily men of education, and living and mingling in society, participate in the feelings of the people, and cannot avoid taking part in temporal affairs. The monks, on the contrary, are gregarious, not dispersed through the society, but shut up in their convents and monasteries, and not permitted to mingle in the affairs of the world. From the first, it is natural to expect liberality and intelligence, as well as from other christian clergy, but, in the latter, it would not be surprising to find superstition and ignorance.

On approaching the market-place, as it was still early in the day, I found that the crowd had not entirely dispersed. There is no market-house or stalls, except in the meat-market, situated on one corner of the square which fronts on the plaza. Every thing offered for sale was spread on the ground. I can say but little in favour of the appearance of cleanliness; dirt and filth appeared to have a prescriptive right here. One who had never seen any other than a Philadelphia market, can form no idea of the condition of this place. To make amends, it is admirably supplied with all the necessaries and delicacies that an abundant and fruitful country can afford. Beef, mutton, fowls, game, &c., with a variety of excellent fish, were here in great plenty, and for prices, which, in our markets, would be considered very low. Beef, particularly, is exceedingly cheap, and of a superior quality; it is the universal dish, chiefly roasted. Absolute want is scarcely known in this country, any more than with us. As I passed by the hucksters stalls, they presented a much richer display than any I had been accustomed to see. Here, apples, grapes, oranges, pomegranates, peaches, figs, pine-apples, water-melons, were mingled in fair profusion.

The plaza, or great square, is at least twice as large as the state-house-yard in Philadelphia, and is unequally divided into two parts, by an edifice long and low, which serves as a kind of bazaar, or place of shops, with a corridor on each side the whole length, which is used as a shelter for the market-people. At these shops or stores, which are pretty well supplied, they can make their purchases without the trouble of wandering through the town. The space between this and the fort is that appropriated for the market. The opposite side, which is much larger, is a *kind of place d'armes*; and fronting the building just spoken of, and which intercepts the view of the fort, there is a very fine edifice, called the *cabildo*, or town-house, somewhat resembling that of New Orleans, but much larger. In this building the courts hold their sessions, and the offices are kept. The city council, or *cabildo*, also sits here, and business of all kinds, relating to the police, is here transacted. Near the centre of the square, a neat pyramid has been erected, commemorative of the revolution, with four emblematic figures, one at each corner, representing justice, science, liberty, and America, the whole enclosed with a light railing.

The shops, or stores, as far as I observed, in my perambulation through the city, are all on a very small scale, and make no shew as in our towns. There are but few signs, and those belong chiefly to foreigners; such as *sustre*, *botero*, *sapatero*, *de Londres*; taylor, boot-maker, shoe-maker, from London. The greater part of the trades which are now flourishing here, particularly hatters, blacksmiths, and many others that I might enumerate, have been established since the revolution; the journeymen mechanics are chiefly half Indians and mulattoes. The wages of an American or English journeyman are higher than in any part of the world: 1,500 or 2,000 dollars per annum, I am told, are very commonly given. There are other squares through the town, besides the one already mentioned, in which markets are held.

There are also large yards, or corrals, which belong to the city, and are hired to individuals, for the purpose of confining droves of cattle. I observed several large wood-yards, in which there were immense piles of peach limbs, tied into bundles or faggots, together with timber and firewood brought from Paraguay, or the Brazils.

In receding from the river towards the country, the streets wear a much more mean appearance, being very dirty, and apparently much neglected, while the houses seldom exceed one story in height, and are built of brick scarcely half burnt. In walking from the front streets, we seemed to be transferred, at

once, to some half civilized village, 1,000 miles in the interior. Every where, in the skirts of the town, much of the Indian race is visible, generally a very poor, harmless, and indolent people. They commonly speak nothing but Spanish, and, but for their complexion, and inanimate countenances, they could not be distinguished from the lower orders of the Spanish Americans, such as the labourers, carters, countrymen, and gauchos. It would be 'worth inquiring into the cause, why none of the aborigines are found, in this manner, near any of our towns, which possess the population and opulence of *Buenos Ayres*. It surely does not arise from their having been treated with more kindness here, or more pains having been taken in their civilization, or, because the nations in the vicinity are more numerous? I am inclined to attribute it to two causes; the first is, that the early settlers on this river were soldiers, and having few Spanish women with them, they were compelled, like the Romans, to procure wives from their neighbours, which laid the groundwork for a more friendly intercourse between them and the natives, and this continued even after the flourishing state of the colony enticed emigrants of both sexes from Old Spain. Or, it may be, that these Indians are of a less wild and untameable character than those of North America. But the principal reason is, the number of Indians that have found their way hither from the missions of Paraguay, since the expulsion of the Jesuits, and also from the provinces of Peru, where they were a civilized people on the first discovery and conquest. In forming our ideas of the aborigines of South America, only by what we know of those of the north, we may be led astray. Against Indians and Spaniards, we have strong prejudices in the United States; the man of sense should endeavour to rise above them.

On my way back to the hotel, I met a party of twenty or thirty pampas Indians on horseback, who had come to town, for the purpose of bartering skins for such things as they wanted. They excited no curiosity as they rode along the street, although tricked out with their nosebobs and earbobs, and, except the poncho, which they wore, entirely naked. They were rather taller, and more square-shouldered than ours, but their physiognomy was very nearly the same.

At this season of the year, many of the principal inhabitants are still in the country, to which they retire, for a few months, until the approach of cool weather. This is probably the most pleasant season of the year, but the climate is seldom otherwise than pleasant; the range of the thermometer rarely exceeds fifty degrees, and hardly ever rises within ten degrees as high as with us. In the vast plains or pampas, which stretch from

the margin of the river, almost to the foot of the Cordilleras, where there is no shade or shelter, or next to none, the heat of the sun is said to be very oppressive; travellers, therefore, lie by in the middle of the day. The habit of the *siesta*, which prevails so universally in this country, is perhaps an excuse for this loss of time. It was now the hour here for this indulgence, and the change from the busy populous city, of a sudden, to the silence and loneliness which takes place on these occasions, was peculiarly striking. The inhabitants generally dine between one and two o'clock, and soon after retire to take their evening's nap, which usually lasts until five or six, at which hour the devotees go to vespers, or evening-prayers, in the churches. I saw, however, a greater number of persons in the streets than I had expected, and I am told that, of late years, the habit has been sensibly decreasing. It was formerly a saying, that, during the *siesta*, none but dogs and foreigners were to be seen in the street. This is no longer true, the increase of business and active employments having a good deal broken in upon a custom, which could only owe its origin to that indolence commonly proceeding from a want of incentive to action. Such an incentive must certainly have been furnished by the animated scenes of their revolution, and by the numerous and important changes which it has produced. In very hot climates, as in the West Indies, and the greater part of South America, there may be some reason for thus reposing in the middle of the day; the intense heat of the sun rendering it unpleasant and dangerous, to labour in the open fields, and the morning and evening affording them sufficient time to do all their work. Providence, perhaps, in equalizing the benefits of nature, has decreed, that people here should be circumscribed in their pursuits by the heat of the day, as in other countries by the coldness of the winter. Without such dispensations, the advantages would be too great on the side of the warm climates. The climate of Buenos Ayres, however, is not such as to render it necessary to avoid the sun in the heat of the day. It resembles very much that to the south of the Mississippi, in our Louisiana district of Texas, although not quite so warm in summer, nor yet so cold in winter. The south-west winds of the winter are exceedingly piercing, although there is very seldom sufficient cold to incrust the water with ice, but the frequent rains which fall at this season renders it damp and chilly, as at New Orleans. The climate of the southern latitudes, although they do not accord with the same degree, north of the equator, in the eastern hemisphere, are yet several degrees warmer than in North America. This place is situated in about 35 deg. south, and ought, therefore,

to correspond with the climate of Norfolk. But less cold is felt here than in Charlestown or New Orleans. This is an important consideration, with respect to the territory of the republic to the southward of this place. Molina, the historian of Chili, has taken pains to disprove, in his work, to which I would refer the reader, the prevalent idea of the excessive cold of Patagonia. I think it highly probable, that as high south as latitude 50 deg. the climate is at least as mild as that of Philadelphia. On some other occasion, when I come to speak of the geography of this vast country, I will say more on this subject.

The day after we arrived was Sunday, and the streets were crowded with people. I was very frequently reminded of my former place of residence, New Orleans, with the exception that the proportion of coloured people is comparatively very small, but amongst the lower classes I remarked a great many of Indian extraction; this was discovered in the complexion and features. The inhabitants generally are a shade browner than those of North America; but I saw a great number with good complexions. They are a handsome people. They have nothing in their appearance and character of that dark, jealous, and revengeful disposition, we have been in the habit of attributing to Spaniards. The men dress pretty much as we do, but the women are fond of wearing black when they go abroad. The fashion of dress, in both sexes, I am informed, has undergone great improvement, since their free intercourse with strangers. The old Spaniards, of whom there are considerable numbers, are easily distinguished by their darker complexion, the studied shabbiness of their dress, and the morose and surly expression of countenance; this arises from their being treated as a sort of Jews, by those whom they were wont to consider as greatly their inferiors. They are also distinguished by not mounting the blue and white cockade, which is universally worn by the citizens of the republic. The same number of Chinese could scarcely form a class more distinct from the rest of the community. There can hardly be a greater affront offered to an *Americano del Sud*, than to call him a Spaniard. A young fellow told me, in a jesting way, that the monks, friars, and Spaniards, were generally old, and would soon die off, which he said was a great consolation.

I went round to several of the churches, of which there are ten or fifteen throughout the city. I shall not trouble the reader with a description of them, as by referring to books he can learn their names, and the years in which they were founded. All I shall say is, that those I saw were immense masses of buildings, particularly the cathedral, which of itself covers almost a whole square. The internal decorations are generally

rich and splendid, and the pomp of catholic worship is displayed here, pretty much as it is in other parts of the world. My attention was more attracted by the crowds of beautiful women, going and coming to the churches, and the graceful elegance of their carriage. They walk more elegantly than any women I ever saw. They are seen usually in family-groups, but, according to the custom of the country, seldom attended by gentlemen. There are usually a few beggars about the church-doors, all blind or decrepid with age. I am informed there are two convents in the city, but I did not go to see them, as I was told the nuns were all old and ugly.

A very animated and martial scene was presented to me, by the exercising of the regular troops, and civic militia. The black regiments made an uncommonly fine appearance, and seemed to be in a very high state of discipline. The civic militia is said to be fully as well trained as the regulars. I saw several very fine bands of music. A battalion of slaves, consisting of five or six hundred men, was also mustered, and then marched to one of the churches. With all these things going on, the city exhibited one of the most animating scenes I had ever witnessed. They are certainly a more enthusiastic, and perhaps warlike people, than we are; if they possessed, with these qualities, by way of ballast, something of our *steady habits*, and general stock of information, I think they would nearly equal us.

In the afternoon, in company with Dr. Baldwin, and a gentleman with whom I became acquainted, I resolved, if possible, to breathe the air outside of the city; and being pedestrians, we resolved to take it on foot, though horses might have been had, either to *buy* or *hire*, for the trip; the difference in price for these two modes of obtaining them, does not quite bear the same proportion as with us. It would have cost us, probably, one dollar and an half, or two dollars, for the hiring, while a very good hackney might be bought for ten; but then it would cost, at the livery-stable, three or four dollars a week to keep him.

We directed our course up the river; the doctor was very anxious to reach the open fields, for the purpose of pursuing his botanical researches, and I was equally desirous of reaching some high ground, whence I might have a better view of the city and its environs. We passed through a large square, the greater part of which is occupied by an extensive circus, open at the top, called the *toro*, or place for bull-fighting. It is capable of containing a vast concourse of people. But I was glad to hear that this barbarous amusement is fast going into disrepute, and that few of the respectable people now attend it.

It is not surprising, that it should have been a place of fashionable resort, when it was attended by the viceroy and his court, with much show and parade. Under the revolutionary governments it has been discountenanced, and should any member of the government attend it, he mingles in the crowd of citizens. But there may be a still better reason; these are amongst the contrivances of monarchy, to withdraw the attention of its subjects from things that really concern them. The minds of these people are now turned upon much more important objects than bull-fights. But the custom still prevails, and it would be imprudent at once to abolish it; in this, as in other matters, the reformer should go to work with a cautious hand. As Lent is now nearly over, I am informed that the circus and the theatre are to open next week. I will here mention another instance of reform, which does honour to the present director. This is in abolishing the silly custom which prevailed here, as well as at Rio, of throwing wax-balls filled with water, at people in the street, during three days at the end or commencement of the carnival, I do not recollect which. He effected it by a simple appeal, through the medium of the newspapers, to their good sense, and their regard for those manners which distinguish a polite from a barbarous people.

We continued our walk about two miles beyond the town, but appeared to be no nearer the open fields, being completely enclosed on all sides, by what are here called quintas, which are large gardens of several acres, with abundance of fruit-trees and vegetables. Many of these are owned by the inhabitants of the city, but they chiefly belong to people who make a living by attending the market. There are very few of those neat dwellings which are seen about our cities; the houses here are chiefly small, and built of very indifferent brick. The grape-vine, however, with which they are fond of adorning their houses, had to me a very pleasing appearance, particularly when loaded with their exquisite fruit. We stepped into one, where our friend was acquainted, and were received with much politeness and civility by the inhabitants; their countenances seeming to brighten up, when told we were Americans of the north. They treated us with fine peaches, pears, grapes, and melons. Instead of pales, or fences, hedges of the prickly pear are invariably used, which are planted on the mound of earth, thrown up in digging the ditch on the outside. The soil is like that of our best river bottoms, and its particles are so fine, that the road at this season of the year is intolerably dusty.

On our way back to town, our friend induced us to stop at a spacious mansion, where there resided a gentleman whom he

knew, named La Rocca. This gentleman's establishment forms a prominent exception to what I have just been describing; his grounds are surrounded by a brick-wall; his buildings, gardens, &c. all upon a more extensive scale. We entered through a lofty gate-way, into a spacious court. The servant informed us that his master, with several other gentlemen, was on the terrace at the top of the house, and at our request conducted us up. I was glad of the occasion, as I was told that there was a very fine view from this place. We were treated by La Rocca with great attention, and we found him a man of liberal and enlightened mind. He is a native of old Spain, but has been naturalized, and has taken an active part in the revolution. He pointed out to us a beautiful grove of olives, which he had planted after the Spanish system, which forbade the cultivation of this invaluable plant, had been abolished. The other gentlemen who were with him were his neighbours, natives of the country, and were sensible and well-informed. I learned from them that our arrival had excited great interest throughout the city, and that many conjectures as to our object were afloat. They seemed all to agree, that nothing of an unfriendly nature could be expected from our government, and seemed to be very much hurt at the unfavourable impressions which had been made in the United States as to the state of things in this country, by publications in the newspapers. They said that they had no right to expect any friendship or sympathy from us, if their institutions were really so vile as had been represented. They said, it was natural to expect, that as their enemies were not able to subdue them, they would endeavour to ruin their character; and for this purpose, they would seize and magnify every real, or alleged error, or misconduct. La Rocca here drew an animated comparison between the state of things in Spain and in this country, highly favourable, as may be supposed, to the latter. He told me it was their intention to establish a government as nearly resembling that of the United States as circumstances would permit. He inquired, with a considerable earnestness, as to the truth of a report of our government having endeavoured to obtain a cession of territory from the king of Naples, and laid great stress on the circumstance of our having no colonies, and, from the nature of our constitution, not being permitted to have any. He said it was impossible for them to repose full confidence in the friendship of nations holding colonies, and they were sorry to see us deviating in the slightest degree from what they understood was with us a fundamental maxim. If we could have colonies in Italy, we might have them in America, in Africa, and in Asia.

As the house stood upon ground somewhat more elevated than the city, and not more than three hundred yards from the river, there was a very extensive horizon in every direction. In a clear day, Colonia, on the opposite side of the river, is visible from this place; but at present, as the atmosphere was somewhat obscured, and a stiff north-easter blowing, nothing was presented to the eye but a vast expanse of water, the Mosquito fleet of sloops, and small coasting vessels, tossing about below us, and those of a larger kind anchored in the outer roads; the whole having a very dreary appearance. On the land side, we seemed to look over the city, which covers an extent of ground nearly as great as Philadelphia, with quintas up and down the river, whose variety of fruit-trees, with here and there a Lombardy poplar intermixed, exhibited a very lively and pleasing appearance; while to the westward, at the distance of a few miles, there seems to be a boundless waste of pampas, or grassy plains, without a tree or shrub. The whole population of the country is not greater than that of the city. In fact, the real limits of the province are exceedingly circumscribed. About forty miles north of this, is a large village called Luxan, at which the road branches off for Cordova and Mendoza, there commences a line of *presidios*, extending southerly across the Salado to the river Colorada, which marks the southern boundary of the province. This line of posts was originally established for the purpose of protecting the settlements from the incursions of the wild pampas Indians, who were then a most dangerous and formidable enemy. But of late years, they have ceased to be dreaded, and their incursions have only for their object, stealing cattle and horses. While I am upon this subject, I will say something as to the manner in which the population is distributed in this country, intending to enlarge on the subject on some future occasion.

Under the viceroyalty, a line of 250 miles north and south, and 100 miles east and west, would have included the whole population of the province; but this was distributed in a manner singularly unequal; some parts being as thickly inhabited as the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and the rest as wild as the plains of the Missouri. Since the revolution, the frontier has been considerably extended, and this province, as well as the others of the union, which have been exempt from the immediate devastations of war, have had a considerable increase of inhabitants. The city of Buenos Ayres, and its vicinity, probably ten miles square, contains about 70,000 inhabitants; the villages of Luxan, Ensenada, Las Couchas, and a few others, with their circumscribed vicinages, may contain from 2 to 5,000, and as the whole population does not exceed 105,000,

all the remainder of the province is left for the rest, not exceeding 15 or 20,000 in number. Immediately around the towns and villages, are the quintas of which I have spoken, chiefly appropriated to the raising of vegetables and fruits; next come the larger farms, or chacras, where wheat, Indian corn, and barley, are raised as with us; but according to a very different, and as far as I can learn, a very inferior system of agriculture. These have not the same aversion to neighbourhood, as the old Virginia planter, who declared, he never would wish to live so near as to hear the barking of his neighbours' dogs. The mode of cultivating the earth, of enclosing their grounds, and their rural economy in general, would furnish many curious topics; but these I must waive for the present. The soil is, undoubtedly, the finest in the world; but they labour under great disadvantages from a deficiency of water, as the streams, which are not numerous, are apt to go dry in summer. They are, therefore, compelled to make reservoirs for the reception of rain-water, when at too great a distance from the river. Their crops are, notwithstanding, superior to ours, and are rarely known to fail. In the uncultivated waste which spreads around these specks of civilization, are what are called the *estancias*, or grazing farms, which constitute the principal fortunes of the rich, and are of various dimensions, some as large as our townships, or even counties. They have from 20 to 60,000 head of cattle on one of these estates. Before the revolution, they were valued at about one dollar for every head of cattle; for the land was scarcely taken into the account. Since that period, the value of both has more than doubled. From this, it will be seen, that a grazing farm in the Opeloussa, of 10 or 15,000 head, valued at ten dollars each, is worth as much as an *estancia* here of 50,000. The care of these is consigned to those half-horse half-men, of whom I have already spoken, under the appellation of *gauchos*.

Since the revolution there has been a much greater disposition to settle in the country than formerly; arising, no doubt, from the enhanced price of the produce of the soil; and also from the greater safety from Indian depredations. Whether the people consider themselves more secure in their titles, I shall not take upon me to say; but I am assured that no uneasiness, or fear, prevails as to their safety from Spanish invasion. La Rocca, and his friends, inquired with considerable eagerness about the European emigration to the United States, which they looked upon as an increase of wealth and strength, the acquisition of which they appeared to envy us. They said that every inducement was held out by the govern-

ment and people of this country, to Europeans who were disposed to emigrate; that lands were offered gratis, with oxen and the implements of husbandry, to those who wish to cultivate the earth. In reply, I told them, that there was little or no emigration to the United States during our revolutionary war, and even for some time afterwards, in consequence of the country being engaged in a war for national existence, the success of which was doubtful; and even after it was no longer so, our enemies persisted in believing that we could not establish a government. I told them that if they could satisfy the world on these two points, as we had done, they would have as many emigrants as they could desire, as their soil and climate held out even greater inducements than ours.

On the Monday after our arrival, it was determined, on the part of the commissioners, that I should wait on Mr. Tagle, the secretary-of-state, and request an interview on their behalf.

I accordingly went in company with our consul, Mr. Halcey. We found, at the entrance of the fort, a centinel, and a guard of a few men; although every person is permitted to pass without being questioned. To me, as an American, the circumstance of seeing bayonets stationed every where, was far from being agreeable. In our happy country we stand in no need of such barbarous usages. This military show about the director's residence, and the offices of government, is, however, but a remnant of the pageantry of the viceroys. There is, indeed, much more of it displayed, as I have myself frequently witnessed, by the Spanish or Portuguese governor of some trifling district.

In going to the office of the secretary-of-state, we had to pass through several others, in which a number of clerks were engaged; the appearance of system and regularity which prevailed, would not lose by a comparison with ours. We found the secretary immersed in business, at his desk. I stated to him the occasion of my visit, and, at the same time, presented a newspaper, containing the president's message, in which the objects of the mission were succinctly set forth. I stated to him, that the commissioners were desirous of waiting on him, and wished to be informed at what time it would be convenient for him to receive them. He replied, in the style of Spanish politeness, that he was always at their disposal, and insisted upon my naming the time at which he might be honoured with their visit; the Wednesday following was, therefore, named by me.

He is a small, well-set man, about forty years of age, of a dark complexion, with a keen, penetrating eye. He has the reputation of considerable abilities; he is considered a very

able and eloquent lawyer, and has been a judge of the chamber of appeals. Judging from his physiognomy, I should say that he possesses great native sagacity, and quickness of discernment. He came into office under Alvarez, and has continued in it ever since.

Our arrival produced a great sensation through the city in all classes of people; it was every where the subject of conversation, and gave rise to much surmise; for some days it, in fact, engrossed all the public attention. A small incident will sometimes speak more than things of a thousand times greater importance. In passing by the pyramid, in the great square, I observed, that some preparations had been making for an approaching illumination, on account of the declaration of independence by Chili; I asked a little boy who was playing about it, what was the meaning of these preparations? "*Por la funcion;*" "*que funcion?*" "*La funcion de los diputados.*" said he pettishly, as if surprised at my ignorance, "*de los diputados que han llegado de la America del norte.*" I have no doubt, the government and the people will make the most of the mission, and it will certainly have a most powerful moral influence on the cause of South America.

The commissioners, on the day appointed, paid their respects to the secretary-of-state, and Mr. Rodney, after stating the objects of the mission, expressed the wishes of himself and associates, to wait on the supreme director. The secretary stated, that the government was highly gratified by this notice, from a nation of so high a character as ours, and he offered his services to accompany the commissioners on their visit to the chief-magistrate.

Accordingly, the next day, about noon, we set off to pay this visit of ceremony. On approaching the fort, we found several hundred of the most respectable citizens drawn together by the interest of the occasion, their dress, appearance, and demeanour, was like that of persons of the same rank of society in the United States. Nothing I had yet seen gave me so high an opinion of the population. We found, also, considerable numbers inside the fort, and crowding the entrance to the director's apartments. I can give no idea of the pleasure which seemed to be depicted in their countenances. They all bowed to us as we passed, and said more by their smiles and their looks, than they could have said if each one had pronounced an oration.

In passing through the different offices, to that of the secretary-of-state, we saw a great number of civil officers and functionaries, drawn together by what appeared to be no common holiday, and who shewed us the same marks of respect. The

secretary now joined us, and led us up stairs, to the apartments occupied by the director. We passed through a large hall, where we saw fifty or sixty officers of the regular and civic troops, all in splendid uniforms. They arose, as we entered, forming a line on each side, through which we passed. In the adjoining apartment, we were met by the director, who, with the ease and affability of a polished gentleman, advanced to meet us, and requested us to be seated. He seemed to be upwards of forty years of age, his stature about the middle-size, a little inclining to corpulency, and, upon the whole, his appearance commanding and dignified. His address and manners were those of a person accustomed to the best society, equally removed from coarseness and affectation. It was easily discoverable, that he was a man who had been long accustomed to act a distinguished part in life. He certainly looked like a person who might be chosen by a nation for its magistrate, and no stranger could be surprised at seeing such a man at its head. Though a native of this place, his father was a Swiss, who settled in this country as a merchant, in early youth. His complexion is fair, with blue eyes; his countenance expressive of intelligence and humanity. He has the character of great application to business, and of that temperate energy so essential in revolutionary times. Some, with no better opportunities of judging than myself, but possessing much deeper penetration into the secret workings of the human heart, could discover that, like Belial, all within was false and hollow; but I must honestly acknowledge, that, for my part, I could not.

After the usual compliments, and some conversation on general topics, Mr. Rodney repeated, in substance, what he had said, with respect to the object of the mission, to the secretary the day before.

On this, the director replied to the commissioners as follows: He declared that, for his country, and for himself, he entertained the highest sense of the honour conferred by this friendly notice on the part of the government of the United States. "We have long since been aware," said he, "that the most friendly feelings and wishes existed towards us, on the part of your country and government. We have ever regarded your country with enthusiastic admiration. We appreciate fully its high character for justice, disinterestedness, and sincerity, and it is beyond the power of words to express how gratifying to us all is this proof of its good wishes. That there should exist a real and unfeigned friendship and sympathy between us is natural. We inhabit the same portion of the globe, our cause has been

once yours, and we are in pursuit of the same objects which you have so happily achieved.

“ You will see many things amongst us to excite your surprise. *We are a people who are just beginning to be.* We have had great difficulties to encounter, and have laboured under extraordinary disadvantages. I feel confident, however, that when you come to be better acquainted with our country, you will find that the most ardent love of liberty and independence pervades every part of this community; that in pursuit of these great objects we are all united, and that we are resolved to perish sooner than surrender them. At the same time, we must confess, with deep regret, that dissensions still prevail between different sections of this republic, and which have unfortunately placed one of the most important portions of our country in the hands of a stranger.

“ With respect to the objects of the mission, I am anxious to meet the wishes of the commissioners in every particular. I hope all forms of diplomacy may be waived; that all communications may be held as between friends and brothers; that, whenever it may suit the pleasure or convenience of the commissioners, they will address themselves personally to me, or to the secretary-of-state, who will always be found at leisure to attend to them.”

Mr. Rodney having made a suitable reply to this address, of which I have given the substance, we took our leave.

In the course of the forenoon, a General Ascuenaga, and some other officers of distinction, made their appearance, for the purpose of returning our visit to the director, as I understand to be the custom on such occasions. The general made a long harangue, which did not amount to much, and then took his leave. Shortly after, we were waited on by the city-council, or cabildo, and a number of other gentlemen of distinction, and amongst them a very sensible and intelligent man, Gascon, the secretary of the treasury. The conversation of course, on these occasions, was very general. They were all, however, complimentary to our country, while they spoke in a very humble manner of the state of things in their own.

In the evening, a guard-of-honour, and a band of music, with the Baron Ollenbourg, a German officer, in the service of the republic, and some other officers, made their appearance in the patio. It was given to be understood, that they had come by the orders of the director. They were politely received by the commissioners, but it was suggested, in a delicate manner, that the guard could not be accepted. Upon this, it withdrew, but the band continued playing for several

hours, and during that time, the patio was crowded with ladies and gentlemen, and by a great many that could not with propriety be ranked under either of these denominations.

The dismissal of the guard was thought of sufficient importance to merit an explanation with the director. Mr. Rodney and Mr. Bland accordingly called upon him the next morning for this purpose. Mr. Rodney was going to state the circumstance and the apology, when the director requested permission to anticipate what he was about to say. He said he was perfectly aware of the motives of the commissioners in declining to accept the guard. It was not offered under any idea that it was necessary for their safety, but that, according to the customs of the country, it was one of the modes of shewing respect to distinguished strangers; who were, however, perfectly at liberty to accept, or not, according to their pleasure. He said, that, in order to satisfy his fellow-citizens, who were desirous that every attention should be paid to the commissioners, as well as for the purpose of gratifying his own feelings, he was anxious that no mark of respect should be omitted. He had discharged his duty, and satisfied the expectations of the public.

CHAPTER IV.

The Commissioners visited by the principal Inhabitants—Celebration of the Independence of Chili—The Bull-fights and Theatre.

AFTER an ineffectual search of several days for a furnished house, where the mission might be accommodated, our consul, Mr. Halsey, had politely made an offer of his, which was large and commodious. It was accepted, though not without reluctance, from an unwillingness to put him to inconvenience. Several houses had been previously examined, but were not found suited to our purpose, not to speak of the extravagant demands of the owners. Some of the gentlemen who had taken lodgings, were glad to change their situations, in order to avoid being teased to death by a certain race, not to be named in good housewifery. The brick floors of the chambers are supposed to favour the multiplication of these tormentors. For my part, I have been fortunate enough to procure a furnished room, for twelve dollars per month, in the house of a decent elderly widow; it was situated in the patio, a beautiful aromatic shrub on one side of the door, and a jessamine on the other, and the neatness and cleanliness which prevailed

every where, could not be surpassed. I found my situation so comfortable that I was unwilling to change it, even after the commissioners had been fixed in their new establishment. Donna Marcella was, besides, an acquaintance of some importance; she knew every one in the city, was shrewd and intelligent, and far from being inclined to hide her light under a bushel. Her house was much frequented by the middle class of people, and even occasionally by those of the higher ranks, if there can properly be said to be any distinction; for the equality prevailing in this respect, is much greater than in the United States; the transition is very sudden, from the respectable part of the community to the lowest grades; the difference can scarcely be considered as founded on the difference of occupations, and not always on parity of character, and correctness of deportment.

After the formalities and ceremonies of our reception by the authorities of the state and city, we had next to go through the duty of receiving and returning visits, which was attended with no small consumption of time. The proportion of the military and clergy among our visitors, led us to form rather an unfavourable opinion of their influence in society. In our cities, on occasions like the present, the most prominent persons, after those in public life, would be of the professions, the clergymen, lawyers, and physicians, gentlemen in easy circumstances, and merchants of standing. But some allowance was to be made for the warlike attitude this city has so long maintained, and the tendency of arms to arrogate all public attention and importance. I afterwards found, also, that many of the military *figurantes* were something like Dr. Ollapod, of the corps of the Galen's head, not soldiers by profession, but probably not wanting in courage to face an invading enemy. In the short and superficial conversations which usually took place, much information could not be gleaned; they generally turned upon the political events of the country. They uniformly spoke with great humility of their political transactions, but dwelt with satisfaction on their efforts in war, and expressed no doubt, or apprehension, of their ultimate success. They lamented the want of general information, and in speaking of the Spanish mis-government, the neglect of education and morals was always the most prominent theme. The frequent changes and revolutions amongst them; the dissensions between different provinces, when a concentration of all their strength was necessary, and the instability of the government hitherto, were spoken of with evident regret. They contrasted these evils with the Elysian fields, which their imaginations represented to them in the United States; the country where

factions and dissensions are unknown; where unity of sentiment and brotherly love every where prevail. This language could only be considered complimentary, for some of them, I found, were not ignorant of our "faults on both sides," although they had never read Mr. Carey's Olive Branch. We could do no less than compliment them in turn, and speak in high terms of the proofs they had given of national spirit.

Among our most distinguished visitors, were Alvarez and Rondeau, the former a young man of twenty-eight or thirty, of fine appearance and elegant manners. He appeared to be extremely desirous of cultivating our acquaintance: his conversation was interesting and intelligent. He had been in the army from his youth; he is a native of Arequipa in Peru, and has several brothers at this time in the Spanish service—such is the nature of civil war. He is married to a niece of General Belgrano, a very superior woman, both in point of personal beauty and accomplishments; he possesses an elevation and manliness of character that would do honour to any country. Rondeau is a small man, but of a firm and manly carriage, apparently about fifty years of age. He was one of the prisoners taken by the British on their first invasion of this country, and carried to England, whence he found his way to Spain, and served some time in the war of the Peninsula, but returned to Buenos Ayres, like other Americans, when his country required his services. He has taken a distinguished part in the revolution, was several times entrusted with the siege of Monte Video, and had brought it nearly to a close, when superseded by Alvear. He gained two victories over the Spaniards in Peru, but lost the battle of Sipe-sipe in November, 1815, though not through deficiency of skill and prudence, which was admitted by his opponent, the Spanish general, Pezuela. He was, however, recalled from the command, and his popularity was for a time obscured. He has an amiable family, but like most of the distinguished officers in this service, his circumstances are rather narrow. Another officer of distinction is General Soler, a remarkably fine figure, six feet two or three inches in height, and of a very soldierly appearance. In private life, however, he is said to be dissipated, and some anecdotes are related of him which give a somewhat unfavourable cast to the state of manners. His wife is a very beautiful but high-spirited woman. Soler commanded the vanguard which crossed the Andes, and for his conduct at the battle of Chacabuco, was presented with a sword on the field by San Martin. This gave rise to a series of publications; his enemies not conceiving him entitled to the reward: those who are inclined to take the middle course, say, that it was an act of generosity on the part of San Martin; that the act for

which he rewarded Soler, was in reality performed by himself, but that Soler had rendered important services as a disciplinarian, and in crossing the mountains. Thus it will be perceived, that the same jealousy of their military fame prevails in this country as in others. A collection of the different publications of this description, that have issued from the press of Buenos Ayres, will furnish some valuable materials for history. We were sometimes visited by Sarratea, who has once been a conspicuous member of the government, and afterwards an agent of the court of London. He is a man of considerable talents and general information; but, from all I could learn, does not stand high in the government, and still lower with the people.

We frequently saw a venerable old man, Funes, dean of Cordova, and the author of the Civil History of Buenos Ayres. Few have taken a more active part in the political events of the country. He received the rudiments of his education from the Jesuits, and afterwards completed it in Spain. He is an excellent belles-lettres scholar, and his writings bear evidence of his extensive reading and classic taste. In the year 1810, at a council convened by Liniers and Concha, he was the only one who voted in favour of acknowledging the junta of Buenos Ayres; when the troops of that place marched against Cordova, he and his brother interceded for the life of Liniers, and the Bishop Orillana; but, as respects the first, without success. He was afterwards a member of the junta of observation, and took an active part in the politics of the day. In the revolutionary convulsions which ensued, he experienced his share of mortifications. He does not seem to have foreseen the troubled and distracted state necessarily produced by such events, and, in consequence, to be somewhat under the influence of chagrin and disappointment. His interests and feelings attaching him to Cordova, his native place, he is inclined towards what is called here the federative system, which is essentially different from ours; but he also thinks that until their independence can be accomplished, it is absolutely necessary to waive all pretensions of this kind, for the sake of a concentration of their strength. I cultivated his acquaintance with assiduity, and through him became acquainted with a number of others who frequented his house. The native priests, in general, though enthusiastic in the cause, and fond of indulging in eloquent declamations, are rather timid politicians. They want nerve for action, and they have a kind of time-serving suppleness, acquired by the early habits of slavish and monastic education. In the profession of the law there is much more boldness, arising from their daily intercourse with the world, and ordinary transactions of life. Funes is thought to be rather unfriendly

to the present administration, but his having withdrawn from political scenes is rather to be attributed to alarm at finding himself on a rougher sea than he had been accustomed to navigate.*

A visit was received from the Bishop of Salta, a man of very advanced years, upwards of eighty, and who was thought not to be much attached to the cause of the revolution; indeed, it has been hinted that his residence here is very little else than a kind of respectful *surveillance*. He said little on the subject of politics, but dropped something about the want of stability in the government, the turbulent and restless spirit that prevailed, *and then shook his head*. It would certainly have been a phenomenon to have found a revolutionary patriot at his years, with his previous education and habits.

Mr. Rodney and myself paid a visit to a respectable old man, who fills the office which we should call postmaster-general; he appeared to be about the same age with the bishop, but we found him a much more agreeable character, his conversation remarkably sprightly and entertaining. He told us that he had organized the establishment, and had occupied the same arm-chair in which he then sat at his desk, upwards of fifty years. Although a native of Spain, he was attached to the patriot cause, having children and grand-children who were all natives of the country. We inquired of him the news from Chili, and he informed us that, from the last accounts, General Osorio was advancing into the province of Concepcion, at the head of five or six thousand men. We learned, that besides the regular post establishment, which brought the mail once a week from the different provinces, there were expresses continually employed between this place and Chili, as also the provinces of Peru, so as to bring intelligence from the armies of San Martin and Belgrano, with a speed almost incredible.† He told us that his establishment was so arranged, as to enable him, in the course of ten days, to collect horses enough for the different posts to enable the government to send reinforcements of 1000, or 2000 men, to these different points, with a rapidity unknown in any other country. He said, that since the commencement of the war, he had contributed his assistance, in sending three armies to Peru; one of four, another of five, and a third of 7000 men, and in speak-

* He is at this time President of Congress.

† The journey from Mendoza to Buenos Ayres, upwards of 900 miles, was performed by the express, Escalera, in five days, and from Potosi to Buenos Ayres, 550 leagues, by Dobo, in twelve days.

ing of the perseverance of these people in the midst of all their defeats and reverses, he exclaimed, "*Que pecho, que pecho, tiene esta gente!*"—"What fortitude do these people possess!"

We were also visited by Iregoyen, the secretary-at-war, a young man of thirty-five years of age; he had been a cadet in the Spanish naval service, and had travelled a good deal in Europe. He is rather a shewy man, and from what I could learn, extremely ambitious. We were also visited by members of congress, Zavaletta, Pacheco, Villegas, and a number of others. Among the priests who called on us, was Dr. Belgrano, brother of the general, and who appeared to be a man of solid and respectable talents. The term doctor is given indiscriminately to lawyers and clergymen, but not to physicians; in fact, the science of medicine is extremely low in all the Spanish colonies, and it is very unusual to meet with a Spanish physician of science and learning.

Among our acquaintances, there were two or three with whom I was particularly pleased; the first, a respectable old man, and a near neighbour, of the name of Escalada, the father-in-law of San Martin; this old man was what we should have called, in our revolutionary war, *a true Whig*. He has a large and fine family of children, and grand-children; his house, the place of most agreeable resort for all strangers of any in the city. I frequently spent my evenings here, being almost always sure to find an agreeable party of ladies and gentlemen; the evening was usually passed in sprightly conversation, or in dances, which the old gentleman seemed to take a peculiar pleasure in promoting, very frequently taking part himself, though upwards of seventy years of age: these dances were minuets, to the music of the piano, touched by one of the young ladies. He had adopted a beautiful and interesting girl, then about seventeen, the daughter of a Spanish governor-intendant, and seemed to treat her with the same affection and kindness that he did his own children. The wife of General San Martin was, at this time, living with her father, but appeared to be much dejected in spirits on account of her anxiety for her husband, to whom, from all accounts, she is devotedly attached. She had accompanied him to the foot of the Andes, wished to follow his fortunes across, and was, with much difficulty, dissuaded. Perceiving that she partook in none of the amusements, on inquiring the cause, I was told that she had made a vow of some kind for the success of her husband, which I could not well understand. These private and unobtrusive virtues in the family of San Martin, gave me a very favourable opinion of the man; the excellence and purity of

private life is, after all, the best foundation of public confidence. There can be no dignity of character without them, and we are seldom mistaken in the purity of the actions of men, when this fountain is pure. While in Buenos Ayres, I have frequently heard San Martin and his wife cited as an example of a happy marriage; which is by no means negative praise, in a country where morals are unfortunately depraved, and where the marriage state is held in too little respect. They have but one child, a daughter, three or four years of age. Escalada is a plain citizen, and has never taken any other part than that of a private individual; but he has been enabled, from the possession of considerable wealth, to render service to the cause: he presented each of us with copies of different political works, which he had purchased, for the purpose of distributing gratis; among them, was a history of the United States, with our declaration of independence, General Washington's Farewell Address, and other pieces. Besides his son-in-law, his wife's brother, Quintana, * is in the army of Chili, and his two sons, one eighteen, the other twenty years of age, both gallant youths, are serving under the eye of San Martin. We experienced, on all occasions, from this old gentleman, the utmost kindness and attention, and were invited by him to a splendid entertainment, at a moment when his whole family appeared to be depressed by the most anxious feelings for the fate of their near relations, exposed to the hazards of a dreadful war.

M. Frias, a young lawyer of respectability, and secretary to the cabildo, was one of our most agreeable acquaintances; his manners were highly polished and refined, and he possesses a generosity of heart, a warmth and earnestness of feeling, which shewed, that although born under a despotic government, his character was formed in a republic. He seemed to be peculiarly anxious to cultivate our acquaintance, and to acquire a knowledge of the details of our political institutions. I derived considerable information from him, as well as assistance in procuring papers and documents. He has been married some years to an amiable woman. The ladies are much less addicted to literature than in the United States, in general, but much more so than those of New Orleans. The Spanish literature is, in fact, richer in works which combine moral instruction with amusement, than the French; I observed the sister of M. Frias,

* This officer was one of those who distinguished themselves in the defence against the British. See Funes, Vol. III. p. 427. It is worthy of notice, that many of those who are now most conspicuous were distinguished at that period; Dias Velis, Viamonte, and Montes de Oca, then but a youth.

reading a translation of *Pamela*, and I learned that the novels of Richardson are much esteemed among them.

M. Riglos is another of those whose acquaintance we found particularly agreeable. He is of a highly respectable family, and educated in England; he is also a specimen of the young South Americans, whose mind has been formed under the new order of things. He has nothing of the Spanish reserve and distrust in his deportment; his manners, like those of his countrymen, are highly polished, but without that fastidious attention to etiquette, which is so troublesome to a stranger. This gentleman spoke the English remarkably well. The house of Madam Riglos, his mother, who is a widow, is considered one of the most genteel in the city; I have seen few ladies of more polished manners, and I had frequent opportunities of meeting here the most fashionable people.

Soon after our arrival, we became acquainted with a number of strangers, and some Americans settled here. We were frequently visited by the British officer, at present commanding on that station, a man of free and obliging manners and address, but somewhat inclined to be caustic and severe in his remarks, so that considerable allowance was necessary to be made for this propensity, for at times he gave a much more favourable account of things than at others. Mr. Staples, the British consul, or agent, though a much plainer man, appeared to be more solid and judicious, as well as consistent in his observations, and having been here several years, he was qualified to speak with more confidence. He spoke highly of the natural good qualities of the people in general, but especially of the agricultural population in the neighbourhood of the city, and in the villages; he thought them all highly susceptible of improvement, and stated many changes in their habits and character, for the better. He said, that the British officers bore testimony to their mildness and hospitality, when prisoners among them. The letters which passed between them and the different cabildos, were published at the time by the officers, in order to manifest their gratitude. A number of the soldiers settled in the country, and others were, with difficulty, persuaded to return. Some of the officers declared, that, but for their sense of honour, they never would leave the country. The natives, in general, were delighted to see strangers, the very reverse of which was the case with the European Spaniards, who regarded all foreigners with a kind of growling jealousy, as if they had any better right to be here themselves.* Nothing more strongly evinced their mildness

* Since the revolution, they are themselves regarded as strangers, and the least favoured of any.

of character, than the rare occurrence of violence and bloodshed, in the course of the sudden changes and revolutions of their government. In being released from the shackles of their old system, and without any settled re-organization, it was naturally to be expected, that during the sway of the passions, scenes such as occurred in France would take place. The general equality which prevailed, seemed to bring men closer together, and to produce a stronger sympathy in each other's sufferings and misfortunes. The triumph of one party over another, even after the most violent struggles, was at most followed by the banishment of a few individuals; that in a few instances, where the proscribed were put to death, they produced the most lively sensations on the whole community, and its displeasure was strongly expressed; that the vices of the people were the vices of education only; that, previous to the revolution, they were brought up in idleness, at least seldom induced to embrace useful and industrious callings. The sons of Europeans were never employed in the business of their fathers, who preferred taking any kind of a lad, that happened to be born in Spain; there was a want of an interest on the part of the Spaniards, in the future welfare and advantage of their own offspring. They left them to follow the billiard-tables and gaming-houses, in preference to initiating them into employments which they appeared to think exclusively appertained to those born in Europe. The revolution was producing a sensible change throughout all society.

From these gentlemen, and several English merchants settled here, we received every mark of attention. Although few of them, beside the consul, said much in favour of the people, they appeared all to entertain a sincere wish for their success, which was not at all surprising, considering the deep interest they have at stake. Most of them express doubts of their capacity to establish a solid government, from their want of information, and from their vicious habits; they held out the idea, that if they were placed under the guardianship of some other nation, for twenty or thirty years, so as to keep down their local dissensions, and prevent the recurrence of their internal revolutions, there would be no doubt of their ultimate success. At present there was a want of stability, from their having no settled institutions, or possessing men among them of such weight and influence as to be able to repress factions. It was owing to this cause, that the state had been so frequently split up with feuds and parties. The drift of all this was not difficult to be discovered; I have seen the same idea of guardianship suggested in the *Quarterly Review*; it means, *the guardianship of England*. But the discovery of such a

disposition on her part would only serve to excite unfriendly feelings towards her; they discover important advantages in mutual intercourse, and are very desirous of cultivating a good understanding with Great Britain, but would be indignant at the idea of any design to exercise a control over them.

Our acquaintance with Mr. Bonpland, the companion of Humboldt, was highly gratifying, especially to Dr. Baldwin. Mr. Bonpland removed to this place with his family about a year ago, and is settled on a quinta, about two miles from town. Such a man is a great acquisition to the country, in making known its resources and advantages. Several French officers were also introduced to us; they had come here to seek their fortunes, but, from their conversations, I discovered they had been somewhat disappointed in their expectations, which were not very moderate or rational. One of them had made up his mind to return to France; "this will be a fine country," said he, "*quand nous serons bien sous terre*, when we shall be well under ground." They complain of there being a good deal of jealousy on the part of the native officers, at seeing foreigners among them, at which I was not at all surprised. The Irish officers are better received than any others; but in general those who enter the service must calculate on meeting with many mortifications; the government is sufficiently disposed to be liberal, but they are not so well received in the army. It is highly probable that some cause for this has been given, by their indiscretion in betraying their feelings of superiority, whether real or false, and by their setting up pretensions they have not been able to realize. They do not reflect, that, during this protracted war, many valuable officers have been found among the natives, and that the people of these countries have a greater inclination to the profession of arms than for any other pursuit.

About ten days after our arrival, the independence of Chili was celebrated in the city. The illuminations, and other public demonstrations, were continued during three successive days, as is usual on all occasions of this kind. The flags of Chili and the United Provinces were suspended from the cabildo, and the independence of Chili publicly announced by *bando*, or proclamation, in the plaza. The pyramid of the revolution was elegantly ornamented with flags, and a variety of patriotic inscriptions. I observed great satisfaction expressed in the countenances of the people, especially those of the country, very different from the stupid gaze of amazement I had remarked at Rio. In the afternoon, the youth from some of the higher seminaries of learning, about seventy or eighty in number, marched to the pyramid in procession, headed by the

professors, and after reading the inscriptions and making their observations, dispersed. Soon after, the boys from the different schools marched with flags, in different companies, to the number of at least six or eight hundred. They formed a hollow square, enclosing the pyramid, and raised the national song; each side of a square singing a stanza in succession, and the whole joining in the chorus, at the same time waving their flags. When they had sung their hymn, some of those who excelled in speaking, stood forward and delivered patriotic orations. After this, a dialogue was kept up for some time, which consisted of questions put by one for the sake of the answers given by another, containing some simple propositions of political and civil liberty, or patriotic sentiments, together with professions of veneration for their religion. The combination of such expressions as "*los derechos del hombre*," and "*nuestra santa religion catolica*," had a strange effect to my ear, but I do not, for this, pretend to condemn it; although it differs from what I have been accustomed to, circumstances may render it necessary and proper here. I am disposed to believe, that the rising generation are far from being inclined to superstition and bigotry; the danger is, their neglecting religion, which is so essential to every well-regulated state; it may be prudent, also, to associate in the minds of their youth, the cause of religion with that of their country, so that both may be esteemed, by this means, more sacred. Few of these boys appeared to exceed twelve years of age; they were dressed, in general, like those of our cities, but a proportion, sufficient to be remarked, were a good deal bronzed; the greater part, however, had good complexions, and all had animated and expressive countenances. Amongst the crowd of people collected in order to be amused, or to catch the fire of patriotism from this exhibition, the figures which most attracted my notice, were several of the gauchos of the neighbouring pampas, who sat on their horses with much gravity and composure, apparently pleased with what was passing, but that pleasure very faintly expressed in their countenances. There is no doubt that these exhibitions must have a powerful effect on all classes of society, and, with the youth, they give rise to sentiments and feelings inseparable from their very existence. I afterwards found, that it is the custom for the boys to go through the same ceremony once a-week. I have been informed, that much more of this enthusiasm, resembling that of the French revolution, prevailed some time ago, from which it has been inferred, that the interest in the cause itself is on the wane; in this, however, I do not agree, but rather believe that it is owing to its having settled down into something more deep and solid than the first effervescence of public

spirit; there is evidently less demonstration of enthusiasm in the cause of independence in our country, than during the period of the revolution, but no one can suppose that it rests upon a less solid foundation.

Printed copies of the declaration of independence of Chili were sent to each of the commissioners, together with medals, struck on the occasion, in gold and silver. I attended a theatre in the evening, where a *funcion*, or ceremony, was got up for the occasion. I shall defer the description of this amusement, until I shall make some further observations on the event just described. From this public and solemn expression, there was no room left to doubt, that the idea of holding Chili in subjection had nothing in it of reality. This I could gather from a thousand minor circumstances, while on the spot, which produced a much stronger conviction in my mind of their sincerity, than any thing I am able to state.

Our arrival at Buenos Ayres happened to be during Lent; the circus and theatre were closed, and public amusements suspended. I felt some curiosity to witness the bull-fights, the favourite amusement in all Spanish countries. As soon as the circus was opened, I took the earliest opportunity of attending it. It is a circular amphitheatre, capable of containing between four and five thousand persons. The arena is about 150 feet in diameter, with an enclosure of about six feet high, with openings at intervals, sufficiently wide to admit the body of a man; at one end, there is a small covered pen, with stalls, in which the bulls are confined, and opening into the arena by a gate. On the opposite side there is a large gate, at which the bulls are dragged out after being killed. I found the place considerably crowded, but chiefly by the lower classes of people, at least the females appeared to be such. At one side of the *toro*, there was a seat appropriated to the city authorities; formerly, the viceroy and some of the principal public functionaries, had also their places set apart, but this is no longer the case, as it is considered even disreputable for those persons to be seen here. The town-major, who is the chief officer of the police, always attends on these occasions, and presides, in order to prevent any disorder or disturbance. Immediately below his seat there was a band of music, which played before the commencement of the bull-fights, and during the intervals between them. When the spectators had begun to assemble, a guard of soldiers, about thirty in number, was marched into the arena, and, after going through a variety of evolutions, were divided into small detachments, and distributed through the different parts of the *toro*. The different combatants who were to display their skill and courage on the

occasion, came forward, and made their obeisance to the town-major, and then retired to their places. The first two, called the *picadores*, were on horseback, one a Chilian, of enormous stature and bodily strength, the other a half Indian, of a more delicate frame, and a more sprightly countenance. They had both been convicted of crimes, and condemned to fight-bulls for the amusement of the public; their irons were not taken off until immediately before entering the toro. There were five or six others, called *bandaleros*, with different coloured flags, for the purpose of provoking and teasing the bull; the last were the *mattadores*, having in the left hand a flag, and in the right a sword. The *picadores* were armed with pikes, about twelve feet in length, with the point so shaped, as to wound the animal without penetrating deeply; they posted themselves on the left side of the place whence the bull was to be let out, and at the distance of fifteen or twenty paces from each other. On the signal given, the gate flew open, and a furious animal rushed forth. He immediately made at the Chilian, but feeling the point of the steel in his shoulder, he suddenly wheeled round and ran towards the middle of the arena, when the *bandaleros* endeavoured to provoke him with their flags. It was the turn of the mestizo to receive him next on his lance, but, it was not until after the bull had chased both several times round the circus, that he could venture to take such a position as would justify his engaging him; it was necessary to be near the enclosure, so as to have its support, otherwise, in a furious assault of the bull, he might be overturned. The animal attacked the half Indian with greater fury than the other, but on feeling the steel, withdrew in the same manner; after this was repeated several times, the bull seemed no longer inclined to attack the *picadores*. At the tap of the drum, the *picadores* withdrew from the contest; the *bandaleros* next advanced with crackers, which they dexterously thrust into different parts of the animal's body, who had now become rather sullen, but as soon as they exploded and scorched him severely, he grew furious, and ran about bellowing with rage and agony: no one but a savage could witness this scene, for the first time, without being shocked. The crackers being consumed, the animal stood still, his tongue lolling out, with panting sides, and eyes blind with rage. The *mattadore* now came forward; at first, the generous animal shewed reluctance to take notice of him, but on being provoked, he made a plunge at the flag held in his hand, while the *mattadore*, dexterously avoiding him, thrust his sword between the neck and shoulder, thus giving him a mortal wound. The band of music struck up, the gates of the toro were thrown open, five or six gauchos

rushed in on horseback, threw their lassoes about him, some fastening round his horns, others about his legs and body, and in this manner, in an instant, bore him out of the circus, in the midst of the shouts of the multitude. Seven other bulls were let out in succession, and the same circumstances repeated with very little variation. The whole was terminated with a feat, performed by a wild gaucho; the bull being let out, he was immediately lassoed by the gauchos on horseback, who threw him, and held him fast by pulling in opposite directions; he was then tied, and a saddle girt put on him by the gaucho, who was bare-legged, and had nothing on but a shirt, and a kind of petticoat, something like a Scotch kilt, the ordinary dress of these people. The animal being properly prepared, he was suffered to rise with the gaucho on his back, and ran perfectly wild and furious around the circus, leaping, plunging, and hellowing, to the great diversion of the spectators, while the gaucho was continually goading him with an enormous pair of spurs, and lashing him with his whip. When the animal was sufficiently tortured in this way, the gaucho drew his knife and plunged it into the spinal marrow; the bull fell as if struck by lightning, rolled upon his back with his feet in the air, which were not even seen to quiver. Such is the barbarous amusement of bull-fighting, formerly the delight of the representatives of the kings of Spain, and their mimic royalty; in a more enlightened and a happier age, confined here to the coarse and vulgar, and, it is to be hoped, that, in the progress of science, liberty, and civilization, will disappear for ever.

The theatre was attended by respectable people, but I found it in a low state, though I had not expected much. It is but an indifferent building, yet capable of containing a considerable number of persons. The ladies were dressed with taste and elegance, and some of them handsome. With respect to the interior arrangements, the orchestra, the scenery, the dresses of the actors, and the whole of the performance, I presume they were about equal to our theatre during our revolutionary war. When the curtain rose, the national hymn was sung by the whole of the theatric corps, accompanied by the orchestra, during which, it is the etiquette for every person to stand up; the song was followed by thunders of applause. The performance is about equal to that of New Orleans, except that the prompter takes rather too audible a part. Between the acts, the audience flow into an extensive coffee-house, which communicates by a folding door. Here hundreds are seen, officers and citizens, walking about promiscuously, or in groups around small tables, drinking chocolate or coffee, or taking other re-

freshments. The men of Buenos Ayres idle away a great deal of their time at these places, of which there are six or eight in the city; they are always crowded at noon and in the evening, as at New Orleans.

There is a society *de buen gusto*, for the purpose of improving the stage; it is one of the modes in a free country of inculcating patriotic sentiments. Several very good plays have been translated and performed, and occasional pieces got up. In honour of the victory of Chacabuco, a dramatic production of some merit was produced, entitled the battle of Marathon, the incidents of which somewhat resemble each other. The tragedy of Pizarro has been translated, and is sometimes performed, and also several other pieces.

The late viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, of which that city was the metropolis, was by many considered the largest, as well as the most valuable of all the Spanish dominions in South America, extending in a direct line from its north to its south boundary, a distance of more than 2000 miles; and from its eastern to its western, not less than 1,100.

It was composed, at the commencement of the revolution, of the nine provinces or intendencies following: Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Cordova, Salta, Potosi, La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno.

Watered by the great river La Plata and its numerous tributary streams, which afford an easy communication with countries of an immense extent, and furnishing an easy access to the treasures of South America, it has always been regarded by Spain as one of her most precious acquisitions. Enjoying every variety of climate to be found between different and distant latitudes, and blessed with a large portion of fertile soil, it is capable of producing all that is to be found in the temperate or torrid zones. Immense herds of cattle and horses graze on its extensive plains, and constitute, at this time, their principal source of wealth. The mines of Potosi are also included within its boundaries. There are no woods for a very considerable distance from Buenos Ayres. No forest-trees are to be seen on the widely-extended pampas, except at intervals, a solitary umboo. After passing the Saladillo, in a northerly direction, the woods begin, and, proceeding in the upper provinces, the hills appear, and mountains rise in succession, interspersed with rich vallies. On the east side of the rivers La Plata and Parana, the country is said to be very fine. The Entre Rios is represented as capable of being made a garden-spot; and the Banda Oriental presents hills and dales, rich bottoms, fine streams of water, and at a distance from the great river, on the banks of the smaller streams, some excellent

woodland. Between Maldonada and Monte Video, the east-ridge of the Cordilleras, terminates on the river La Plata.

Since the revolution, five more provinces have been erected making, in all, fourteen within the limits of the ancient viceroyalty, viz. Tucuman, taken from Salta; Mendoza, or Cuyo, taken from Cordova; Corrientes, Entre Rios, comprising the country between the Uruguay and the Parana, and the Banda Oriental, or eastern shore of the river La Plata. The two last were taken from the province of Buenos Ayres, which was thus reduced to the territory on the south side of that river.

Of the fourteen provinces into which the ancient viceroyalty is now divided, five were, at my departure, principally occupied by the royal forces, (which, in consequence of the victory of Maipu, were expected soon to retreat to Lower Peru,) or partially under their influence, viz. Potosi, La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno; and the nine following independent, *de-facto* of Spain, were in the possession of the patriots, viz. Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Mendoza, Salta, Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Banda Oriental. But Paraguay, and the city of Santa Fee, act independently of Buenos Ayres. Though Paraguay is not on unfriendly terms with them, and it is hoped, by some, will before long join the union. Entre Rios and the Banda Oriental, under General Artigas, in the character of chief of the Orientals, are in a state of hostility with Buenos Ayres.

Monte Video, the capital of the eastern shore, was occupied by a Portuguese army, and a squadron of ships-of-war from Brazil, blockaded the ports of Colonia and Maldovado, and prohibited the entrance of neutral vessels, unless they paid them the same duties on their cargoes, that were charged on the importation of the goods when landed in the country,

The territory of the United Provinces is computed to contain 150,000 square leagues, though it probably exceeds that quantity. The lands occupied in the country, remote from the cities, are generally converted by their owners into estancias, or large grazing farms for cattle, and chacras for growing grain. The small farms, or quintas, in the neighbourhood of cities, are in fine order. Those around Buenos Ayres, which furnish their market with an ample supply of fruit and vegetables, are, by irrigation, in the highest state of culture.

The population, exclusive of the Indians, is now calculated at about 1,300,000; but adding the civilized Indians only, who are of great importance, it would, in all, probably exceed 2,000,000.

The whole population consists of nations of Old Spain, and their descendants born in the country, or as they style themselves, South Americans; of Indians civilized, or unreclaimed,

with different "casts," or mixed blood; of Africans and their descendants, or Negroes and Mulattoes.

I could not ascertain, with satisfaction, the population of the different provinces: the province of Buenos Ayres contains about 120,000, whilst the population of Entre Rios, and Banda Oriental, is computed at 50,000.

The city of Buenos Ayres contains a population of 60,000. The inhabitants of this place appear to be an amiable and interesting people. They are considered brave and humane, possessing intelligence, capable of great exertions and perseverance, and manifesting a cheerful devotion to the cause of freedom and independence.

There is also a certain mediocrity and equality of fortune prevailing among them, extremely favourable to a union of the popular sentiment, in support of the common weal. Many industrious mechanics, and enterprising merchants, are, however, increasing their estates, and adding to the stock of capital in the country.

The people of the province of Buenos Ayres, residing out of the city, are, generally speaking, poor, and rather indolent. Though a hardy race, and when excited to action, they become zealous defenders of the liberties of their country. They are capable of great improvement, and under the influence of a good example, when a change takes place in their manner and habit of living, they bid fair to become useful and industrious citizens.

The inhabitants of Cordova are said to be more superstitious, and more industrious, but less patriotic. This is principally attributed to the loss of the trade with Peru, occasioned by the revolutionary war.

Tucuman, I was informed, possessed an excellent population.

The people of Mendoza, or Cuyo, are moral, industrious, and patriotic. They have sacrificed largely at the shrine of independence, supporting with zeal and confidence the cause of their country; whilst the citizens of Santa Fee are represented as immoral and insubordinate, and manifesting, on most occasions, an extreme jealousy of their neighbours.

The population of Entre Rios and Banda Oriental, is perhaps not inferior in value to that of Buenos Ayres; nor is it deficient in military skill, particularly in carrying on a partisan warfare, for which its troops are admirably adapted. Their other good qualities have been, probably, somewhat impaired by the system pursued in that quarter, where they have been compelled to give up every thing like civil avocations, and to continue without any regular kind of government, under the

absolute control of a chief, who, whatever may be his political principles, or professions, in practice concentrates all power, legislative, judicial, and executive, in himself.

The General Congress of the United Provinces, assembled at Buenos Ayres, on the 3d of December, 1817, established, by a provincial statute, a temporary form of government.

This congress is comprised of deputies from the different provinces. It actually consists of twenty-six members. But as a representative is allowed for every fifteen thousand citizens, it would be more numerous if all the provinces had sent delegates in that ratio of population.

With some exceptions, and particularly of that palladium of our rights, which is unknown to the civil law, the trial by jury, the provisional constitution will be found, on an attentive perusal, to contain a distinct recognition of many of the vital principles of free government. A church establishment also, that of the Catholic faith, is contrary to our ideas of religious freedom; though a measure adopted from necessity, perhaps, by them.

It declares that all power, legislative, judicial, and executive, resides in the nation. The congress are to be chosen by electors, who are to be voted for by the people in the primary assemblies. The cabildos, or municipalities, are to be elected immediately by the citizens. It recognises the independence of the judiciary, and declares the tenure of office, with respect to the superior judges, to be held during good behaviour. It provides for the election of a chief magistrate by congress, removeable when they choose to appoint a successor, and responsible for the execution of the duties of his office, which are defined and limited. In the oath of office, he is sworn to preserve the integrity and independence of the country.

The three great departments of state, of the treasury, and of war, are distinctly marked out, and their respective powers and duties assigned.

On some subjects, it enters more into detail than is usual with us, particularly in those of their army, navy, and militia. But this, perhaps, in their situation, was necessary.

It provides that no citizen shall accept a title of nobility, without forfeiting the character of citizenship.

It provides also against general warrants, and the arrest of individuals, unless on probable proof of guilt.

It contains a salutary provision that a judge, having original jurisdiction, before taking cognizance of a cause, shall use all possible means of reconciling the parties. This constitution is but temporary; the congress are engaged in the task of forming a permanent one. In the mean time no alteration can be made

in the present, unless with the consent of two-thirds of the members. In this manner some alterations have been adopted.

The subject of a permanent constitution was before a committee of sixteen members of congress. There was a difference of opinion prevailing amongst them, on the point of a confederated or a consolidated government. If they should adopt the former, they will frame the constitution, in all probability, nearly after the model of that of the United States. Should they decide on the latter, it is highly probable they will incorporate the leading features of our system into their form of government. They seem to concur in the proposition, to have a chief magistrate elected for a term of years, and a representative legislature to consist of two branches. A senate, to constitute the most permanent body, and a house of representatives, whose term of service will be of shorter duration.

Perhaps it would be better for them to delay the completion of this all-important task, after the example of the United States, until a period of peace. Their present provisional statute is an improvement on those which preceded it; and we may expect their proposed constitution will be still more perfect, as they advance in the knowledge of those principles on which republican governments are constituted.

There is a considerable internal trade carried on in the interchange of various articles, between the several provinces; cattle, horses, and mules, furnish a considerable source of barter; with the latter, Peru is usually supplied: the Paraguay tea is a great article of trade throughout the country; the brandy, wine, raisins, and figs of Mendoza and San Juan, are becoming important; the hides of oxen, the skins of the vacuna and granaco, with a number of fine furs, afford valuable articles of exchange. These, with the foreign goods, are transported in every direction from Buenos Ayres, very readily, by oxen and mules.

Their navy is small, and some of their vessels are laid up, which also furnish the means of carrying their native productions to their sea-ports, form a branch of trade of great magnitude, considering the population of the country.

Their exports are calculated with some degree of accuracy, at 10,000,000 dollars. These consist principally of ox-hides, jerk beef, and tallow, the present great staple of the country. A variety of furs and peltry, some grain, copper, mostly brought from Chili; with gold and silver in bullion, and in coin, chiefly from the mines of Potosi.

The imports are computed to be about equal to their exports. British manufactures form the principal mass, and they are to be had in great abundance. They consist of woollen and

cotton goods of every description ; some of them wrought to imitate the manufactures of the country ; ironmongery, cutlery, hardware, saddlery, hats, porter, ale, and cheese, are among the remaining articles.

From the United States they receive lumber of all kinds, and furniture of every description, coaches and carriages of all sorts, cod-fish, mackerel, shad and herring, leather, boots and shoes, powder and munitions of war, and naval-stores, ships and vessels, particularly those calculated for their navy or for privateers.

From Brazils they receive sugar, coffee, cotton, and rum. From the north of Europe they receive steel and iron, and from France, a number of articles of its manufacture.

Their foreign commerce is principally carried on by British capitalists, though there are some Americans, a few French, and other foreign merchants, also settled at Buenos Ayres ; they are all placed, I believe, on the same footing of equality.

The revenue of the state may be estimated at about 3,000,000 of dollars annually ; but their system of finance is very imperfect, and although their debt is small, their credit is low ; they have hitherto avoided the issuing of paper-money, and they have established no bank ; but they have sometimes anticipated their revenue, by giving due bills, receivable in payment for duties, or goods imported, or articles exported ; the impost furnishes the principal part of the revenue. A copy of their tariff, as at first established, was some time since transmitted, I believe, to the department of state. In this, the duties were generally specific and high. I understand they have been lately reduced, as their exorbitancy had occasioned much smuggling.

The mines of Potosi, which, in all probability, will very soon fall into their hands again, may furnish them with a considerable supply of the precious metals. It is stated, on respectable authority, that, so late as the year 1790, the amount of gold and silver coined at Potosi, in that year, was calculated to have been 299,846 dollars in gold, and 2,988,176 dollars in silver.

Their army is composed of regular troops, civicos, and militia. In one or other of these classes, they are educated to the military art, and, as far as I had an opportunity, and was capable of judging, they appeared to be well acquainted with the elements of their profession. Their forces, according to the paper furnished, are estimated at nearly 30,000 men. They are composed of 1,296 artillery, 13,693 infantry, and 14,718 cavalry ; of which, 12,143 are troops of the line, 7,041 are civicos, and 10,573 are militia. These form the different armies of the centre of Peru, of the Andes, of Cordova, and

the auxiliary forces in the Entre Rios. This statement, however, only includes the militia of the province of Buenos Ayres itself. Their supply of arms and munitions of war is ample.

General Artigas (who bears the character of chief of the Orientals, and has assumed that of the protector of the Entre Rios, and Santa Fee,) was originally in the royal service, a captain in a provincial corps. In this he continued for some time after the revolution had commenced at Buenos Ayres. But, in the year 1811, taking offence, as it is said, at some conduct of the Spanish commandant of Colonia, he abandoned the royal cause, and entered into the service of the patriots. So early as the year 1813, when acting against Monte Video, he became dissatisfied with Saratea, the commander-in-chief from Buenos Ayres. On his removal from the head of the army, he quarrelled with General Rondeau, who, it was supposed, would have been acceptable to him, and finally withdrew, before the siege of Monte Video was finished under General Alvear. For this conduct, Posadas, when he succeeded to the government, treated him as a deserter from their service. By a proclamation, he offered a reward for his apprehension, and set a price upon his head: an act which General Artigas never forgot or forgave.

During the subsequent directorship of Alvear, he induced the cabildo of Buenos Ayres to issue a similar proclamation against General Artigas. When Alvear was dismissed, the people of Buenos Ayres endeavoured to atone for their conduct, by burning, with every mark of ignominy, the degrading proclamation. They also addressed a conciliatory letter to the general, and received from him a corresponding answer. These were preliminary to a fruitless attempt at reconciliation, made by the director, *ad interim*, Colonel Alvares, who succeeded Alvear. Other endeavours to reconcile him have failed, notwithstanding the changes in the office of director at Buenos Ayres. On one occasion, the proposition was made that the Banda Oriental should remain independent of Buenos Ayres, and merely send deputies to the general congress, to concert measures against the common enemy. On another, when the Portuguese army was approaching the frontiers of the Banda Oriental, an effort was made by Pueyrredon to reconcile him, and to unite him in the common defence. Ample supplies of arms and munitions of war were offered, and some furnished, but this attempt also failed.

I must not omit to take a glance at the situation of Paraguay. This province presents a singular spectacle. It stands aloof from the rest. The people, with the aid of the few remaining royal troops, repulsed an army sent to compel them to join the

common standard. Very soon afterwards they expelled the royalists, and set up for themselves. Since that period, they appear to have adopted a partial non-intercourse system. But Buenos Ayres, on one occasion, succeeded in obtaining an understanding with them. Some suspect that they are secretly inimical to the existing order of things, and wish to keep themselves within their shell in case of a change, that they may profit by future events; others calculate, with some confidence, on their ultimate union with Buenos Ayres, with which, at present, they indulge a limited, and reluctant intercourse. Paraguay is under the immediate controul of a person named Francia, who styles himself dictator of Paraguay.

CHAPTER IV.

The Principal Occurrences at Buenos Ayres since the Commencement of their Revolution.

THE revolution at Buenos Ayres may be dated as far back as the first invasion by the British under Beresford, in June, 1806. The country was, at that time, almost in a state of abandonment on the part of Spain. She had a few wretched troops at Buenos Ayres and Monte Video; and an indifferent naval force, chiefly stationed at the latter of these places, which, from the circumstances of being nearer the ocean, and having a better harbour, was the naval depôt. While Napoleon was preying on the Spanish monarchy in Europe, the feeble and defenceless state of the Spanish American colonies held out strong temptations to the avarice of England. Sobre Monte, at this time the viceroy of La Plata, seems to have been totally devoid of energy and talents; and, when the British expedition, under Beresford and Sir Home Popham, appeared, the city of Buenos Ayres fell an easy conquest. The Spaniards had neither soldiers nor arms; the inhabitants, far from being accustomed to rally round the standard of their country in times of danger, had not even been permitted to think they had a country. From a people entirely excluded from any participation in national or political affairs, indifference and apathy were to be expected. An idle shew of resistance, it is true, was made by Sobre Monte, a few arms were distributed to the militia;* but, to use the words of Mr.

* I was told by a respectable officer, that they had not more than 300 good stand of arms in the city.

Poinsett, "ignorant of their use, they ran about without order to look at the enemy, while General Beresford, with 2000 men, marched into the city and took possession of the citadel without opposition. Don Juan Martin Pueyrredon was the only officer, at the head of a company of hussars, that harassed the enemy's march." The viceroy fled panic-struck to Cordova, in the interior.

But the same people, when left to themselves, soon discovered energies which astonished the invaders. They appeared to awaken as from a dream, or rather to be aroused into life, from a state of lethargy or stupor. Inflamed with indignation at the imbecile conduct of the ruler, whom chance, favouritism, or bribery, had placed over them, and chagrined at seeing their native soil in the possession of foreigners, they soon began to meditate upon the means of effecting their expulsion. Liniers, a captain in the navy, and a Frenchman by birth, not being included in the capitulation, was at liberty to take immediate steps with a view to this object. He entered into a secret correspondence with several members of the cabildo of Buenos Ayres, the most conspicuous of whom were Alzaga, an European Spaniard, and the present director, Pueyrredon. He, at the same time, applied for assistance to the governor of Monte Video, who could spare him only the marines and seamen at that place. With these, and such volunteers as could be collected at Colonia, he suddenly crossed the river, and, in the vicinity of the capital, was joined by the force collected and embodied by Pueyrredon, consisting of the neighbouring peasants, and such of the citizens as had escaped from the city. The British were attacked, and, after an obstinate resistance, compelled to surrender at discretion.

Liniers was acknowledged their deliverer, and the people, now abandoned to themselves, by the desertion of Sobre Monte, and being thus self-rescued, conceived they had a right to make choice of their ruler. A general meeting of the citizens was called, and it was resolved to invest Liniers with the power and dignity of viceroy. Although no other change was effected in any department of the government, this cannot but be regarded as the first step towards their emancipation.

The year after the surrender of Beresford, the formidable invasion under General Whitlock took place. He attacked the city of Buenos Ayres, with an army of 12,000 men; but was encountered, on this occasion, by a people accustomed to the use of arms, and who felt a confidence in their ability to defend themselves. His signal defeat is well known. This second victory, won by the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, would lose nothing by comparison with that of New Orleans, and its effect,

upon the people themselves, must necessarily have been great. But they were still so far from entertaining publicly, any ideas of complete independence, that an attempt made by Beresford, previous to this last affair, to induce some of the citizens to form a plan for throwing off the Spanish allegiance, drew upon him general indignation, and occasioned the punishment of those who lent an ear to his seductions.

Liniers became the popular idol, and appears to have conducted himself with prudence and moderation, but, at the same time, with the most inflexible fidelity to the king and country of Spain. For it is to be observed, that the distinction was made at an early period of those difficulties, in which Spain and her colonies were soon after involved, between allegiance to the king, to which the latter, according to the laws of the Indies, believed themselves bound, *and allegiance to the country of Spain itself*, which was claimed by her juntas, and other provisional governments. The troubles of the Spanish monarchy came on, England became its ally and defender, and Napoleon alone was held up as the object of fear and hatred throughout the colonies.

In this situation of the public mind, Liniers, who was obliged to temporise, incurred the suspicion of both parties. The circumstance of his being a Frenchman by birth, gave occasion to those who feared his popularity, or envied his success, to sow distrust of him.

The arrival of General Elio at Monte Video, was followed by the first symptoms of disaffection to his authority. The European Spaniards, who form a much greater proportion of the population there than at Buenos Ayres, uniting with the officers of the army and navy, got up a junta, acknowledging dependence on those of Spain. But a more serious attempt was made in the capital itself, by persons of the same description, to remove Liniers from the station of viceroy; they succeeded so far as to place him under the necessity of resigning; but this was no sooner made known, than the patricios, or native civic militia, took up arms in his support, and again restored him to authority, while a number of the European Spaniards, concerned in this and the former transactions, were banished to Patagonia.

A formal proposition followed next, on the part of the princess and the infant Don Pedro, to take under their guardianship these unhappy countries, now in a state of orphanage by the imprisonment of her brother Ferdinand. Whatever might be the private sentiments and wishes of Liniers, it is very evident that public opinion would not have permitted him to have acceded to a proposal, which would have been disap-

proved of even by the European Spaniards; and it is equally evident that, at this time, his authority had scarcely any other foundation than that of his popularity. The proposition was therefore rejected with some shew of indignation. He was, however, successful in preventing the formation of a junta in Buenos Ayres, which, no doubt, would have been immediately attended with serious consequences; in this he completely seconded the policy of the provisional governments of Spain, which was only to permit the formation of juntas in those American cities where the preponderance of Europeans insured their fidelity.

A more free intercourse with foreigners had begun to subsist under the administration of Liniers. A vast quantity of English manufactures had been smuggled into the country, and, from the friendly footing of the English and Spanish nations, the individuals of the former were received with peculiar favour. It is natural, therefore, that the subject of trade and commerce should be seized upon by those secretly planning the revolution, in order to give direction to the public feeling. The inhabitants of the city and vicinity convened, for the purpose of considering these important matters. The result was an elaborate memorial addressed to the viceroy, by the merchants and landholders, praying for an entire freedom of commerce with all the world.

The universal cry was for the formation of a junta, into whose hands the people might safely confide the government. The cabildo, or municipality, taking the lead on this occasion, sent an intimation to the viceroy, on the 20th of May, 1810, that it had become indispensable that he should resign his office, *since the power whence he derived it appeared no longer to exist.*

On the 24th it was announced, by bando, that the following persons were elected to compose the junta, to wit;—the viceroy Cisneros, Dr. Soler, Dr. Casteli, Colonel Saavedra, and Inchauraqua, to be conjointly styled their excellency. This selection was no sooner made known, than general murmurs and discontents broke forth. The civic officers, who, *in virtue of their military characters*, took the lead in these popular commotions, presented themselves to the cabildo, who annulled their former election, and proceeded to appoint persons more agreeable to their wishes. These were the chief of the patriots, (native corps,) Colonel Saavedra, as president, and Dr. Casteli, Manuel Belgrano, Manuel Alberti, curate of the parish of St. Nicholas, Miguel de Ascuñega, colonel of militia, Domingo Matteo, a Catalonian merchant, and Juan Larrea, also an European Spaniard from the same province. Two

persons were selected as secretaries, Dr. Juan Jose Passo, and Mariano Moreno. The next day, the 25th, which has ever since been observed as the anniversary of their political regeneration, a manifesto announced these proceedings of the cabildo, and which seemed to give universal satisfaction. On the members of the cabildo presenting themselves in the gallery of the town-house, before the assembled multitude in the public square, and the act being read, it was approved by general acclamation.

The installation of the junta was followed by an attempt to prevail on the inhabitants of Monte Video, to follow the example. Dr. Passo, one of the junta, was sent there with this view; a congress similar to that which had taken place at Buenos Ayres, was called; but the native inhabitants, although actuated by the same feelings with their countrymen at Buenos Ayres, were prevented from coming to the same determination, by the interference of the naval officers, and the influence of the European Spaniards. In the meantime, a vessel arrived with the news of the installation of the regency, and the false intelligence, that the tide of fortune on the Peninsula had turned in favour of the Spaniards, who were represented as every where victorious. Passo was obliged to return without success.

The next, and the most important step, was to obtain the concurrence of all the different towns and provinces of the viceroyalty. Buenos Ayres claimed this as the capital, from those districts which had previously been dependencies; at least, of the audiencia of La Plata. Governing in the name of Ferdinand, she professed to retain the viceroyalty entire, until the sense of the people of the viceroyalty could be taken, as to the modification, or administration, of the government. The towns and villages of the province of Buenos Ayres, with the exception of Monte Video, acknowledged the provisional government; the other towns of the Banda Oriental, (Colonia, Maldonado, and Conception,) with the principal part of the population, did not follow the example of their capital, but recognized the junta. The districts of Mendoza, St. Louis, and San Juan, sent in their adhesion to Buenos Ayres, as the capital of the viceroyalty. The province of Cordova, then under the government of Concha, an European Spaniard, who had been rewarded with this post for his conduct in the defence against the British, was at first restrained from entering into the confederacy by his influence, supported by the exertions of Liniers, who had retired to this place, and those of the Bishop Orillana.

At a meeting, convened for the purpose of taking the sub-

ject into consideration, Funes, the Dean of Cordova, and historian of the country, was the only person who ventured to take the side of the junta ; which he did, in an eloquent discourse, afterwards published. The wishes of the people in this quarter were, by no means, in accordance with the determination of their chiefs, and when a military force soon after arrived, under Ocampo, the chiefs were abandoned by the troops they had collected on the spur of the occasion. The bishop, Concha, and Liniers, were seized, and notwithstanding the intercessions of Funes and his brother, the two latter were put to death, in alleged retaliation for the murders committed in Peru ; thus staining the cause of the revolution by blood. It was unfortunate that one of the first victims should have been a man to whom the country was so much indebted ; who, whatever might have been his ultimate intentions, certainly enabled the people to take the first step towards their emancipation.

The die was now cast ; there was no course left to the leaders of the revolution, but to advance ; they were placed between victory and death ; they had boldly asserted, that the dependence of the Indies had temporarily ceased with the captivity of the king ; that no separate or distinct jurisdiction, or government of the monarchy, had a right to assume authority over another ; but that each distinct and separate government had a right, in this state of things, to take care of itself.

A few months after the revolution at Buenos Ayres, Pueyrredon arrived from Rio Janeiro, and was immediately appointed governor of Cordova, while Belgrano marched against Velasco, the Spanish governor of Paraguay, who still maintained the Spanish authority. Yedras, with the regular troops and militia, worsted Belgrano in two successive engagements, probably having a great superiority of force. The general, however, opened a communication with some of the principal inhabitants, in consequence of which, they put down the Spanish authorities, sending Velasco a prisoner to Buenos Ayres, and establishing a junta, but without acknowledging that of the capital. With these steps Belgrano was satisfied, and withdrew his forces.

With the exception of the town of Monte Video, the whole of the viceroyalty had become, *de facto*, independent of Spain, professing an intention to return to their allegiance to Ferdinand, on his restoration to the throne, which few of the leaders expected, and, certainly, none desired. The viceroy of Lima strained every nerve to arrest the progress of this revolution ; all the reinforcements that could possibly be spared, were sent to Goyneche ; who, partly through treachery, as

well as by superiority of numbers, defeated Balcarce at Huaqui.

I have said nothing of the incidents of the war in Peru, and with the Spaniards at Monte Video, both of which had their influence on the local feuds of Buenos Ayres. The defeats in Peru, and the bad success of the war in the Banda Oriental, must have contributed not a little to the instability of the governments hitherto established, as well as fomented party-spirit. The calling in of the Portuguese by Elio, the Spanish governor, at Monte Video, on finding himself closely pressed by Rondeau and Artigas, had also its effect on the councils of Buenos Ayres. The ASSEMBLY, at its first meeting in April 1812, elected Pueyrredon as one of the members of the triumvirate; his conduct in Peru having rendered him, at this time, extremely popular. This body, however, did not stop here, but proceeded to declare itself rightfully invested with supreme authority. A struggle of course ensued, and ought to have been foreseen; the popular opinion was on the side of the executive, which proceeded at once to dissolve the ASSEMBLY; it was accordingly done without resistance. During the administration of Pueyrredon, the siege of Monte Video was renewed, and through the mediation of Lord Strangford, an armistice was concluded, in the month of June, between the Portuguese and Buenos Ayres; in consequence of which the former withdrew their army from Banda Oriental, and a reciprocal guarantee was agreed upon with respect to each other's territories. This is the third time we find the British interfering in behalf of Buenos Ayres; the first when a blockade was attempted by Elio; afterwards, by mediation between her and the junta of Cadiz; and, finally, in the present treaty negotiated with Brazil through their interference.

The arms of the republic experienced severe reverses in Peru; Belgrano was defeated at Ayuma, while the Spaniards threatened the city of Buenos Ayres from the river La Plata; the consequence of a junction of the Spanish forces in the upper provinces with those at Monte Video, would have produced the same effect as the junction of Burgoyne and the British at New York. The defection of Artigas also manifested itself about this time. The public mind, in consequence of this state of things, was greatly agitated; a more energetic executive was called for; the assembly, having engrossed the power of the state, were too much occupied in idle debates. A proposal was brought forward to repose the executive authority in the hands of one person. It was warmly debated, and at length carried; the triumvirate was abolished, and on the

31st of December, Posadas was elected, under the title of SUPREME DIRECTOR, and a council of seven appointed to assist him. Belgrano was recalled from Peru, and Rondeau appointed in his stead, while Alvear was invested with the command of the army before Monte Video. The authority of the assembly rapidly declined, as that of the executive increased. Alvear, taking advantage of the popularity he had gained by his success against Monte Video, sought the command of the army in Peru, and, having obtained it, was on his way, when informed that the officers and men had come to the determination not to receive him. On his return to Buenos Ayres, those who had been instrumental in his appointment, in order to manifest still more their regard for him, and their disapprobation of the conduct of the army, succeeded in elevating him to the office of supreme director, Posadas having resigned.

This was followed by general disgust throughout the provinces, and all communication between the army of Peru and the capital was interrupted. Cordova and several of the other provinces were on the point of withdrawing from the confederacy. The people had become sensible of their error, and Alvear, finding that his short race of popularity was drawing to a close, conceived the idea of maintaining his authority by the aid of the regular troops. He withdrew from the city nearly all the regulars, professedly with the intention of marching against Artigas. The people took advantage of his absence, and rose *en masse*; the civic troops, and the citizens capable of bearing arms, during three days abandoned all employments, and *stationed themselves on their house-tops*, in expectation of his marching against them. But the state of things in the city was no sooner made known to the army, than respect for Alvear instantly fled—Colonels Alvares and Valdenegro openly declared against him, on which he was compelled to take refuge on-board a British ship, whence he made his escape to Rio Janeiro. The authority of the state was again thrown into the hands of the *cabildo*. The assembly, during the administration of Alvear, had sunk into insignificance, and fell to pieces of itself. On the 16th of April, 1815, the *cabildo* issued a long manifesto, enumerating the evils of the last administration, pointing out the errors and defects of the former system, and speaking of past occurrences with a freedom which would not be tolerated by those in power, and who were unable to bear the *severe probe of a free press*. No press ever censured more freely the misconduct of the public men than that of Buenos Ayres, but it was usually after they were turned out of office. The *cabildo* elected Rondeau supreme director, and Alvares to supply his place, *pro tem*. A

JUNTA OF OBSERVATION was chosen to supply the place of the *sovereign assembly*.

The new government immediately took measures to convene a **NATIONAL CONGRESS**, which would fairly represent the whole body of the people; and to do away every idea of capitalism, it was appointed to meet at Tucuman, 1200 miles in the interior.* Great expectations were formed of this assembly, which was considered by many as their last hope, for the fate of the republic seemed to approach its crisis. Its situation was truly deplorable. The defeat of Rondeau at Sipe-Sipe, towards the close of 1815, was as calamitous as the battle of Cannæ to Rome. Chili had fallen a victim to the dissensions of two great families, and was in the possession of the Spaniards, who were in consequence enabled to throw reinforcements into Peru, and at the same time to compel Buenos Ayres to form an army at the foot of the Andes, under the command of San Martin, to prevent an attack from that quarter. The Spaniards, it is true, had been dislodged from Monte Video, but the revolt of Artigas, which threatened to draw after it some of the other provinces, was even more vexatious and distracting. Ferdinand, now restored to the throne, was preparing a powerful expedition, as was supposed, for the purpose of crushing them at a single blow, at a moment when the success of his armies in Peru and Chili, and the internal dissensions, completely seconded his views. It is in times like these, that nations turn their eyes upon their ablest men, and for a while lay aside their petty jealousies and distrust. The resignation of Alvares had been followed by the election of Balcarce, who soon resigned also. The general government possessed neither power, strength, nor influence. The belt of their union had been unbuckled,

“While bloody treason flourished over them.”

In the language of the manifesto of Pueyrredon “anarchy had lighted up an universal conflagration. The **NATIONAL CONGRESS** at last assembled, towards the close of 1815. Pueyrredon, who had been called from his retirement, was soon after elected, by an unanimous vote, **SUPREME DIRECTOR**; certainly, no equivocal testimony in his favour. He immediately visited the armies of San Martin and Belgrano, and on his return to Tucuman, proposed the declaration of independence, which was finally passed on the 9th of July, 1816.

* Two petitions, signed by upwards of two hundred citizens of Buenos Ayres, were presented to the municipality, praying that the city might be stripped of the honour of being the capital, as a mode of quieting the discontents of the provinces.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Buenos Ayres—Touch at San Salvador—Island of Margaritta—Victory of Maipu—Its Effects in Venezuela—New Grenada, &c.—Position of the military Forces there.

As the time of our departure drew near, our impatience to return to our native country increased. Towards the latter end of April, we bid adieu to Buenos Ayres, a number of the most respectable citizens attending us to the beach. On the 29th the Congress weighed anchor from off Monte Video, and touched at Maldonado, to take in supplies. Here we experienced a dreadful pampero, from which we considered our escape peculiarly fortunate. On the 4th of May, we took our departure from this place with a favourable wind. We had a fine run to Cape Frio, which we made the seventh day after leaving the river.

The commodore observes, "It was on the 11th of May I fell in with Cape Frio, and passed it within a few leagues. Kept upon a wind heading north-east. At ten o'clock, *p. m.* got bottom in twenty-five fathoms, coral rock. No sounding of this kind being laid down in my chart, I felt much alarmed, and more particularly so as the night proved very dark and rainy, with heavy squalls, sometimes heading off north-by-east. At meridian lost soundings, having passed, as I imagine, over this ledge of rocks lying off St. Thome, distant at least thirty miles. Cape St. Thome is laid down in 21 deg. 50 min. south latitude. I came into these soundings in latitude 21 deg. 25 min. and carried them in a north-easterly direction to latitude 21 deg.; 37 min. having from twenty-nine to thirty-seven fathoms, and immediately after shoaling to thirty-three fathoms, there was no bottom with 120 fathoms of line. The wind then drew round to an east-north-easterly direction, and blew in tremendous squalls, with much rain; and fearing, as I did, that if I continued on, bordering along the coast until I came up with the Abrolhos shoals, which give broken soundings at least 200 miles off the land, that the wind might come back to its natural point, the south-east, and embay me, I reluctantly tacked to south-east, and before I could make my easting, I was set to the south of Cape Frio, by a strong current, setting about south-south-west or south-west. The wind continued to blow from north to north-north-east, heading us up on each tack for twelve days, which entirely disappointed us in our prospect of a fine passage to St. Salvador.

During this unpleasant period of contrary winds, we were

driven nearly into the supposed latitude and longitude of the island of Portuguese Ascension, whose existence is a subject of doubt among navigators; a singular circumstance, considering how completely this sea has been explored for the last hundred years. A description and drawing is given of it by Frezier; but the Russian navigator, Kreuzenstern, a few years ago, devoted some time in search of it without success. From the circumstance of seeing several land birds, at the distance of five or six hundred miles from any known shore, we were almost induced to believe that we were near this fabled island, as it is now supposed to be.

After a passage of twenty-five days from Rio La Plata, we came in sight of San Salvador, or Bahia. "I found, in running in for this place, a strong north-easterly current, setting at least one and a half knots the hour, produced, no doubt, by the south-south-west wind, which had blown almost a gale for two or three days. My ship was brought down to close-reefed topsails and storm-staysails, in standing off upon a wind, after having made my run as nearly as prudence dictated, the night being dark and weather very squally. I tacked at eight o'clock, *p. m.* and stood off under easy sail, going with a high head sea, two and a half knots the hour, until four, *a. m.* when I tacked on west, and made more sail; and at six, *a. m.* saw the land, bearing north-west, supposed to be the cape. I stood in until it was ascertained to be so, and at eight o'clock, *a. m.* the weather looking very bad, and blowing hard, I stood off again until ten o'clock, *a. m.* when the weather clearing and moderating in some degree, I wore and stood in again, and at meridian observed, in latitude 13 deg. and 9 min. south, Cape St. Antonio, bearing west-north-west, three-fourths west, distant four or five leagues, chronometer longitude, agreeing exactly with the chart, contained in the East India Pilot, but our charts differing from it thirty miles, in laying down this cape I am at a loss which to rely on.

"I continued standing in upon a wind heading from west to west-south-west, sagging fast to leeward with the current and sea, until the cape bore, or rather the fortress, standing on the spit of the cape, nearly north, when I perceived the colour of the water alter suddenly, indicating soundings. I hove the lead with thirty-five fathoms, and got no bottom. In a few minutes got eighteen fathoms; next cast fifteen, next twelve, and then nine, when the ship was hove in stays, and luckily came round, for there is no knowing how much water a few minutes more might have given us. It was now four o'clock. The fortress bore north-half-east, and we were distant from it about two and a half leagues, while this shoal is laid down in

all my charts, at the distance of four miles, with four fathoms. This apprehension, and finding no attention paid to my signals for a pilot, I stood off until four o'clock, *a. m.* when I tacked, and at an early hour again made the land. The land to the north-east of St. Salvador cannot be mistaken. For ten leagues there are no very prominent parts, although the land is considerably elevated, and somewhat irregular and broken; but it may always be known from six to ten leagues from the cape, by its white, spotted, chalky appearance, somewhat resembling linen spread upon a green sward to bleach."

Not being able to procure a pilot, the commodore determined to run in by his charts, which he effected without any accident. On our approach to this great city, we descried a forest of masts, indicating its great importance as a commercial place. The entrance to the harbour is by no means as safe as that of Rio, and, from its width, not so easily fortified. The harbour is one of the most spacious in the world, bordered by a most beautiful picturesque country, in a high state of cultivation in cotton, cocoa, coffee, and sugar. The city is situated upon a hill, several hundred feet in height, but a considerable part of it occupies the sides of the hill, and the narrow strip of land at its base. The upper, or new town, is much better built, and has an air of cleanliness, unusual in Portuguese towns. The king touched here, on his arrival in the country, and a monument has been erected in one of the public gardens, commemorative of the event. Mr. Hill, the American consul, a gentleman of fine talents and agreeable manners, came on-board, and escorted us to his house, where we were shewn every mark of attention and hospitality. We called on the governor, the Count dos Palmas, who succeeds the Count dos Arcos, lately appointed prime-minister.

On the 5th of June, having laid in every necessary supply, the commodore resolved to make all sail for the United States. "About four o'clock, *p. m.* with the ebb-tide just making, we weighed anchor, and commenced beating out of the harbour. At seven o'clock it became very dark and squally, with the wind right in, and the pilot, who had insisted on leaving us an hour before, saying we were as far as he could take us; on finding his canoe filling astern, he became so alarmed as to be quite useless. I suffered him to depart, although not clear of the western shoal, which runs off several leagues, and as long as I could see the light-house on the castle of St. Antonio, I kept under way beating out; but at length it became so dark and squally, that I determined to come to an anchor, and did so in thirteen fathoms." The next day we succeeded in gaining the open sea, and proceeded on our voyage. We had a

delightful run along the coast, passing between the continent and the island of Fernando de Naronka, thus shortening our distance considerably.

“On Sunday, the 21st of June, at nine o'clock, *p. m.* my reckoning was out, and the ship had been previously put under her three topsails, double-reefed, steering down west from latitude observed at meridian, 11 deg. 24 min. north, the north-east end of Tobago lying (by Bowditch) in 11 deg. 29 min. I continued to run down all night, the moon shining quite bright, but saw no land. At day-light made all sail, and hauled up west-by-south, believing we had been deceived by the currents we had allowed by lunars and our chronometer; when at nine, *a. m.* on Monday, the island of Grenada was discovered bearing west-south-west. I then discovered, by examining the ‘Personal Narrative’ of Humboldt, (one of the most accurate observers of latitude and longitudes that has ever written,) that the north-east end of Tobago lies in latitude 11 deg. 17 min. south, which, added to a strong current setting to the north-west, had occasioned our passing Tobago without seeing it.”

On Tuesday, the 23d, we anchored in Pampatar roads; the island of Margaritta, far famed for its heroic repulse of Morillo, had the appearance of a bleak and barren rock. The next day I went on shore with an officer. We found the village, which might at one time have contained several hundred souls, in a state of ruin. I waited on the governor, a kind of Indian about seven feet high. On inquiring for Gomes, the governor of the island, he told me that he was at the village of Assumption, some miles in the interior. I then made arrangements for horses to ride over the next day, in order to pay him a visit. Accordingly, early the next morning, the commissioners, the commodore, several officers of the ship, Mr. Read, and myself, went on-shore. After being detained some time, we were mounted on some wretched animals, so small and poor as to be just able to carry us. We passed through a poor sandy country, bordered by high and naked hills, but as we approached Assumption, its appearance grew somewhat better. Near the town, we were shown the valley where Morillo had been defeated, with the loss of 1500 men. When we consider that this victory was achieved by peasants, the greater part of whom were armed only with stones, it deserves to rank with those of the days of William Tell. A breakfast *a la fourchette* was provided for us by Gomes, who received us with hospitality. He is a man of stern countenance, and Herculean frame; his complexion is very fair, which I consider somewhat singular in a native of these islands. There were fifteen or twenty officers,

whose complexions were not so fair, but who shone out well in their uniforms. I was much pleased with two young men, who arrived to invite us to dine at Griego, with their father, General Arismendie, who we now learned was in the island. The invitation was accepted by Mr. Read, Lieutenants Clack and Vorhees, but the commodore and the commissioners declined, on account of the excessive heat.

Some distance from Assumption we crossed a rapid stream, whose channel was well supplied with water, and its borders shaded by trees of a prodigious size; after this we passed a number of small cabins and cultivated patches along the roadside, for two or three miles, when we gradually began to ascend the mountains, which are as high as the Alleghanies, and their sides, until cleared for cultivation, covered with wood. We saw a great number of small patches, a few acres each, where the inhabitants cultivate manidioca, cotton, bananas, and Indian corn. We crossed the mountain through what we should call a gap, an extremely narrow defile. When at the summit, we descried a beautiful valley below, about six miles long and three broad, running down to the sea, hemmed in by mountains on the other sides, but which presented innumerable clearings, and small patches of cultivation, without any visible habitations; these were probably constructed of reeds, and hid among the trees. The valley had been laid waste by the Spaniards, and all the cocoa-trees cut down. The soil is good the whole distance to the village, and the road bordered by huts very slightly constructed.

We found Aresmendi a small man, rather taciturn, but of an aspect firm and undaunted. His entertainment was very far beyond any thing I could have expected at this place; several of the officers waited on the guests, and they appeared to take pleasure in addressing each other in the French style of *citizen*. Toasts were drank, accompanied with music and discharges of artillery. Our horses having been turned out, we found ourselves compelled to remain here all night. A ball was got up, but not in the most refined taste. Early the next morning we took leave of Arismendi, and returned on-board the Congress.

The island contains a population of 20,000 souls, who are chiefly peasantry, who subsist by cultivating small spots of ground. As we passed along in the cool of the morning, we saw a number at work in these miniature fields. Their general dress is cotton-pantaloons and shirt, of their own manufacture. The island is strongly fortified; redoubts and forts are constructed on every height near which the enemy would have to pass.

The news of the victory of Maipu, which we brought, pro-

duced great rejoicing, and, we afterwards learned, had important effects on the confederacy of Venezuela, and even through the viceroyalty of New Grenada. Like the shock of a tremendous earthquake, it will be felt throughout the continent.

Before I venture to give a sketch of the events of the revolution in this quarter, I shall make some observations on its geography and the character of the inhabitants. The captain-generalship of Caracas and the viceroyalty of New Grenada have been even more intimately connected in their struggle against the Spanish power than La Plata and Chili. The progress of the contest in the one has constantly re-acted on the other; neither, or both, must be independent of the kings of Spain. With some shades of difference in the character of the people, their feelings and opinions, in relation to the cause in which they are engaged, are the same. Even in those districts where the revolution at first made the slowest progress, and which have been almost continually under the influence of the Spaniards, revolutionary principles have been silently but rapidly working their way. If the Canadians on our continent had not been of a different race, and repelled by their antipathies to the *Bostonais*, there is little doubt but that they would have joined us in the contest with Great Britain.

The captain-generalship of Venezuela or Caracas is composed of the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaibo, Varinas, Guiana, and the island of Margareta. The coast from the province of Santa Martha of New Grenada, down to the mouths of the Oronoko (which are as numerous as those of the Nile or Mississippi) is in general bold and in some places mountainous. The rivers which discharge themselves into the Caribbean sea along this coast are generally inconsiderable, on account of a ridge of mountains which branches off from the Cordillera of Santa Martha, passes round the celebrated lake of Maracaibo and there runs with the coast at the distance of forty or fifty miles. The valley of Caracas is formed by this mountain, and the river Tuy, which waters it, flows along the ridge of the coast for some distance before it finds a passage to the sea. Between the two ridges of mountains just mentioned, the land is elevated like those of Peru, though on a smaller scale, and of a less elevation, but sufficient to afford a perpetual spring within the tropics. There are other elevated positions in various parts of the captain-generalship, affording the same temperature, while the plains of the south towards the Oronoko are excessively hot. The rivers which flow to the interior, and which are tributary to the Apure, or other western branches of the Oronoko, pass over a much more extensive country than those of the coasts, and are of greater magnitude. The main trunk of the great

river just mentioned, on examining the map, will be seen to hold a course for several hundred miles from west to east, enclosing a parallelogram with the coast, the main branches of the Apure rising in the neighbourhood of the lake of Maracaibo. This track is about 500 miles long, by 200 in breadth, and with the exception of the province of Guiana, which lies on the south side of the Oronoko, it comprises all the provinces of the captain-generalship; but the province of Guiana is at least a third greater in magnitude than all the rest put together, although it may be regarded as an uninhabited and even unexplored wilderness. Venezuela has two remarkable natural boundaries; the mouths of the Oronoko on the east, and the lake of Maracaibo on the west; on this side it is also separated by high mountains, extremely difficult to cross, from the viceroyalty of New Grenada.

To the south Venezuela is traversed in its breadth by the tributaries of the Apure and Oronoko, as has been stated; but the surface of the track of country, for more than 400 miles in length, and 150 in width, is a plain almost as level as the pampas of La Plata, and in some respect resembling them; but in general essentially different. The streams which water this track of country take their rise either in the ridge which runs along with the coast, or in the mountains in the vicinity of Lake Maracaibo, and, during the seasons of rains, which in this climate are prodigious, they pass over the banks and inundate the adjacent plains to a great distance. There are also numerous channels of cross communication, in consequence of which, in the rainy season, the surface of the country presents the appearance of a vast inland sea, and the courses of rivers are only marked by the tops of the forest-trees on their borders. During the other portion of the year the streams shrink within their channels, leaving immense plains, which are soon covered with luxuriant herbage, and sustain numerous herds of cattle, until the approach of the dry season, when the grass is burnt up by the heat of the sun, the water evaporated, the plains present the appearance of naked deserts, and the cattle perish by thousands for want of food and water. Such is the country which has been the principal theatre of war between the Spanish general Morillo, and the patriots under Bolivar, since the capture of Angostura. Their campaigns have been constantly interrupted by the return of the rainy season, and, during the period favourable to their military operations, the nature of the country and the climate are such as render it almost impossible for European constitutions to withstand the privations and fatigues to which they must unavoidably be exposed. These causes both operate in favour of the natives; delay, occasioned by the interruption

in their campaigns, enables them to increase in strength, while the cause of Spain grows weaker, and, from habit, the sultry heat of the plains, to which they are accustomed, like Arabs, can be better withstood than by their enemies.

From the nature of the track already described, extending across the Apure into New Grenada on the south, opposes a natural barrier to the communication with the populous districts of that viceroyalty; for even when not covered with water, it is a vast and almost trackless desert, interspersed with morasses and marshes extremely difficult to pass. Our enterprising countryman, MACAULEY, was one of the first to cross from Calabozo to Santa Fee de Bogota, where he commenced his short but brilliant career in the cause of South American emancipation.* The greater part of the country which stretches from the left bank of the Oronoko, is composed of immense plains, subject to inundation. The inhabitants resemble those of Banda Oriental or La Plata, and the subjugation of these herdsmen, in their widely-expanded wastes, will be equally difficult. They are possessed of prodigious bodily strength, and, like those of the south, are capable of sustaining extraordinary fatigue, contrary to the opinion usually entertained of the inhabitants of warm climates. They will, in fact, bear almost with indifference what exposes the European soldier to the severest sufferings. Although their habits are in general indolent and slothful, they can suddenly pass from this state to one of the most vigorous energy; like the furious boar of their plains, so finely described by Humboldt, which basks its listless length in the sun, until excited by the sight of its prey, when it instantly displays a power of motion truly terrific.

The population of Venezuela has been estimated at 800,000 souls, but the devastating war which has been carried on, has diminished the number very much, especially in the provinces of Caracas, Cumana, and Guiana: but that of Margaritta has been increased by emigration from the union. The province of Maracaibo has suffered less than any, although it has been put under heavy requisitions by Morillo for the support of war; without the assistance he has drawn from this quarter and from New Granada, it would have been impossible for him to have maintained the contest. The delightful valley of Caracas has

* The recent march of Bolivar, as a military achievement, has never been surpassed. He set off at the commencement of the rainy season, when his antagonist, Morillo, expected that he had retired into quarters. None but the troops of the country could ever have accomplished this undertaking; his men were for weeks literally to the waist in mud and water. Of the English troops which accompanied him, but a handful appear to have survived.

been almost laid waste, and the beautiful plantations of cocoa, cotton, sugar, coffee, and indigo, formerly so celebrated, have been in a great measure destroyed.

The uncivilized Indians of the neighbouring mountains and plains have, in general, regarded the contest with indifference. The Indians of the plains in the rainy season pass from one point of high land to another in their canoes, and often remain many days in succession on the water; and the circumstance of their sleeping in hammocks, suspended between branches, has given rise to the story of their living in the tops of trees.

The kingdom of New Grenada is probably the most important Spanish feudatory in South America. It is equal in extent to the United States west of the Mississippi, and capable of containing a greater population. In most respects it resembles Peru, lying chiefly between the two Cordilleras, which begin near the sea-coast in San la Martha, and which form the valley of the great river Magdalena, on which is situated Santa Fee de Bogota. This kingdom is probably one of the most diversified in its surface in the world; but its most remarkable characteristic is, its mountainous aspect. Excepting by the channel of the Magdalena, or by the way of Peru, there is no way in which an army can be sent by Spain to subdue its inhabitants in their inaccessible mountains. But for a series of causes of a most peculiar nature, Morillo, even with the assistance of the troops from Peru, and all the old Spaniards, then in the country, never could have put down the revolution.

F I N I S.

INDEX

I N D E X

TO VOL. III.

	Page
ABRAHAM, Heights of	<i>Sansom</i> 17
———, Plains of	<i>Ibid.</i> 19
Abbé de Calonne	<i>Ibid.</i> 50
Abrantes, Town of, in Portugal	<i>Graham</i> 16
Africans, their ideas respecting Europeans	<i>Mollien</i> 58
——— their belief in spells	<i>Ibid.</i> 57
Africa, Mollien's Travels in	No. II.
———, Description of the Coast of	<i>Mollien</i> , Intro. 5
———, Character of the Women of	<i>Ibid.</i> 51
———, Freemasons in	<i>Ibid.</i> 67
———, Portuguese settlements in	<i>Ibid.</i> 121.
Agnam, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i> 43
Ali of Timbo, his conduct towards M. Mollien	<i>Ibid.</i> 84, 85
Alleghany mountains	<i>Sansom</i> 5, 7
Alluvial formation	<i>Ibid.</i> 111
Almousseri, Description of the, in Africa	<i>Mollien</i> 67
Almamy, Interview of Mollien with	<i>Ibid.</i> 45
——— of Bondou, Visit to	<i>Ibid.</i> 54, 60
——— of Timbo, Interview with the sister of	<i>Ibid.</i> 85
Almeida, Villa nova de	<i>Maximilian</i> 92
Almamys, Nature of their authority	<i>Mollien</i> 67
Alligator, escape from one in a river	<i>Ibid.</i> 108
Albiness, description of one, at Poukou	<i>Ibid.</i> 99
Aoret, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i> 62
Apes, their attack upon a woman in Africa	<i>Ibid.</i> 108
Appennines, Colossus of the	<i>Castellan</i> 94
———, Journey over the	<i>Ibid.</i> 102
Artigas, General, his conduct	<i>Brackenridge</i> 98
Araçetiba, Great Forest of	<i>Maximilian</i> 90
Army of Almamy	<i>Mollien</i> 56
Architecture, State of, among the Poulas	<i>Ibid.</i> 69
Ariano, Town of	<i>Castellan</i> 14
Ass, African, excellent qualities of the	<i>Mollien</i> 19
Atlantic and Pacific, Communication between the	<i>Brackenridge</i> 4
Azambuja, Town of, in Portugal	<i>Graham</i> 16
Ballston's Mineral Waters for curing Gout	<i>Sansom</i> 7
Bayonne, Town of	<i>Graham</i> 77, 80
———, Story of a French inhabitant of	<i>Ibid.</i> 79
Baobab, Description of the African tree, called	<i>Mollien</i> 15
Bala, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i> 40
Banai, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i> 52
Baretto, Fazenda of	<i>Maximilian</i> 44
VOYAGES and TRAVELS, No. 6, Vol. III.	R

		Page
Bambouk, Kingdom of	<i>Mollien</i>	79
———, Climate, productions, people, &c. of	<i>Ibid.</i>	80
Barletta, Town of	<i>Castellan</i>	11
Bandeia, Dangerous illness of M. Mollien at	<i>Mollien</i>	101
Baducca, Brazilian drink called	<i>Maximilian</i>	83
Beggary unknown in Canada	<i>Sansom</i>	15, 33
Beauport, Church of	<i>Ibid.</i>	29
———, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i>	35
Berthier, Town of	<i>Ibid.</i>	64
Beaver, Description of the, in Canada	<i>Ibid.</i>	94
Benevente, Villa nova de	<i>Maximilian</i>	83
Benedictines, Convent of	<i>Castellan</i>	15
Bidienne, in Africa, Depth of a well at	<i>Mollien</i>	10
Bissao, Town of	<i>Ibid.</i>	119
———, Reception of M. Mollien, by the Governor	<i>Ibid.</i>	119
Biaritz, Town of	<i>Graham</i>	78
Blue ridge mountains	<i>Cornelius</i>	99
Botocudos, in Brazil, Account of the	<i>Maximilian</i>	94
Bonaparte, Caricatures of	<i>Sansom</i>	52
Bourb-Joloffs, Present to one of the sons of the	<i>Mollien</i>	25
———, Interview of M. Mollien with the	<i>Ibid.</i>	27
———, his present to M. Mollien	<i>Ibid.</i>	29
———, his attention to M. Mollien	<i>Ibid.</i>	30
———, Situation of the country of the	<i>Ibid.</i>	34
———, Government of the	<i>Ibid.</i>	34
Boie, Village of	<i>Mollien</i>	96
———, Conduct of the Chief of	<i>Ibid.</i>	97
Boqué, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i>	41
———, Conduct of the Poulas of, towards M. Mol-		
lien	<i>Ibid.</i>	41
Boquequille, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i>	64
Bodé, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i>	73
Boqui, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i>	72
Bourdeaux, Town of	<i>Graham</i>	83
Bowring, J., his Observations on Religion and Li-		
terature in Spain	No. IV.	
Bondou, Difference between the Inhabitants of, and		
those of Foutatoro	<i>Mollien</i>	72
———, Villages, &c. of	<i>Ibid.</i>	73
———, Description of a marriage in	<i>Ibid.</i>	75
———, Soil, production, &c. of	<i>Ibid.</i>	77
———, Government of	<i>Ibid.</i>	78
———, Inhabitants of	<i>Ibid.</i>	78
———, Commerce of	<i>Ibid.</i>	79
Boar-hunt in Spain	<i>Graham</i>	62
Brackenridge, H. M. his Voyage to South America	No. VI.	
Broadway, New York	<i>Sansom</i>	3
Brindisi, Town of	<i>Castellan</i>	4
———, Convents at	<i>Ibid.</i>	6
Breccia, Description of, in America	<i>Cornelius</i>	97
Braga, Town of	<i>Graham</i>	40
Brazils, Maximilian's Travels in the	No. III.	
———, Storm on the Coast of	<i>Maximilian</i>	5
———, Landing in	<i>Ibid.</i>	8
———, Abundance of fruit, &c. in	<i>Ibid.</i>	10
———, Trade of	<i>Ibid.</i>	10
———, Distinguishing traits of the people of	<i>Ibid.</i>	12

INDEX.

		Page
Brazils, State of the Indians of	Maximilian	119
——, Whales on the coast of	ibid.	13
——, Dress of the Hunters of	ibid.	15
——, Mode of preparing the ground for cultivation in	ibid.	24
——, Royal family of	ibid.	26
——, State of Society in	Brackenridge	23
——, Arts and Sciences in	ibid.	81
——, State of Religion in	ibid.	82
Burlington, the capital of Vermont	ibid.	83
Bull-fight at Buenos Ayres	Sansom	11
Butter-tree, seen by Mungo Park	Brackenridge	89
Buenos Ayres, Approach to the city of	Mollison, Intro.	9
——, Description of	Brackenridge	56
——, Landing at	ibid.	57
——, Clumsy construction of carts at	ibid.	58
——, Streets, houses, &c. of	ibid.	58
——, Inhabitants of	ibid.	59
——, Ox-waggon at	ibid.	61
——, Convents, &c. of	ibid.	63
——, Market-place, and shops of	ibid.	64
——, Climate of	ibid.	64
——, Population of the Province of	ibid.	67
——, Interview with the Director of	ibid.	72
——, Principal Characters of	ibid.	76
——, Celebration of the Independence of	ibid.	81
Chili, at	ibid.	87
——, Circus at	ibid.	89
——, Bull-fight at	ibid.	89
——, Theatre at	ibid.	91
——, State of the Drama at	ibid.	92
——, Extent of the Viceroyalty of	ibid.	92
——, Population of	ibid.	94
——, Form of Government established at	ibid.	95
——, Commerce of	ibid.	96
——, Army of	ibid.	97
——, Commencement of the Revolution at	ibid.	99
——, Capture of, by the English	ibid.	99
——, Attack of, by General Whitlocke	ibid.	100
——, Election of Liniers to the Viceroyalty of	ibid.	101
——, Formation of the Junta at	ibid.	102
——, Departure from	ibid.	108
CANADIAN novels	Sansom	16
Castellan, A. L., his Letters on Italy	No. V.	
Cathedral of Quebec	Sansom	24
Canada, History of	Sansom	44, 79
——, its Peasantry	ibid.	74
——, first Colony planted by the French in 1541	ibid.	80
——, Invasion of by the English and Dutch	ibid.	88
Cabo Frio, in Brazil	Maximilian	35
Calvinists, Settlement of, in Florida	Sansom	81
—— massacred by the Spaniards	ibid.	81
Campbell, Captain, loss of his asses in Africa, in 1817	Mollison	89

		Page
Caravan of Pöhlas, Description of one	<i>Mollien</i>	81
Caves in Virginia and Tennessee	<i>Cornelius</i>	105
Catullus, House of	<i>Castellan</i>	36
Cacagne, Village of	<i>Mollien</i>	83
Cayor, Mollien's interview with the king of	<i>Ibid.</i>	7
——, Extent of the Kingdom of	<i>Ibid.</i>	18
——, Soil, &c. of	<i>Ibid.</i>	19
——, Character, Manners, &c. of the people of	<i>Ibid.</i>	20
——, their food, dress, amusements, &c.	<i>Ibid.</i>	20
——, Funeral ceremonies of the negroes of	<i>Ibid.</i>	22
——, Appearance of the villages of	<i>Ibid.</i>	22
——, Ordeal for trying accused persons in	<i>Ibid.</i>	23
Castel-nuovo at Naples	<i>Castellan</i>	18
Camp de Epino in Spain	<i>Graham</i>	44
Cascatelles, Description of the	<i>Castellan</i>	37
Cambaia, Village of	<i>Mollien</i>	95
Caldas, Adventure at the town of	<i>Graham</i>	40
Campos Novos, Fazenda of	<i>Maximilian</i>	39
Campo Santo, Description of the	<i>Castellan</i>	96
Caperosa, Convent of	<i>Graham</i>	53
Carnival at Florence	<i>Castellan</i>	57
Cape-Henry, Temperature of the air and water near	<i>Brackenridge</i>	9
Celerico, Town of	<i>Graham</i>	25
Champlain, Lake	<i>Sansom</i>	9
Chancellor Livingston, Description of the Steam-boat called	<i>Ibid.</i>	5
Champlain, Establishment of, at Quebec, in 1608	<i>Ibid.</i>	82
——, his wars with the savages	<i>Ibid.</i>	83
——, his death	<i>Ibid.</i>	86
Chili, Celebration of the Independence of	<i>Brackenridge</i>	87
Chamberlain, Mr. his country-house at Brazil	<i>Maximilian</i>	14
Chinese families, Description of some, resident in Brazil	<i>Ibid.</i>	110
Cintra, Lines of, near Lisbon	<i>Graham</i>	14
Coqué, Village of, in Africa	<i>Mollien</i>	15
——, Conduct of the inhabitants of, towards M. Mollien	<i>Ibid.</i>	16
——, Consternation occasioned at, by the approach of two lions	<i>Ibid.</i>	17
——, Interview of M. Mollien with the wife of the Chief of	<i>Ibid.</i>	18
Coroaba, Fazenda of	<i>Maximilian</i>	90
Corn, mode of secreting it in Spain	<i>Graham</i>	53
Coughs, Curious remedy for, among the Joloffs	<i>Mollien</i>	25
Coimbra, Town of	<i>Graham</i>	33
Cordonan-tower, Origin of	<i>Ibid.</i>	84
Cork, Money Exchange at	<i>Ibid.</i>	2
Cove, Situation, &c. of	<i>Ibid.</i>	4
Cork-trees in Portugal	<i>Ibid.</i>	28
Confessionals in Portugal, Description of the	<i>Ibid.</i>	33
Colossus of the Appennines	<i>Castellan</i>	94
Colleges in Spain, Decayed State of the	<i>Bouring</i>	12
Corfu, Passage from, to Italy	<i>Castellan</i>	1
Cumberland Mountain	<i>Cornelius</i>	102
DAVDIOLLI, Village of	<i>Mollien</i>	54

INDEX.

			121
			Page
Dendondé Tiali, Village of	-	<i>Mollien</i>	63
Dioqui, M. his attention to M. Mollien	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	117
Diai Bonkari, Person, Qualifications, &c. of	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	8
——, his parting with his Son	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	30
——, Meeting between him and his Relations at Senopalé	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	50
——, Conduct of his Sister	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	53
——, his Reply to the Questions of Almamy	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	54
——, Misunderstanding between him and M. Mollien	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	76
——, his Superstition	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	88
——, his Reward for telling Fortunes	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	97
Diaba, Conduct of the Chief of, towards M. Mollien	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	42
——, River Saldé near	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	42
Dongué, Killing of a Kid at	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	96
Drama, State of the, in Spain	-	<i>Bowring</i>	14
Du Loup, the River	-	<i>Sansom</i>	54
——, Bridge across	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	54
EARTHQUAKES in Canada, in 1663	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	87
——, Frequency of, in Naples	-	<i>Castellan</i>	3
Egnatia, Ruins of	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	9
English and Dutch, Invasion of Canada by the	-	<i>Sansom</i>	88
Equator, Crossing of the	-	<i>Maximilian</i>	4
Estella, Town of	-	<i>Graham</i>	70
Espirito Santo, the River	-	<i>Maximilian</i>	87
——, The Town of	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	88
Europeans, African Ideas respecting	-	<i>Mollien</i>	56
FALI LOUM, his manner of Life, and Treatment of M. Mollien	-	<i>Mollien</i>	10
——, Presents of M. Mollien to	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	12
Farreira, Instance of Catholic Superstition at	-	<i>Graham</i>	19
Famére, Village of	-	<i>Mollien</i>	87
Faléme, Source of the River	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	97
Facinha Manufactory, Description of one in Brazil	-	<i>Maximilian</i>	28
Ferry Boats, American	-	<i>Sansom</i>	7
Ferdinand, King of Spain, Character of	-	<i>Bowring</i>	14
Figueiras, Tree called	-	<i>Maximilian</i>	54
Fiesole, City of	-	<i>Castellan</i>	69
Florida, Settlement of Hugonots in	-	<i>Sansom</i>	81
——, Hugonots in, massacred by the Spaniards	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
Fly, Description of a destructive one in the Choctaw Country	-	<i>Cornelius</i>	114
Fleurian, M. his Conduct towards M. Mollien	-	<i>Mollien</i>	6
Florence, City of	-	<i>Castellan</i>	56
——, Carnival at	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	57
——, Gallery of	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	62
Fornacciaio, Visit to	-	<i>Castellan</i>	106
Foutatoro, Interview of Mollien with the King of	-	<i>Mollien</i>	45
——, Government of	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
——, Present to the King of	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	46
——, Army of the King of	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	56
——, Barbarous Custom in	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	57
——, Situation of the Kingdom of	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	64
Fonebó, Courteous Conduct of	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	48
——, Person and Character of	-	<i>Ibid.</i>	49

		Page
Forests hotter than the open Air	<i>Mollien</i>	63
Fouta Diallon, Productions, Soil, &c. of	<i>Ibid.</i>	109
———, Inhabitants of	<i>Ibid.</i>	110
———, State of Astronomy in	<i>Ibid.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
Francesco, Duke of Florence, Death of	<i>Castellan</i>	87
Freemasons in Africa	<i>Mollien</i>	67
Fruit, Abundance of, in Brazil	<i>Maximilian</i>	10
Freyreiss, M. his Adventure in the Woods	<i>Ibid.</i>	111
Furnaces for smelting Iron in Africa	<i>Mollien</i>	61
Funeral in Portugal	<i>Ibid.</i>	20
Funes, Dean of Cordova, Character, &c. of	<i>Brackenridge</i>	81
GALIZES, Town of	<i>Graham</i>	33
Gambia, Latitude and Longitude of the Source of the	<i>Mollien, Intro.</i>	5
——— and Senegal, Junction of the	<i>Ibid.</i>	63
———, called the Diman	<i>Ibid.</i>	83
———, Passage of the	<i>Ibid.</i>	183
———, Arrival at the Source of the	<i>Ibid.</i>	94
Gandiolle, Village of, in Africa	<i>Mollien</i>	7
Gardens of different Nations, Remarks on the	<i>Castellan</i>	52
Geba, Provisions sent to M. Mollien from	<i>Mollien</i>	116
———, Attention of the Governor of	<i>Ibid.</i>	117
Geology of Virginia	<i>Cornelius</i>	97
George Hotel at New York	<i>Sansom</i>	4
Gold, for what valued by the Moors	<i>Mollien</i>	3
———, Mines of in Africa	<i>Ibid.</i>	79
Goumel, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i>	72
Grotto of the Deluge at Pratolino	<i>Castellan</i>	91
——— of the Samaritan	<i>Ibid.</i>	92
Graham's Travels in Portugal, Spain, &c.		No. IV.
Grotto of Neptune at Tivoli	<i>Castellan</i>	35
Griots, or Musicians, in what estimation held by the Jollofs	<i>Mollien</i>	22
Gris-gris, their supposed Virtues	<i>Ibid.</i>	23
———, Confidence of the Africans in them	<i>Ibid.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
Guimaraens, Town of	<i>Graham</i>	39
Gum Trees in Africa	<i>Mollien</i>	15
Guiloum, Source of the River	<i>Ibid.</i>	56
Gurapina, Fazenda called	<i>Maximilian</i>	23
HERCULANEUM, City of	<i>Castellan</i>	26
Horace and Virgil, Abodes of	<i>Ibid.</i>	34
——— Description of his House	<i>Ibid.</i>	37
Horse, Price given by Mollien for one	<i>Mollien</i>	8
Hotel Dieu, at Quebec	<i>Sansom</i>	22
Houses of the Ancients	<i>Castellan</i>	26
Hunters, Brazilian, their Dress, &c.	<i>Maximilian</i>	24
ICE-CREAM, Abundance of in Spain	<i>Graham</i>	56
Illinois, Account of	<i>Sansom</i>	11
Indians of Brazil	<i>Maximilian</i>	13
Inquisition, State of the, in Spain	<i>Bowring</i>	7
Insect, Description of a destructive one, in the Choctaw Country	<i>Cornelius</i>	114
Iron Foundry at Three Rivers	<i>Sansom</i>	53
——— Mine, Visit to one, in Foutatoro	<i>Mollien</i>	58

INDEX.

			123
		Page	
Iron, Furnaces for smelting, in Africa	-	Mollien	61
Ireland, Passage from to Lisbon	-	Graham	5
Italy, Castellan's Letters on	-		No. V.
——, Passage to	-	Castellan	1
——, Mode of building in	-	Ibid.	4
——, Description of a Villa in	-	Ibid.	5
Jacques Cartier, River	-		
Jews at Three Rivers in Canada	-	Sansom	48
Jesuits sent to Canada in 1625	-	Ibid.	51
Joloffs, principal Diseases of the	-	Ibid.	34
——, their Treatment of their Slaves	-	Mollien	20
——, Description of their Huts and Culinary Utensils	-	Ibid.	22, 36
——, their Dealings by barter	-	Ibid.	22
——, Account of the Laaubés among the	-	Ibid.	23
——, Journey through the Desert of the	-	Ibid.	36
			37
KAMOURASKA, Island of	-	Sansom	14
Kaini, Reception of M. Mollien at	-	Mollien	33
Kabou, Country of	-	Ibid.	117
Kelkom, Village of, in Africa	-	Ibid.	9
Kingston, Building of, in 1672	-	Sansom	88
King of Trarsas, Description of the	-	Mollien	5
Kilkenny Coal, Peculiar Properties of	-	Graham	1
Krokrol, Village of	-	Mollien	33
LA PRAIRIE, Town of	-	Sansom	12
La Chine, Village of	-	Ibid.	61
Laaubés or Gypsies, Account of the, among the Joloffs	-	Mollien	36
Languébana, Village of	-	Ibid.	87
——, Employment of the Inhabitants	-	Ibid.	ibid.
Lavos, Town of	-	Graham	35
La Doccia, Convent of	-	Castellan	75
Legislature of Canada	-	Sansom	28
Lerin, Town of	-	Graham	64
Limestone Strata	-	Cornelius	100
Lions, Terror caused by the Roaring of, near Coqué	-	Mollien	17
Linhares, Description of the Settlement of	-	Maximilian	98
Lisbon, Passage to	-	Graham	5
——, Distant View of	-	Ibid.	8
——, Landing at	-	Ibid.	9
——, Description of the Town of	-	Ibid.	10
——, Price of Articles in	-	Ibid.	13
——, Departure from	-	Ibid.	13
Loretto, Indian Village of	-	Sansom	35
Long Island, New York	-	Ibid.	2
Longangi, Village of	-	Mollien	41
Lourenzo, Captain Benta, his Passage through the Wildernesses of Brazil	-	Maximilian	107
Lodoza, Town of	-	Graham	67
——, Horse Races at	-	Ibid.	ibid.
MACHICHE, Visit to a Family at	-	Sansom	53
Mahometanism, Progress of, in Cayor	-	Mollien	23
Mandiocca Flower, Mode of preparing it	-	Maximilian	33
Marabouts, their exclusive Privilege of practising Physic	-	Mollien	20

	Page
Margaritta, Island of	<i>Brackenridge</i> 111
Marabouts, Qualifications necessary for becoming one of them	<i>Mollien</i> 24
Madeira, Passage to	<i>Maximilian</i> 2
Macahé, Road to the River	<i>Ibid.</i> 43
Maka, an African, his Accoutrements	<i>Mollien</i> 61
——, his Separation from Mollien	<i>Ibid.</i> 77
Marriages among the Poulas	<i>Ibid.</i> 70, 75
Maximilian, Prince, his Travels in the Brazils	No. III.
——, his first chaste Excursion	<i>Ibid.</i> 16
Mæcenæ, Villa of	<i>Castellan</i> 44
Masquerades at Florence	<i>Ibid.</i> 59
Marcia, Village of	<i>Maximilian</i> 21
May-day, Festival of, in Italy	<i>Castellan</i> 68
Medusa Frigate, Escape of M. Mollien from the Wreck of the	<i>Mollien</i> 1
Medina, the Village of	<i>Ibid.</i> 30
——, Mode of dyeing at	<i>Ibid.</i> 31
Meda, Town of	<i>Graham</i> 28
Mines of Gold in Africa	<i>Mollien</i> 79
Minerva, Preservation of the Temples of, in Italy	<i>Castellan</i> 3
Monte Video, landing at	<i>Brackenridge</i> 45
——, Governor of	<i>Ibid.</i> <i>ibid.</i>
——, Town of	<i>Ibid.</i> 46
——, Description of the Country, &c. round	<i>Ibid.</i> 51
——, Dinner at	<i>Ibid.</i> 53
Moreira, Town of	<i>Graham</i> 26
——, singular Mode of Burial at	<i>Ibid.</i> 27
Mosaic Painting, Art of	<i>Castellan</i> 47
Mosque, Description of one, at Ogo, in Africa	<i>Mollien</i> 48
Monte Senario, Convent of	<i>Castellan</i> 76
Montreal, Description of the Town of	<i>Sansom</i> 12, 58
——, Inhabitants of	<i>Ibid.</i> 72
——, Public Buildings at	<i>Ibid.</i> 73
——, Trade of	<i>Ibid.</i> 73
——, Nelson's Pillar	<i>Ibid.</i> 74
Mogo, the Village of	<i>Mollien</i> 47
Montgomery, General, Death of	<i>Sansom</i> 17
Moslache, Reception of M. Mollien at the Village of	<i>Mollien</i> 13
Montmorency, River	<i>Sansom</i> 20
——, Falls of	<i>Ibid.</i> 30
——, Inhospitable Inns at	<i>Ibid.</i> 35
Mola, Town of	<i>Castellan</i> 10
Montcalm, M. de, Death of	<i>Sansom</i> 20
Mounds in Cherokee Nation	<i>Cornelius</i> 109
Monastery, Description of a large one at Thomar	<i>Graham</i> 17
Moors in the Desert of Sahara	<i>Mollien</i> 2
——, Description of their Persons and Habits	<i>Ibid.</i> 3
——, Instance of audacity displayed by one of their Princes	<i>Ibid.</i> <i>ibid.</i>
——, Weapons, &c. of the	<i>Ibid.</i> 4
——, Encampments of the	<i>Ibid.</i> <i>ibid.</i>
——, their Hospitality	<i>Ibid.</i> 5
——, Treatment of their Captives	<i>Ibid.</i> <i>ibid.</i>
——, their Food and occasional Fastings	<i>Ibid.</i> <i>ibid.</i>
——, their Music	<i>Ibid.</i> 6

INDEX.

		125
		Page
		No. II.
Mollien, M. his Travels in Africa	-	7
———, his Interview with the Damel of Cayor	<i>Mollien</i>	8
———, his Preparations for his Journey	<i>Ibid.</i>	9
———, his Accommodation at Toubé	<i>Ibid.</i>	12
———, his Wardrobe	<i>Ibid.</i>	16
———, Disturbance excited by his Appearance at Coqué	<i>Ibid.</i>	17
———, Price given by him for an Ass	<i>Ibid.</i>	26
———, his Illness and consequent Treatment by his African Host	<i>Ibid.</i>	27
———, his Interview with the Bourb-Jollofs	<i>Ibid.</i>	46
———, his Interview with Mamadou, King of Foutatoro	<i>Ibid.</i>	47
———, his parting with Moutoupha	<i>Ibid.</i>	59
———, Copy of his Passport from Almamy	<i>Ibid.</i>	63
———, his Skill in Tooth-drawing	<i>Ibid.</i>	84, 85
———, his Interview with Ali of Timbo	<i>Ibid.</i>	85
———, his Interview with the Sister of Almamy of Timbo	<i>Ibid.</i>	89
———, his Joy at procuring some Oranges in Africa	<i>Ibid.</i>	93
———, his arrival at the Sources of the Gambia and Rio Grande	<i>Ibid.</i>	98
———, his Interview with Abdoulai, Viceroy of Timbo	<i>Ibid.</i>	100
———, his Arrival at the Source of the Senegal	<i>Ibid.</i>	101
———, his dangerous Illness at Bandaia	<i>Ibid.</i>	102
———, his sufferings from the Treachery of Benbou	<i>Ibid.</i>	104
———, his Departure from Bandaia	<i>Ibid.</i>	113
———, his Passage of the Rio Grande	<i>Ibid.</i>	123
———, Itinerary of the different Kingdoms visited by Mungo Park, his Expedition to Africa	<i>Ibid. Intro.</i>	4
Museum of Portici	<i>Castellan</i>	24
NATACOA , Gold Mine of, in Africa	<i>Mollien</i>	80
Naples , Frequency of Earthquakes in	<i>Castellan</i>	3
———, Scenery of	<i>Ibid.</i>	14
———, City of	<i>Ibid.</i>	15
———, Lazzaroni at	<i>Ibid.</i>	16
———, Classical Spots near	<i>Ibid.</i>	21
New York , Description of	<i>Sansom</i>	2
———, City-hall at	<i>Ibid.</i>	3
Nelson's Pillar at Montreal	<i>Ibid.</i>	74
Newfoundland , Discovery, &c. of	<i>Ibid.</i>	79
Negroes , Manners, Customs, &c. of	<i>Mollien</i>	34
———, their mean Opinion of the Knowledge and Wealth of Europeans	<i>Ibid.</i>	44
Neptune , Grotto of, at Tivoli	<i>Castellan</i>	35
New Grenada , Kingdom of	<i>Brackenridge</i>	116
Niakra , Treatment of M. Mollien at the Village of	<i>Mollien</i>	10
Niamrei , Present to the Chief of	<i>Ibid.</i>	15
Nikel , Village of	<i>Ibid.</i>	84
Niger , Source of the	<i>Ibid.</i>	51
Nossa Senhora da Penha , the Monastery of	<i>Maximilian</i>	88
Norfolk , in America, Departure from	<i>Brackenridge</i>	6
Nuns at Hotel Dieu, at Quebec	<i>Sansom</i>	23
VOYAGES and TRAVELS, No. 6. Vol. III.		S

		Page
Ogo, Village of	<i>Mollien</i>	48
Oranges, Joy of Mollien on obtaining some	<i>Ibid.</i>	89
Ordeal practised in Cayor	<i>Ibid.</i>	23
Orleans, Island of	<i>Sansom</i>	20, 33
Otranto, City of	<i>Castellan</i>	3
Ouamkrore, Village of	<i>Mollien</i>	27
Ourang-outangs in Africa	<i>Ibid.</i>	106
 PAMPI, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i>	25
Paraiba, The River	<i>Maximilian</i>	54
Pacour, Description of the Village of	<i>Mollien</i>	26
Padé, Manner of drawing Water from the Wells at	<i>Ibid.</i>	44
Parrot's Head, in Brazil, Excursion to the top of	<i>Brackenridge</i>	25
Passport, Copy of an African one	<i>Mollien</i>	50
Passages, Town of	<i>Graham</i>	74
Paganism, alliance to extinguish it, in Africa	<i>Mollien</i>	62
Papyrus, rolls of	<i>Castellan</i>	25
Pagans, Animals killed by, considered impure	<i>Mollien</i>	88
Pampeluna, City of	<i>Graham</i>	52
———, Country round	<i>Ibid.</i>	57
Pausilypo, Grotto of, near Naples	<i>Castellan</i>	19
Paradisino, Terrace of	<i>Ibid.</i>	105
Peasantry in Canada, State of	<i>Sansom</i>	74
Peru, Revolutionary War in	<i>Brackenridge</i>	105
Petrifaction of Wood	<i>Cornelius</i>	98
Petrarch, Birth of	<i>Castellan</i>	79
Physicians, all white Men supposed to be, by Negroes	<i>Mollien</i>	95
Pitanga, Fazenda of	<i>Maximilian</i>	27
———, Farinha Manufactory at	<i>Ibid.</i>	28
Pindoba, Fazenda da	<i>Ibid.</i>	110
Portuguese, their Manner of Riding, &c.	<i>Ibid.</i>	17
———, Dress, Manners, &c. of	<i>Graham</i>	10
Pouzzuoli, Ruins of	<i>Castellan</i>	19
Pontine Marshes, Description of the	<i>Ibid.</i>	30
Point Levi, in Canada	<i>Sansom</i>	17
Porpoises, White, in the Basin of Quebec	<i>Ibid.</i>	34
Pointe aux Trembles, Village of	<i>Ibid.</i>	46
Postillions, Description of the Canadian	<i>Ibid.</i>	47
Polignano, Town of	<i>Castellan</i>	9
Potosi, Mines of	<i>Brackenridge</i>	97
Poulas, their Astonishment at the Appearance of a White Man	<i>Mollien</i>	25, 32
———, Manners and Customs of the	<i>Ibid.</i>	32
———, Reports respecting the Ancient Country of the	<i>Ibid.</i>	65
———, State of Architecture among the	<i>Ibid.</i>	69
———, Description of the Women	<i>Ibid.</i>	69
———, their Marriage	<i>Ibid.</i>	70
———, their Stratagem in a War with the Europeans	<i>Ibid.</i>	70
———, their Language	<i>Ibid.</i>	79
Portici, Museum of	<i>Castellan</i>	24
———, Singularity of the Buildings of	<i>Ibid.</i>	27
Pompeii, Account of	<i>Ibid.</i>	25
Portuguese Settlements in Africa	<i>Mollien</i>	121
——— Pilot-boat, Description of one	<i>Graham</i>	8
Ponkou, Description of an Albiness at	<i>Mollien</i>	99

INDEX.

		Page
Population of Spain	Bowring	127
Portugal and Spain, Graham's Travels in	No. IV.	16
———, Funeral in	Graham	20
———, Amusements in a Village of	Ibid.	27
Pope, Appearance of the	Castellan	46
Procession of White Nuns	Sansom	28
Press, its inactivity in Spain	Bowring	7
Pratolino, the Factory of	Castellan	84
———, Palace and Gardens of	Ibid.	89
———, Statues of	Ibid.	91
———, Grottoes at	Ibid.	91
Puris of Brazil, Account of the	Maximilian	58
———, their Huts	Ibid.	62
———, Traffic with them	Ibid.	63
———, their Want of Parental Affection	Ibid.	64
Punhete, Town of, in Portugal	Graham	16
Pyrenees, Battle of the	Ibid.	56, 59
———, Description of the	Ibid.	71
QUEBEC, Description of	Sansom	18
———, Climate of	Ibid.	39
———, Amusements at, in Winter	Ibid.	40
———, Cathedral of	Ibid.	40
———, Fortifications of	Ibid.	41
———, Capture of, by the English	Ibid.	85
Quintilius Varus, Villa of	Castellan	88
RAINBOWS formed by Spray	Sansom	31
Recollets, Church and Monastery of	Ibid.	59
River flowing from a Cave	Cornelius	107
Rio Grande, Source of the	Mollien, Intro. 6,	93
———, Passage of the	Mollien	113
———, Province of	Brackenridge	30
Rio de Janeiro, Arrival at	Maximilian	6
———, Harbour of	Ibid.	7
———, Approach to the City of	Brackenridge	16
———, Inhabitants of	Maximilian	8
———, Public Buildings at	Ibid.	9
———, Beautiful Scenery of	Brackenridge	18
———, Facilities afforded by the Government	Maximilian	10
of, to Maximilian for pursuing his Journey	Ibid.	15
———, Description of the Town of	Brackenridge	18
———, Preparations for a Coronation at	Ibid.	19
———, Dinner at	Ibid.	21
———, State of the Females at	Ibid.	31
———, Coronation at	Ibid.	35
Rio Doce, Description of	Maximilian	96
Rio de la Plata, Entrance of the	Brackenridge	41
Rome, Arrival at	Castellan	31
———, Plains, Villages, &c. of	Ibid.	64
———, Difference between it and Florence	Ibid.	55
Rumbó Gali, Village of	Mollien	96
Rubens Description of two Pictures by	Graham	36

			Page No. I.
SANSON'S Travels in Canada	-	-	
Salmon leap, Account of the	-	-	<i>Sanson</i> 48
Sahara, Desert of	-	-	<i>Mollien</i> 2
Sanazaro, Tomb of the Poet	-	-	<i>Castellan</i> 23
Salt-water, Ponds of	-	-	<i>Mollien</i> 7
Sanguinay, Torrent of	-	-	<i>Sanson</i> 34
Santiobambi, Superstition of the Inhabitants of	-	-	<i>Mollien</i> 60
Sagoarema, The Lake of	-	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 26
-----, Village of	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 26
San Martin, General, the Wife of	-	-	<i>Brackenridge</i> 83
Sandfleas, in Brazil, Description of the	-	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 47
Santarem, Town of, in Portugal	-	-	<i>Graham</i> 15
Schagticoke, Village of	-	-	<i>Sanson</i> 8
Seville, Observations on the Town of, in Spain	-	-	<i>Bowring</i> 8
Serracolets, Manners, Customs, &c. of the	-	-	<i>Mollien</i> 107
Senegal, called the <i>Niger</i> by Travellers	-	-	<i>Mollien</i> , Introd. 4
----- Latitude and longitude of its source	-	-	<i>Mollien</i> , Introd. 5
----- Communication of the, with the Gambia	-	-	<i>Mollien</i> 63
----- Description of the source of the	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 100
Sedo, the Town of	-	-	<i>Mollien</i> 44
Sea, Mode of recovering land from	-	-	<i>Graham</i> 80
Senocaloabe, Village of	-	-	<i>Mollien</i> 47
Senopalé, Village of	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 50
----- the Plain of	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 51
Seals at the entrance of Rio de la Plata	-	-	<i>Brackenridge</i> 42
Setiababanbi, Village of	-	-	<i>Mollien</i> 51
Serra de Inuá, Chain of Mountains called	-	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 19
Sillery Cove and Wood, Description of	-	-	<i>Sanson</i> 45
Sierra di Estrella, Mountains called	-	-	<i>Graham</i> 22
Snuff, fondness of the Brazilians for	-	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 49
South America, Brackenridge's Voyage to	-	-	No. VI.
-----, Position of	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> Introd. 1
-----, Division of	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> Introd. <i>ib</i>
-----, Unequal Distribution of Population in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> Introd. 5
-----, Manner of conveying the Posts in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 82
-----, Territory of the United Provinces of	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 93
-----, Revenue of	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 97
-----, Convention of a National Congress in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 107
Soler, General, of Buenos Ayres	-	-	<i>Brackenridge</i> 80
Spain, Entrance into	-	-	<i>Graham</i> 47
-----, Superstition in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 48
-----, Roads in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 42, 52
-----, Manners, &c. of the People of	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 54
-----, Religious Orders in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 55
-----, Manner of living in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 65
-----, Abundance of Ice Cream in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 56
-----, Hunting the Wild Boar in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 62
-----, Females of	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 68
-----, Inns in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 72
-----, Cruelty of the Army of	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 78
-----, Dislike of the English in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 86
-----, Number of Ecclesiastics in	-	-	<i>Bowring</i> No. IV.
-----, Decrease of Monkish influence in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 4
-----, Intolerance in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 7
-----, State of the Inquisition in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> <i>ib.</i>
-----, Inactivity of the Press in	-	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 26.

INDEX.

		129
		Page
Spain, State of Learning in	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 12
——, Drama in	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 14
——, Population of	-	<i>Bowring</i> 15
Stanze and Cazina, at Florence	-	<i>Castellan</i> 61
St. Salvador, Villa de	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 62
——, Trade of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 53
——, Description of	-	<i>Brackenridge</i> 110
St. Peter's, Description of the Cathedral of	-	<i>Castellan</i> 46
Steam-boats, American, Description of	-	<i>Sansom</i> 6
St. Lorenzo, Church of	-	<i>Castellan</i> 32
St. Lawrence, Description of the River	-	<i>Sansom</i> 13, 38
St. Pierre, Lake of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 16
St. Augustine Calvaire, Church of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 17
St. Charles, Ruins of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 29
St. Regis, the Indian Village of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 52
St. Louis, Departure of M. Mollien from	-	<i>Mollien</i> 9
——, His return to	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 122
St. Pedro dos Indios, Village of	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 31
——, Curious Bows at	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 32
St. Sebastian, Approach to the City of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 8
St. Bento, Abbey of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 50
St. Catherine's, Island of	-	<i>Brackenridge</i> 40
St. Christopher, Departure from	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 15
St. Joao, River	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 41
St. Paul, City and Coast of	-	<i>Brackenridge</i> 38
St. Lourenzo, Visit to the Village of -	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 11
——, Walls, Huts, and Furniture of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 14
St. Jean de Luz, Town of	-	<i>Graham</i> 76
St. Fidelis, Horde of Puris at	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 68
Storm at Sea	-	<i>Brackenridge</i> 10
St. José do Port Allegre, Villa de	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 106
Stilts used in France, Description of the	-	<i>Graham</i> 82
Sugar Manufactory at Tirinica	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 28
 TAMARINDS, excellent Medicinal Qualities of	-	<i>Mollien</i> 57
Tangué, Summit of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 88
Taquarussu, Description of the Cane called	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 42
Tafalla, Abundance of Fruit at	-	<i>Graham</i> 52
Tavoliere, of La Puglia	-	<i>Castellan</i> 12
Tennessee and Virginia, Tour in	-	<i>Cornelius</i> 96
Teiba, Peculiarities of the Wells of, in Africa	-	<i>Mollien</i> 14
Terracina, Rocks of	-	<i>Castellan</i> 20
Three Rivers, Town, &c. of	-	<i>Sansom</i> 16, 50
Thomar, Town of	-	<i>Graham</i> 17
——, Large Monastery near	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 17
Tiarkra, Surprise of the Inhabitants of, at behold- ing a White Man	-	<i>Mollien</i> 24
Timbo, Interview of M. Mollien with the Viceroy of	-	<i>Mollien</i> 98
——, Number of Inhabitants, Fortification, &c. of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 99
Tirinica, Sugar Manufactory at	-	<i>Maximilian</i> 28
Tirica, Ill reception at the Fazenda of	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 31
Tivoli, Description of, near Rome	-	<i>Castellan</i> 33
——, Affecting Accident at	-	<i>Ibid.</i> 36
Toulon, Description of the Village of	-	<i>Mollien</i> 92
Tosse, Temple of	-	<i>Castellan</i> 40
Trarsas, Description of the King of	-	<i>Mollien</i> 5

		Page
Trancoso, Description of the Town of, in Portugal	<i>Graham</i>	26
Trani, Town of	<i>Castellan</i>	11
Turtle, Number of Eggs procured from One, in Brazil	<i>Maximilian</i>	102
URSULINES, Chapel of the, at Quebec	<i>Sansom</i>	25
VARENNES, Town of	—	13
Vallombrosa, Monastery of	<i>Castellan</i>	104
Vesuvius, Description of	—	17
Venezuela, Description of	<i>Brackenridge</i>	113
—, Population of	—	115
Virgil, Tomb and Epitaph of	<i>Castellan</i>	21
Virginia and Tennessee, Tour in	<i>Cornelius</i>	96
Villa Franca, Town of	<i>Graham</i>	14
Vines in Portugal	—	20
Villa da Valha, Town of	—	21
—, Skeleton found near	—	21
Vittoria, Description of the Battle of	—	48
Villa Adriana, Description of the	<i>Castellan</i>	41
Villas, Numbers of, under Augustus	—	50
WELLS in Africa, Attention of M. MOLLIER to the	<i>Mollien</i>	14
—, Manner of digging them	—	14
Whitehall, Town of	<i>Sansom</i>	8
Wales on the Coast of Brazil	<i>Maximilian</i>	15
William Henry, Town of	<i>Sansom</i>	15
Wig-wams, Indian, Description of, and Food of the Inhabitants	—	49
Wolfe's Cove, in Canada	—	17
Wolfe, Gen. Figure of, at Quebec	—	19
—, His Death	—	90

END OF VOL. III.

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